Guide to the use of the SH5 Tehuelche file

/ 1:Cooper is the basic summary article on this group, and covers all of the existing literature up to 1945. This article includes material which helps to place the Tehuelche in a regional and linguistic context.

The bulk of the file is composed of first-hand observations by individuals who traveled through the region, giving data on the tribe before much acculturation (excepting the introduction of the horse) had taken place. The earliest source, 6: De Viedma, is short but gives data gathered in the late eighteenth century. 2:Musters and 3:Musters contain the most information, and form the foundation of the file. The author of these pieces traveled through the area about ninety years after De Viedma. 5:Bourne contains data from about seventy years after De Viedma, and is based on observations made during a period of 97 days during which the author was held captive by the Tehuelche. The observations are not as good as those of Musters, but are still useful.

The final article, 4:Lothrop, deals with Tehuelche material culture.

The file as a whole is good on material culture, economics, political organization, and the life cycle, but reflects the gaps in the literature in that it is rather weak in the areas of religion and kinship. /

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The Tehuelche.—The name (etymology uncertain) was first used by the Jesuit missionaries of the middle 18th century, has many variants, and has at times been applied to tribes (cf. infra under *Puelche*) other than the one known to modern anthropology as the *Tehuelche*. 101

The chief variants of "*Tehuelche*" are: *Tuelche* (Camaño, 1937, p. 114); *Toelchi* (Cardiel, 1930, p. 247); *Toelche* (Cardiel, 1938, p. 141); *Tewelche* (Milanesio, 1898, p. 38); *Thehuelche* (Beauvoir, 1915 p. 183); *Theguel-che* (Berg, 1875, p. 371); *Teguelche* (Piedra, 1837, p. 77); *Tehuelci* (Borgatello, 1924, p. 12, Italian c); *Tuehelche* (Milanesio, 1898, p. 38); *Toelchá* (Cardiel, 1930, p. 252, Strobel, 1922, pp. 74–75); *Tuelche* (Camaño, 1937, p. 114); *Thuelche* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 29; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 1: 131); *Tehuelhet* (Falkner, 1774, p. 102); *Tehuelcto* (Villarino, 1837, p. 88); *Chehuelchu*, *Cheuelchú* (Muñiz, 1917, pp. 208, 212); *Tehéouelche* (Guinnard, 1864, p. 63); *Chequelcho* (Lista, 1879 a, p. 75; 1879 b, p. 73); *Tehuiliche* (Hale, 1846, p. 651).

The designation *Patagoni*, first given to the *Tehuelche* by Magellan in 1520 (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 60), appears frequently in the later sources.

The *Tehuelche* called themselves *Choanik* (Gardiner, 1852, p. 23); *Tchonek* (Musters, 1872, p. 194); *Choonke* (Lista, 1879 b, p. 73); *Tonic* or *Tsonik* (Claraz, 1896, pp. 524–525); *Chonqui* (Cordovez, 1905, p. 32—so called by Chileans). The name is derived from the *Tehuelche* word, *tsonik* ("people," Claraz, 1896, p. 525), *tsonke* ("people," Ameghino, C., 1913, p. 260), *choonke* ("indio," Lista, 1879 a, p. 81), *chonk* ("hombre," Beauvoir, 1915, p. 184), *öchönik* ("hombre," Lehmann-Nitsché, 1913, p. 260). *Tsoneca* (Schmid, 1912; Musters, 1871, p. 183) *tsoneka* (Moreno, 1879, p. 376), *tsoneke* (Lista, 1879 b, p. 75), occur as the name for the *Tehuelche* language.

The *Tehuelche*, especially the southern ones, also called themselves *Ahonicanka* (Musters, 1872, p. 194); *Ahonnekenke*, *Ahonekenke* (Moreno, 1879, pp. 226, 376), *Aóniken*, *Aónik(e)nk(e)n* (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226), *Aónükün'k*, *Aóniko-tshonk* (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 219); *Aónikenke* (Beauvoir, 1915, p. 183), *Aóeni Künk* or *Kenk* (Harrington, 1943, p. 3). *Harwaneki*, *Hawaneki* (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 22, 24), *Haveniken* (Virchow, 1879, p. 199), *Hawaniker-Tsonik* (Claraz, 1896, p. 525) appear to be variants of the preceding. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 95) has *Inaken* for the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. *Tehuelche nuken*="hombre," Outes, 1913 a, pp. 488–489; *nooken*="hombre," Ameghino, C., 1913, p. 260).

The southern *Tehuelche* called the northern *Tehuelche Payni-ken* (Gardiner, 1852, p. 22); *Paignk(e)nk(e)n* (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226), *Pä'änkün'k*, *Pä'änko-tshonk* (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 219).

To denote the whole tribe, including both its northern and its southern division, we are using in the present article the term *Tehuelche*, since this term or some variant thereof has been more commonly accepted for the last two centuries.

Since the middle of the 18th century, two main divisions of the *Tehuelche*, each with its own dialect, have been recognized. To the Jesuit missionaries of the time these divisions were known as the *Tehuelche* "de á cavallo," or northern division, who had horses and who lived in the Río Negro Colorado and Río Negro country, and the *Tehuelche* "de á pie," or southern division, who lacked horses and who occupied the region south of the horse *Tehuelche* as far as the Strait of Magellan. These southerners were included by Falkner in his *Yacana-cunnees* ("foot people": Falkner, 1774, p. 111; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, pp. 229–230; cf. Cooper, 1917, p. 86).

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A similar division into northerners and southerners is recorded consistently in our 19th century sources (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 95; Cox, 1863, p. 165; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Lista, 1879 a, p. 75, 1879 b, p. 74; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226). According to Lehmann-Nitsche (1913, p. 219), the northern and southern *Tehuelche* were called by the southerners *Pĕ'ánkŭn'k* and *Aónăkŭn'k* respectively.

In the 18th century the two divisions spoke dialects differing so widely that members of one division could only with difficulty, if at all, understand those of the other (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30; Hervás, 1800–05, 1: 134). According to our more recent sources from Cox on, dialectic differentiation, though appreciable, was less marked. There was also a third dialect, *Tĕ'uŭshn* (*Téucsh, Téhuesh, Téhueshen, Téuesson, Téhueshenk, Thé-ushene, De-ushene*). This dialect, according to Outes, was spoken long ago, and in 1905 was still spoken by some of the oldest *Tehuelche* in addition to the usual *Tehuelche* language (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 249; cf. Hunziker and Schmid, *in* Outes, 1928 a, pp. 273–274). In 1891 the *Tĕ'uŭshn* dialect was still spoken by older men, but was not understood by the younger *Tehuelche*-speaking generation (Burmeister, C., 1891, p. 290). *Tehuelche* with its dialects constitutes, together with *Ona* and its own dialects, the independent *Chon* linguistic family.

Since the middle of the 18th century, the northern boundary of the *Tehuelche* has pretty consistently been put at or around the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30; Cardiel, 1930, pp. 141–142; Hervás, 1800–05, 1: 134; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 79; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 95; 212, north to 40° S. lat.; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226; Outes, 1905, p. 241; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 230). To be more exact, the territory of the *Tehuelche* in historic times appears to have extended over the whole of Patagonia from the Río Negro and its affluent, the Río Limay, to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the continent. In the middle 18th century, the *Tehuelche* may have extended on the Atlantic side, at least as casual occupants, a little farther north than the Río Negro, to the Río Colorado, to judge from the reports of Cardiel (1930, p. 272) and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 30). In the second half of the 19th century, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples extended down the Andean piedmont some distance south of Lake Nahuel-Huapí and the Río Limay. (Musters, 1871, map; 1872, p. 195; cf. Cox, 1863, pp. 94, 164, and La Vaulx, 1901, map and passim.)

The dividing line between the horse and foot *Tehuelche* on the Atlantic side in the middle 18th century was about 100 leagues south and west of the Río Negro (Cardiel, 1922, p. 63). The dividing line between the great northern and southern hordes in the second half of the 19th century was the Río Chubut according to Cox (1863, p. 165) and Lista (1879 a, p. 75; cf. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 230), the Río Santa Cruz according to Musters (1872, p. 194; cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226).

Tehuelche population.—Population data on the *Tehuelche* are very unsatisfactory. As regards particular groups of the *Tehuelche*, Barne (1836, 5: 21) estimated at 1,400 the number of Indians at Port San Julian in 1753; Bourne (1853, p. 59), at about 1,000 the band with whom he traveled in 1849. As regards the whole *Tehuelche* tribe, the estimates in our records are the following: Viedma (1837 b, p. 79), 4,000 souls, in 1780–83; Muñiz (1917, p. 213), less than 4,000 able to bear arms, in circa 1826; D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97; 4: 192), 8,000 to 10,000 souls, in 1829; Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), four groups of about 400 adults each, with a rather large proportion of children, and with women outnumbering men three to one, in 1833; Coan (1880, p. 171), about 1,000 souls, in 1833–34; Gardiner (1852, p. 22), 9,000 to 10,000 souls, in 1842; Cox (1863, p. 166), about 6,000 souls, in

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may also have been *Alacaluf;* the *Guaicaro* vocabulary gathered by Lista (1896, p. 41) from a *Guaicaro* medicine man living among the *Tehuelche* is *Alacalufan.*

Caucahue.—In the early Chilean chronicles from 1641 on, the tribal denomination *Caucahue* (*Caucau*, and other variants) occurs sporadically, as applied in the most confusing manner, sometimes to short or medium-statured Indians of the western coast archipelago, at other times to "gigantic" Indians of the mainland. (Cf. details in Cooper, 1917, passim.) Our most detailed account of the latter tall type is that of Pietas (1846, pp. 503–504). He described the *Caucahue*, one of whom he had seen, as "gigantic" in stature, living south of the *Chono*, between the Cordillera and the Golfo de los Evangelistas, and speaking a language unknown to any one in Chiloé. It is quite possible that these tall "*Caucahue*" were *Tehuelche*, but by no means certain. They were very expert in the use of a heavy throwing club. (Cf. also Morrell, 1832, pp. 100–101, on "*Caucau*" met by him in the Guaianeco Islands in 1823.)

Huilliche Serrano.—It is quite possible, too, that the *Huilliche Serrano* of the Chilean chroniclers were *Tehuelche*, or perhaps *Puelche*, to judge from their tall stature as compared with that of the *Araucanians* and from their geographical location. (Cf. original data assembled from sources by Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 218–220.) But our information upon the *Huilliche Serrano*, as upon the tall *Caucahue*, is too meager to justify any but the most tentative surmises as to their ethnic relationships.

Poya.—As regards the *Poya* (*Poy[illegible]*, *Pogya*) we are a little better off. (Cf. original source data assembled in: Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 220–222; more fully, *Vignati*, 1939 a; Fonck *in* Menendez, 1900, passim, and esp. p. 319, on "*Puelche*"=probably *Poya.*) They should not be confused with the *Araucanian*-speaking *Poyo* or *Payo.* (Cf. Cardiel, 1938, p. 141; E. Simpson, 1875, p. 104.) The *Poya* were described by three of our four chief sources as big bodied. They spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue. They lived in the general region of Lake Nahuel-Huapí, to the south or southeast thereof. Cardiel (1938, p. 141) seems to class the *Poya* as a branch of the foot *Tehuelche.* The *Poya* made an intoxicating beverage from a wild fruit called by them muchi (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Menendez, 1900, p. 412); muchi is the *Tehuelche* name of the fruit of the *Duvaua dependens*, called huingan by the *Araucanians*, and eaten by the *Tehuelche* (Cox, 1863, p. 211). Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) has called attention to the custom of septum perforation, certainly unusual in these parts, attributed independently to the *Poya* by Florez de León (1898, p. 256) and to the early *Tehuelche* by Fletcher (Drake expedition, 1578: see Fletcher, 1854, p. 50). The

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identification by Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) of the *Poya* supernatural being, *Chechuelli* (*Chahuelli:* Olivares, 1874, pp. 511, 514, 516, 519) with the *Tehuelche* being called *Chelcule* (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 60, 78; Outes, 1928, b, p. 380) appears less convincing.

All in all, there seems to be fairly good evidence, although far from decisive, that the *Poya* were *Tehuelche*. In view, however, of certain cultural peculiarities of the *Poya*, as well as of their still somewhat uncertain linguistic affiliation, we shall devote a special short section to them in our treatment of Patagonian-Pampean culture.

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The Puelche.—The name by which the *Puelche* call themselves is *Genakin* (Hunziker, 1928 b, p. 277, "*Genacin*," *c*=*k*), from genă, "gente, pueblo, nacion" + — *kin* (!). Variants are: *Gennacken* (Moreno, 1879, p. 220), *Gennaken*, *Genakenn*, *Gününa Küne*, *Gününa Küne* (Harrington, 1933–35, 1943). In the present article we are using for the *Genakin* the name *Puelche*, as the one best known and longest established in anthropological literature.

The name *Puelche* (*Puelcho*, and other variants) is from *Araucanian* ("eastern people"). It was first used in our sources by the Chilean chroniclers to denote various groups living in or near the higher cordillera or on the plains to the east—the people later known as *Pehuenche* (the piñon-eaters of the high cordilleran valleys), or the plains people in general east of the Chilean Cordillera, or sections thereof. Later it was much used by Chilean *Araucanians* and Whites for the *Araucanians* who spread out over the Pampa. In these senses the name usually either excluded the people known to modern anthropology as the *Puelche* or else included other peoples as well. It was from the beginning a geographical rather than a strictly tribal name, and remained so down to recent times. Hence the unending confusion in its use.

In the middle 18th century, *Puelche* began to be used by the Jesuit missionaries (cf. Lozano, 1924, p. 297; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 28–30) for one of the main ethnic groups of the Pampa, south and southwest of Buenos Aires, particularly those Indians living around the Sierra del Tandil and the Sierra de la Ventana, the Río Colorado, and beyond to the Río Negro and toward the Andean Cordillera.

These same *Puelche* were also known to the Spanish of Buenos Aires as *Serrano* or *Montañeses*, on account of their mountain habitat and meeting place (Lozano, 1924, p. 297; Strobel, 1924, p. 442; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–31; Cardiel, 1922, p. 62, and 1930, pp. 245–247), *Cerrano* (Querini, 1922, p. 64), and likewise were called *Peguenche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 30—a possible misprint or author's slip). Camaño (1937, p. 114) used the name *Puelche* for the *Araucanian*-speaking peoples of the Pampa; Falkner (1774, pp. 99–100), in a much wider and geographic sense, for all the eastern Pampa and Patagonia tribes, regardless of language—the *Taluhet*, *Diuihet*, *Chechehet*, and *Tehuelhet*—from Córdoba and Buenos Aires to the Strait of Magellan; Poeppig (1835–36, 1: 464), for the *Patagon* east of the Andes from 37° S. lat. to the Strait.

Other names by which the non-*Araucanian*, non-*Tehuelchean* Indians of the Pampa have been known are *Pampa* and *Tehuelche of the North*. *Pampa* was so used by Donavidas (1908, p. 365), Lozano (1873–74, p. 431), Camaño (1937, p. 114), Cox (1863, p. 105), Musters (1871, pp. 70, 304), La Vaulx (1897–98, p. 84), and Milanesio (1928, p. 38)—by the last four at least, to denote the *Puelche*

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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INTRODUCTION.

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years ago the great navigator Magellan anchored in a port on the eastern coast of an unknown shore, part of the seaboard of the vast continent of South America, to which he gave the name of St. Julian. Starting from this point, the pilot Serrano explored the coast to the southward, and discovered a river which he named Santa Cruz. His ship was wrecked near the mouth, and left her timbers on the rocks, the first of the long list of vessels lost on that ironbound coast, which, from the mouth of the Rio Negro to the Straits, offers but one or two safe harbours, while submerged reefs, fierce gales, strong tides, currents, and overfalls combine to render it nearly the most perilous known to navigators.

Magellan remained at Port St. Julian and Santa Cruz from April till October of 1520, when he sailed southward, and discovered the Straits which bear his name. Two months after his arrival at Port St. Julian a man of gigantic stature appeared on the beach, 'larger and taller than the stoutest man of Castile.' Eighteen natives afterwards arrived dressed in cloaks of skins and shoes of guanaco hide, which made huge footmarks, whence they were called Patagonés, or 'large feet,' by the Spaniards; and thus originated in a nickname

3: Lothrop E-4,5 (1924-1925) 1928

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3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rió Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yamonascunna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Ahonicanka, or Tchonek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Penck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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The third is a branch of the great Araucanian race, which has its head-quarters near Las Manzanas, in or about the same latitude as Valdivia, from which it is about sixty miles distant, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. These may be described as the border race, seldom descending much to the south of the Rio Limay, though they cross the Cordillera to Valdivia and Araucania.

Of these three races the Tehuelche or Aboniean will occupy the chief portion of the time at my disposal, which will not admit of giving more than a short sketch of their manners and customs, and a few very brief remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the others.

The traditionary gigantic stature of the Patagonians is naturally, as I have learnt by experience, the first point as to which inquiries are made. Of the two divisions of the race, the southern slightly surpass the northern in height, but not in muscular development. The average height of the southern Tehuelches is rather over five feet ten, but I have seen many six feet, and some attaining six feet four; the great breadth of the chest and the muscular power of the limbs cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one seeing them for the first time, and it is easy to imagine that if such men came down to meet the first Spanish voyagers, they would, especially when seen dressed in their long mantles, appear of gigantic proportions. Some of the women whom I saw were remarkably tall. The wife of the cacique "Orkeke" was very little short of six feet, and possessed a corresponding robust form and strength of muscle, but the average female height did not exceed five feet six. I never remarked the weakness and want of muscular power in the legs attributed to them by some travellers. They are very active and good runners, and, in their games of ball, display great quickness and strength; they almost invariably travel on horseback, but as an illustration of their walking powers I may mention that two of them who volunteered to go to Buenos Ayres in the sealing schooner, after waiting for several days in the mouth of the river for a fair wind grew restless, and finally walked back to the trading station, a distance of between forty and fifty miles, without food, in about fourteen hours, and when they arrived did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been a long walk.

They usually have large heads covered with long black hair, dark sparkling eyes, which give a bright intelligent look to their oval faces. Their foreheads are generally good (retreating foreheads being rare) with peculiar prominences over the eyebrows. Their noses are often aquiline, but varying as in other countries, but generally with a marked breadth of nostrils. Their natural complexion is reddish brown, scarcely, however, deserving the

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old manfle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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726 retreating fight, and convinced me that they got a sound drubbing for their pains. He said he killed one Indian, with an air that would have done justice to the slaying of a regiment. Shocking to relate, there were found persons who slanderously reported to me that Old Boy's legs had the unhappy propensity of Pat O'Flaherty's, whose heart was as brave as any man's, but his cowardly legs ran away with his body; and they scrupled not to affirm that in this same hard-fought battle he crawled into the bushes, and there secreted himself till the cessation of hostilities enabled him to rejoin his tribe.

●101 The reader has doubtless noticed that "the tribe" has been all along anonymous. The explanation comes rather late, but, in point of fact, I never could learn that they had any distinctive name; they never used any. Indeed 551 proper names were very seldom heard. Even in conversation concerning each other, they managed to avoid "naming names" as strictly as so many honorable senators, though for no reason that I could discover. By signs and gestures, and other hints, they indicated the personal subject of remark, and seemed to suffer no inconvenience from what would be felt among us as a serious want.

224 While out hunting one day with the chief, we ascended a slight eminence, commanding a view of an extensive plain. The chief suddenly stopped his horse, and looked steadily forward. I bent my eyes in the same direction, and saw two or three mounted Indians moving towards a common point. There was nothing unusual to be seen, but Old Boy seemed to discover something. I inquired what it was. He answered by pointing; and, on a second view, I observed a horse loose, which I took to be that of some

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102 MAPS--reproductions of all maps. Specific maps will also be found under the appropriate descriptive category. See also:

Descriptive geographical data . . . . . 33 Route maps and charts 487
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3: Lothrop E-4,5 (1924-1925) 1928

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111 SOURCES PROCESSED--complete bibliographical references to all sources actually processed, with a brief critique of each. Sources are numbered, and arranged numerically.

1: Cooper, John M. Patagonian and Pampean Hunters. Handbook of South American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, No. 143, Vol. 1, pp. 127-168. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946.

8 plates

HRAF copy

/Cooper, a professional ethnologist and cleric, drew together the available literature to produce this synthetic work on the culture of the Tehuelche. The source deals with linguistics, history, religion, social organization, economic life, and the life cycle. A short section covers the related Puya. Information also occurs on Patagonia (SH1), the Puelche (SI10), the Araucanians (SG4), the Ona (SH4), the Yahgan (SH4), and the Alacaluf (SH2). Data on these groups will be found in the respective OWC files. For the bibliography see Vol. 2 of the Handbook of South American Indians. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1958

2: Musters, George C. At Home with the Patagonians. London: John Murray, 1873.

Pp. xix, 340; 10 plates; 1 map.

Yale: Ehi.P27.869Mb

/The author travelled in the company of Tehuelche Indians from Punta Arena at the southern tip of Patagonia north to the Rio Negro valley. His personality and adaptability soon gained the respect and trust of his hosts, thus enabling him to participate actively in the daily life of the nomads. The book records extensively the topography, and the fauna and flora of the country traversed. It also relates in detail the ceremonies and habits, the methods of hunting and warfare, the diet and material belongings of the Indians. Information on social organization and religious beliefs are inadequate; and no material is given on kinship structures. Relationships among the Tehuelche, the Araucanians and the Argentine Government are illustrated with concrete events interestingly presented. A fair amount of data appears on the Araucanians, and is marked for SG4:Araucanians. A list of vocabulary is appended at the end of the book.--Analyst/

Field date: 1869-1870
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Traveller-5
Processed in 1958

3: Musters, George Chaworth. On the Races of Patagonia. The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. I, pp. 193-207. London, 1872.

Yale: Nk10 R81 v. 1

/This article is a traveler's account of the Tehuelche, and includes a summary of the various aspects of their culture as observed by the author. Very brief cultural summaries are given for the Araucanians (SG4) and Puelche (SI10). For a fuller account of the author's travels see 2:Musters, this file. --Analyst/

Field date: 1869-1870
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1958

4: Lothrop. S.K. Polychrome Guanaco Cloaks of Patagonia. Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. VII, No. 6. New York, 1929.

Pp. 30; 15 text figures, 2 end plates.

Yale: C52 3 7

/This article, by a professional anthropologist, deals with the construction and decoration of the skin robes worn by the Tehuelche, and contains some material on weapons and hunting. The distribution of the decorative elements is discussed with reference to other South American groups. A small amount of material has been marked for the Ona (SH4) and Yahgan (SH6) files. --Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Anthropologist - 4
Processed in 1958

5: Bourne, Benjamin Franklin. The Captive in Patagonia; or, Life Among the Giants: A Personal Narrative. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., 1874.

Pp. 13-233; 3 plates; frontispiece.

Yale: WA6604

Omitted from files: pp. 166-233.

/This book is an account of the Tehuelche by a man who was taken captive by them and held for ransom. In all, he spent a period of 97 days with them, living in the dwelling of the chief of the tribe. An account of the subsistance pattern of the group constitutes a large part of the information given, but data occurs on the life cycle and on various other aspects of the culture. Only that part of the book up to p. 166 was processed, since the rest of the narrative is not concerned with the Tehuelche.--Analyst/

Field date: 1849
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1958

6: De Viedma, Antonio. Descripcion de la Costa Meridional del Sur, Llamada Vulgarmente Patagonica. /Description of the Southern Shores of that Region Commonly Called Patagonia./ Coleccion de Obras y Documentos Relativos a la Historia Antigua y Moderna de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata, edited by Pedro De Angelis, Vol. VI, pp. 63-81. Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Estado, 1837.

/HRAF MS: pp. 1-17/

Yale: Cwa + c836 v.6

Translated fromthe Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney J. Muirden.

/De Viedma was a colonial administrator who established a colony in this area in the eighteenth century. In addition to describing the area, the source gives considerable data on the Tehuelche, covering such things as warfare, religion, chieftainship, hunting technique and material culture. The source is valuable because it is a first hand account compiled before much acculturation had taken place. --Analyst/

Field date: 1780-1784
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Colonial Administrator-5
Processed in 1958

Escalada, Federico A. El Complejo Tehuelche. Estudios de Etnografia Patagonica. /The Tehuelche Complex. Studies of Patagonian Ethnology/ Instituto Superior de Estudios Patagonicos, Buenos Aires: 1949.

Pp.xxiii, 360; 18 plates; bibliography; 5 maps

Library of Congress: F 2936 E75

/This source, by an Argentine Doctor who worked among the native peoples of Patagonia, has not been translated and processed because it has very little original data on aboriginal Tehuelche culture. Much of the book is concerned with supposed prehistoric migrations and cultural layers. Most of the factual material is drawn from Musters and other sources already processed for this file. --Analyst/

●
113, 143

Chiriguano 8P10
Choroti 8K8
Mataco 8I7
Tehuelche 8H5 ●
Caraja 8P9
Tucano 8Q10
Guarani 8M4
Timbira 8D8
Araucaniana 8C4
Paez 8C15
Canari 8D4
Jivaro 8D9
Aymara 8P5
Ona 8H4
Yahgan 8H8

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Puelche SI 10

short account of the *Poya*. Finally, we shall deal with the culture of the *Puelche*. T [128]

In the case of the *Puelche*, were we to confine ourselves to those data which are unmistakably and beyond all possibility of doubt attributable to people speaking the *Puelche* language, we should have to rely almost exclusively on D'Orbigny's extremely brief account. For reasons previously given, we seem to be on fairly safe ground in concluding that the *Puelche* of D'Orbigny's day were the linguistic descendants of Sánchez Labrador's "*Puelche*" ("*Pampa*," "*Serrano*") six or seven decades earlier. If not the linguistic descendants, they were almost certainly the cultural ones. We shall use, therefore, the data from Sánchez Labrador, where we can be sure he is speaking of cultural phenomena peculiar to his and our *Puelche* or shared by them with the contemporary *Tehuelche* and/or Argentine *Araucanians*. P 127

For those who hold with Lehmann-Nitsche to the former existence of a *Het* family on the Pampa, what we shall describe as *Puelche* culture would connote, so far as the description rests on data from Sánchez Labrador, *Het* culture or *Het-Puelche* culture.

Less use can be made of Falkner than of Sánchez Labrador, as the former gives fewer details and discriminates less between *Araucanian*, *Tehuelche*, and *Puelche* cultural features.

TEHUELCHE CULTURE

On *Tehuelche* culture the very early sources prior to 1670 yield only the most meager information, and this almost exclusively regarding the more obvious elements of material culture. About the best of these early sources, such as they are, are Pigafetta (1906) and Fletcher (1854). T 113

The most important later sources are Viedma (1837 b) and Musters (1871, 1872).

Next in importance to these last three publications may be listed: Borgatello (1924), Bourne (1853), Coan (1880), Moreno (1879), Muñiz (1917), and D'Orbigny (1835–47). Some good material is also found scattered through the works of: Cox (1863), Falkner (1774), Fitz-Roy (1839, dependent largely on Falkner), Gardiner (1852), Lista (1879 a, 1879 b), Pennant (1788, data derived from Falkner in England), Reiher (1920), Roncagli (1884), Sánchez Labrador (1936), and Spegazzini (1884). On the linguistic relations of the *Tehuelche*, Lehmann-Nitsche (1913) is basic, while Cardiel (1938) and Camaño (1937) were important pioneer contributors.

Where it is possible or advisable to distinguish between the culture of the foot *Tehuelche* before 1670 and that of the horse-using *Tehuelche* after 1741, in the following account of *Tehuelche* culture the terms "early" and "later" will be used respectively. T 128

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Painted decorations on specimens collected in recent years, though based on simple elements, exhibit a complexity of rhythm scarcely to be expected among people of such general cultural poverty. A study of the designs has shown that they can be divided into two major groups. The more recent of these shows apparent connection with textile patterns of the Araucanians, although the relationship is too vague and the available material too scanty for exact demonstration. The Araucanians, it will be recalled, in the sixteenth century occupied only a few small valleys east of the Andes, but in the eighteenth century they overran most of the Pampas, thus coming into contact with the Tehuelche.

We also have given reasons for believing that the Tehuelche formerly adorned their robes with designs of a different type, related to the art of other nomadic tribes, such as the Charrúa, and until recently found in the Chaco. This school of decoration we believe is basic over a large area in South America, for it is typical of archeological remains not only from Patagonia but as well from the Pampas, from the Calchaquí region, the lower Paraná, and from the Gran Chaco.

The absence of such decorative motives among the Ona and Haush of Tierra del Fuego implies that they had been separated from their mainland kinsmen for many centuries, and it raises the question whether the Tehuelche carried this type of design with them when they populated Patagonia or whether it reached them by infiltration at a later date.

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1903 Les anciens Patagons. Monaco.
VERNEAU, R., *and* VAULX, E. de la
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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 296) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

The band.—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

search of timber for building, in the course of which he reached the great lake at the foot of the Cordillera, from which flowed the Rio Santa Cruz. Both on the coast and in the interior he received much friendly aid from the Indians, of whom he formed a most favourable opinion. 175

Under his brother's auspices the Rio Negro was ascended as far as the mountains of Villarino, to whose expedition reference will be made in the proper place.

No further knowledge was gained of the interior of Patagonia until the survey of the Beagle, so ably performed and so admirably described by Fitzroy and Darwin; during which the ascent of the Santa Cruz River for 200 miles enabled the latter to observe the remarkable formations which he has so aptly described in his work on the Geology of South America.

This brief but perhaps tedious account has been given to show that although the coasts of Patagonia had been explored and surveyed, yet the interior of the country, though pierced by the expeditions of Viedma and Fitzroy, remained up to a late date still almost unknown. Its inhabitants, the Tehuelches, had been often communicated with, their stature noted, and their friendly disposition commended; but their real manners of life as they wandered through the country, and their relations with, or difference from, the Araucanian and Pampa Indians, had remained almost as much a mystery as they were in the last century. 114

During the last thirty years the Governments of Chili and of Buenos Ayres have shown themselves inclined to claim the possession of the coast, the former trying to advance from the Straits, and the latter from Patagones; and the natives have acknowledged the influence of either Govern 175 177

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175 ment as they happened to be in the northen or southern
177 parts respectively. Our missionaries also have not left the Patagonians without some efforts to instruct and evangelise them; and although these efforts have been necessarily limited to the coast, yet the fruits of Mr. Schmid's sojourn with the Tehuelches remain both in their friendly feelings and in the lasting record of the vocabulary of the Tsoneca language published by him. And the intercourse of these Indians with Argentines and Chilians, and more especially with English officers, sealers, and missionaries successively, all of whom have testified favourably to their character, has tended to make them more open to access, and to give them a knowledge of foreigners; so that in this respect I can feel that to all those who have been mentioned as having thus preceded me, this brief record is due from a traveller who has experienced the friendly feelings of the natives towards strangers, and especially Englishmen.

114 While engaged in preparing the ensuing pages for the press, I have had an opportunity of perusing the work of M. Guinnard, first published in French, and recently given to the English public in a spirited translation, entitled 'Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians.' The name necessarily attracted me, but to my great surprise careful perusal led to the distinct conviction that the author's personal experiences were altogether confined to the Pampas Indians north of the Rio Negro. From his own statements and omissions it is quite evident that he was not carried by any of his successive masters across this river, which he clearly and accurately defines to be (page 40) the northern boundary of Patagonia. The name of Patagonians is, therefore, a complete misnomer; and the curious account (pp. 72, 73) of the

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'Tehéouelches,' or Foot Nomads, clothed in seal skins, and accustomed to live on fish, and literally destitute of horses, is applicable to no tribe whatever east of the Cordillera, the Fuegians being the only race presenting any of the characteristic habits attributed to this so-called Patagonian tribe.

I hope I may not be supposed to be desirous of impeaching the accuracy of M. Guinnard's account of the hardships endured in his captivity, or the customs of the Indians into whose hands he fell, much of which I can corroborate; but it is to be regretted that he was induced, probably by others, to describe under the name of Patagonians the Pampas Indians, who, by country, race, language, and character are marked as being altogether distinct from the Tehuelches of Patagonia.

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

that on the third next march we should pass a deposit of yellow ore, lying to the south of the route, and that during the hunt he would show it to me. Orkeke also corroborated this statement, and I have every reason to believe that there is in that locality a deposit of iron or more probably copper ore. 135

As the meat of the slain horses was nearly consumed, we marched the following day across a most stony, rocky, and inhospitable country, and at length arrived at a range of hills, through which ran a steep, narrow gorge. Descending through its tortuous windings, we at length arrived at a spring, the waters of which, joining with another small rivulet, flowed out, and formed a sort of marsh at the head of a large plain. From the slope of the hill bordering the ravine a fine panorama extended to the east, the entire face of the country appearing to be more uniformly undulating than the confused ranges of hills, through the intricacies of which we had been marching and hunting since leaving Geylum. In the foreground were visible distant black figures, moving with swiftness across the plain in pursuit of numerous ostriches; and away to the eastward rose a column of smoke, the cause of which was eagerly speculated on. 133

I am conscious that the description of this part of the journey is not likely to give a very clear idea of the country traversed; and that the directions of the successive ranges, and the general character of the ground, are left too much to the reader's imagination; but, in deprecation of criticism and censure, it is pleaded that I was under the impression that this district had been traversed, and accurately surveyed and described, by a *savant* employed by the Argentine Government; and that I was deprived of the assistance of my compass, which had been presented to Foyel. The notes taken at the time were very scanty, and my recollections were confused, inasmuch as I was labouring under a constantly-recurring attack of sickness, which was only kept at bay by resolute endeavours not to give way; but which ren- 114

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

dered observation and record, in addition to hunting and the usual toils of marching, impossible. It was the more needful for me to endeavour to keep up, as all were more or less ill, and becoming increasingly gloomy and dispirited. To add to the troubles which weighed down the Indians' spirits at this place, the doctor's horse fell while descending a precipitous rocky hill. The unfortunate physician was stunned, and very nearly crushed to death by the horse falling on him; great grief was universally expressed at this catastrophe, as no one was left to cure the invalids and contend with the malignant Gualichu, who, it was natural for the Indians to imagine, had laid a trap for his opponent, and upset the medicine man's steed in order to have the field clear for himself.

We encamped in a sort of morass, by the side of the hills overlooking the plain, and were woke at daylight by the chattering of a flock of blue and orange paroquets; these birds, which brought back old pleasant associations of the banks of the Parana, and almost seemed to be harbingers of civilised life, were numerous in this locality, though they were the first of the species that I had observed in the country.

The distant signal smoke was concluded to indicate the presence of Jackechan and the Pampa Indians under Teneforo, and all were in spirits at the prospect of obtaining news, and perhaps luxuries in the shape of flour, yerba, &c., from Patagones. The order was accordingly given to march, and a large answering signal fire kindled in some dry pasture bordering the hill side, a messenger being at the same time despatched to ascertain the news. After a rather long march over a barren plain strewn with angular masses of chalcedony and projecting rocks resembling alabaster, we arrived at a dreary encampment, sheltered under a bank, from which a spring gushed out, forming a refreshing rivulet.

The mutiny of my page had compelled me to enjoy the pleasure of driving my own cattle, following the track in

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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000 factory, they look upon him as a fetich, and receive him well accordingly; but on the contrary, should a dearth occur, then the traveller had better make his escape as quickly as possible, as in all probability he would be severely handled.

After a death, it is the custom for all the friends of the deceased to gather together and dance over the grave, at which times they mourn, yell, and drink. The latter they always do at their own expense, as each mourner brings his own beer or rum with him. These festivities usually continue for eight days, during which time they generally make great disturbances, which not unfrequently end in bloodshed.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. BARRINGTON D'ALMEIDA remarked, with regard to the palm-beer drank by the Quissama tribe of Angola, that the natives of Ceylon, and those of the Malayan Archipelago, were also in the habit of drinking a palm-beer, but this was drawn from the cocoa-nut tree. The stem-bearing portion of the tree being lopped off that part of it in which the cocoa-nuts were suspended, was bent downwards, in the shape of a curve or a bow, at the end of which an earthen or wooden vessel was attached to receive the juice. It has an agreeable taste, and forms a very pleasant beverage. It is known amongst the Malays as the "neeroo manis", or sweet juice. When it is allowed to ferment, it is called "toddy"; and, taken immoderately, has an intoxicating effect. Cocoa-nut vinegar is sometimes made from this liquor.

Dr. CARTER BLAKE saw nothing to impeach the accuracy of Mr. Hamilton's observations respecting the intoxicating fluid, inasmuch as the Indians of Nicaragua extracted a somewhat similar liquid from one of the indigenous trees (*Acrocomia vinifera*, *Œrst.*), and which was undoubtedly inebriating the instant it was tapped from the tree, without any time being given for fermentation.

Dr. CHARNOCK said the author of the paper spoke of the cannibals which he had come across as having a squalid and unhealthy exterior. It was probable that this might be attributed rather to the circumstances in which they were placed than to the eating of human flesh. It had never been proved that there was any appreciable difference between the flesh of man and that of other animals. It seemed to agree very well with those who indulged in it, for they were generally vigorous and robust people.

The following paper was then read:

● 114 *On the* RACES *of* PATAGONIA. By Lieutenant MUSTERS, R.N.

In this paper it is proposed to give the members of the Anthropological Institute a brief sketch of the manners and customs of the tribes which inhabit the tract of country commonly known as Patagonia, as a residence of twelve months, during which I traversed the entire length of the country, afforded me an oppor-

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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114 tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

131 The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rio Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is 133 an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless [136] herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

101 The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yamonascunna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Ahonicanka, or Tchonek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Penck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.

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JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1
THE MARGINAL TRIBES

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[Title page]

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Patagonia SH 1

THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN HUNTERS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Pa T 131 The section of the Pampa which here interests us (map 1, *Nos. 1D, 1E, 1F;* map 2) extends about 600 miles (960 km.) north to south from about a line between Córdoba and the mouth of the La Plata to a line between the Río Colorado and the Río Negro (pl. 3, *bottom, right;* pl. 4, *top, left*), where Patagonia begins, and thence stretches Pa T 133 about 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from north to south to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the mainland. The Pampa is a low-lying plain, nowhere over 1,000 feet (305 m.) above sea level, except for the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana in southern Buenos Aires Province. Apart from the low coastal belt, Patagonia is mostly a broken tableland, one to five thousand feet above sea level (pls. 1 and 2).

Pa T 132 Average temperatures at Buenos Aires, near the northeastern limit of the Pampa, are 48.9° F. in July, the coldest month, and 73.6° in January, the warmest month; at Choele-Choel, near the border line between the Pampa and Patagonia, 45.1° and 75.4°; at Santa Cruz, in far southern Patagonia, 35.2° and 58.6° (cf. New York City, 30.6° in January and 73.5° in July). The Pampa is marked by frequent steady-blowing high winds; Patagonia, by still more frequent blustery violent winds from the west and southwest.

Pa T 137 The eastern, or Humid Pampa, is, or was, treeless grassland (pl. 3, *top, right,* and *bottom, left;* pl. 4, *top, right*); the western or Dry Pampa (pl. 3, *top, left*), xerophytic scrub-tree and bush land; most of Patagonia has cover largely like that of the Dry Pampa, but considerable grassland especially in the western part. Along the piedmont and eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera flanking the Pampa and Patagonia to the west, is a broken forest belt (pl. 4, *bottom, left* and *right*), constituting an extension of the Antarctic flora with its beeches and other characteristic trees and shrubs. (For fuller details Pa T on environment, cf.: Jones, 1930; James, 1942.)

136 Of the land fauna, the most important from the native standpoint were the guanaco (*Lama glama guanicoe:* Cabrera and Yepes, 1940,

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Patagonia SH1
Araucanians SG4

p. 257) and the rhea (*Rhea americana* in the north, *R. darwinii* in the south) (pl. 1). Guanaco more commonly go in small herds consisting of an adult male and 4 to 10 females; sometimes, in small herds of young males; less commonly, in larger herds up to about 100 head, or in ones or twos. Communal hunting was consequently more usual; hunting singly, less so.

THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN TRIBES

Notwithstanding the notorious complexities and obscurities of Patagonian and Pampean tribal nomenclature and distribution, certain simple broad facts stand out quite clearly, as amply established by the evidence. Since the early 18th century, at least three distinct linguistic families have been determined for the area: *Araucanian*, *Puelchean*, and *Tehuelchean* (*Chon*). The peoples speaking these languages have been quite consistently described as respectively short-statured, fairly tall, and very tall—characterizations borne out by more exact measurements, particularly of the first and third. The cultures, too, of the three peoples can, in spite of much mutual borrowing and much underlying similarity, be readily distinguished—the *Araucanian* versus the *Tehuelche* very clearly, the *Puelche* versus the *Araucanian* and *Tehuelche* less clearly. Taking this well-established broad triple division as a starting point, we can approach more closely the Patagonian-Pampean confusion with less fear of leaving it at the end more confounded that it was; at the worst we can fall back to our starting point.

The Araucanians.—Slight infiltrations of *Araucanian* blood and culture across and down the Andes onto the eastern foothills and plains had taken place during the 17th century, and a little probably even in the 16th. But the major swarming of the *Araucanians* out over Neuquén and the Pampa got under real headway only in the early years of the 18th. The early piñon-eating "*Puelche*" or "*Pehuenche*" of the high cordilleran valleys, who are from time to time mentioned in the Chilean documents of the 16th and 17th centuries, may have been non-*Araucanian* in speech, but there is an even chance that they or a section of them were *Araucanian*-speaking. At any rate, from at least the time of Pietas (1646, p. 499), they were clearly *Araucanian* in speech, and from at least the beginning of the 19th century, they, or the peoples who then lived near where the early *Pehuenche* had lived, were thoroughly *Araucanian* in culture. (Cf. De la Cruz, 1835; Poeppig, 1835–36.)

In view of the foregoing facts, the Argentine *Araucanians* and the early "*Pehuenche-Puelche*" of the cordilleran Araucaria forest will be described in volume 2 of the Handbook, under *Araucanians*, and will be given no further direct treatment in the present article.

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The Tehuelche.—The name (etymology uncertain) was first used by the Jesuit missionaries of the middle 18th century, has many variants, and has at times been applied to tribes (cf. infra under *Puelche*) other than the one known to modern anthropology as the *Tehuelche*. 101

The chief variants of "*Tehuelche*" are: *Tuelche* (Camaño, 1937, p. 114); *Toelchí* (Cardiel, 1930, p. 247); *Toelche* (Cardiel, 1938, p. 141); *Tewelche* (Milanesio, 1898, p. 38); *Thekuelche* (Beauvoir, 1915 p. 183); *Theguel-che* (Berg, 1875, p. 371); *Teguelche* (Piedra, 1837, p. 77); *Tehuelci* (Borgatello, 1924, p. 12, Italian e); *Tucheiche* (Milanesio, 1898, p. 38); *Toelchá* (Cardiel, 1930, p. 252, Strobel, 1922, pp. 74–75); *Tuelchs* (Camaño, 1937, p. 114); *Thuelchs* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 29; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 1:131); *Tehuelhet* (Falkner, 1774, p. 102); *Tehuelcto* (Villarino, 1837, p. 88); *Chehuelchu, Cheuelché* (Muñiz, 1917, pp. 203, 212); *Tehdouelche* (Guinnard, 1864, p. 63); *Chequelcho* (Lista, 1879 a, p. 75; 1879 b, p. 73); *Tehúlliche* (Hale, 1846, p. 651).

The designation *Patagoni*, first given to the *Tehuelche* by Magellan in 1520 (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60), appears frequently in the later sources.

The *Tehuelche* called themselves *Choonik* (Gardiner, 1852, p. 23); *Tchonek* (Musters, 1872, p. 194); *Choonke* (Lista, 1879 b, p. 73); *Tonic* or *Tsonik* (Claraz, 1896, pp. 524–525); *Chonqui* (Cordovez, 1905, p. 32—so called by Chileans). The name is derived from the *Tehuelche* word, *tsonik* ("people," Claraz, 1896, p. 525), *tsonke* ("people," Ameghino, C., 1913, p. 260), *choonke* ("indio," Lista, 1879 a, p. 81), *chonk* ("hombre," Beauvoir, 1915, p. 184), *šchónik* ("hombre," Lehmann-Nitsché, 1913, p. 260). *Tsoneca* (Schmid, 1912; Musters, 1871, p. 183) *tsoneka* (Moreno, 1879, p. 376), *tzoneka* (Lista, 1879 b, p. 75), occur as the name for the *Tehuelche* language.

The *Tehuelche*, especially the southern ones, also called themselves *Ahonicunke* (Musters, 1872, p. 194); *Ahonnekenke, Ahonekenke* (Moreno, 1879, pp. 226, 376), *Aónikon, Aónik(e)nk(e)n* (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226), *Aónükün'k, Aónike-tshonk* (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 219); *Aónikenke* (Beauvoir, 1915, p. 183), *Aóeni Künk* or *Kenk* (Harrington, 1943, p. 3). *Haweaneki, Hawaneki* (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 22, 24), *Haveniken* (Virchow, 1879, p. 199), *Hauaniker-Tsonik* (Claraz, 1896, p. 525) appear to be variants of the preceding. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:95) has *Inaken* for the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. *Tehuelche nuken*="hombre," Outes, 1913 a, pp. 488–489; *nooken*="hombre," Ameghino, C., 1913, p. 260).

The southern *Tehuelche* called the northern *Tehuelche Payni-ken* (Gardiner, 1852, p. 22); *Paignk(e)nk(e)n* (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226), *Pä'änkün'k, Pä'änkotshonk* (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 219).

To denote the whole tribe, including both its northern and its southern division, we are using in the present article the term *Tehuelche*, since this term or some variant thereof has been more commonly accepted for the last two centuries.

Since the middle of the 18th century, two main divisions of the *Tehuelche*, each with its own dialect, have been recognized. To the Jesuit missionaries of the time these divisions were known as the *Tehuelche* "de á cavallo," or northern division, who had horses and who lived in the Río Negro Colorado and Río Negro country, and the *Tehuelche* "de á pie," or southern division, who lacked horses and who occupied the region south of the horse *Tehuelche* as far as the Strait of Magellan. These southerners were included by Falkner in his *Yacana-cunnees* ("foot people": Falkner, 1774, p. 111; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, pp. 229–230; cf. Cooper, 1917, p. 86).

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101 A similar division into northerners and southerners is recorded consistently in our 19th century sources (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 95; Cox, 1863, p. 165; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Lista, 1879 a, p. 75, 1879 b, p. 74; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226). According to Lehmann-Nitsche (1913, p. 219), the northern and southern *Tehuelche* were called by the southerners *Pĕ'ănkĕn'k* and *Aónĕkŭn'k* respectively.

In the 18th century the two divisions spoke dialects differing so widely that members of one division could only with difficulty, if at all, understand those of the other (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30; Hervás, 1800–05, 1: 134). According to our more recent sources from Cox on, dialectic differentiation, though appreciable, was less marked. There was also a third dialect, *Tĕ'ŭĕshn* (*Téuesh, Téhuesh, Téhueshen, Téuesson, Téhueshenk, The-ushene, De-ushene*). This dialect, according to Outes, was spoken long ago, and in 1905 was still spoken by some of the oldest *Tehuelche* in addition to the usual *Tehuelche* language (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 249; cf. Hunziker and Schmid, *in* Outes, 1928 a, pp. 273–274). In 1891 the *Tĕ'ŭĕshn* dialect was still spoken by older men, but was not understood by the younger *Tehuelche*-speaking generation (Burmeister, C., 1891, p. 280). *Tehuelche* with its dialects constitutes, together with *Ona* and its own dialects, the independent *Chon* linguistic family.

Since the middle of the 18th century, the northern boundary of the *Tehuelche* has pretty consistently been put at or around the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30; Cardiel, 1938, pp. 141–142; Hervás, 1800–05, 1: 134; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 79; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 95; 212, north to 40° S. lat.; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226; Outes, 1905, p. 241; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 230). To be more exact, the territory of the *Tehuelche* in historic times appears to have extended over the whole of Patagonia from the Río Negro and its affluent, the Río Limay, to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the continent. In the middle 18th century, the *Tehuelche* may have extended on the Atlantic side, at least as casual occupants, a little farther north than the Río Negro, to the Río Colorado, to judge from the reports of Cardiel (1930, p. 272) and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 30). In the second half of the 19th century, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples extended down the Andean piedmont some distance south of Lake Nahuel-Huapí and the Río Limay. (Musters, 1871, map; 1872, p. 195; cf. Cox, 1863, pp. 94, 164, and La Vaulx, 1901, map and passim.)

The dividing line between the horse and foot *Tehuelche* on the Atlantic side in the middle 19th century was about 100 leagues south and west of the Río Negro (Cardiel, 1922, p. 63). The dividing line between the great northern and southern hordes in the second half of the 19th century was the Río Chubut according to Cox (1863, p. 165) and Lista (1879 a, p. 75; cf. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913, p. 230), the Río Santa Cruz according to Musters (1872, p. 194; cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 226).

161 **Tehuelche population.**—Population data on the *Tehuelche* are very unsatisfactory. As regards particular groups of the *Tehuelche*, Barne (1836, 5: 21) estimated at 1,400 the number of Indians at Port San Julian in 1753; Bourne (1853, p. 59), at about 1,000 the band with whom he traveled in 1849. As regards the whole *Tehuelche* tribe, the estimates in our records are the following: Viedma (1837 b, p. 79), 4,000 souls, in 1780–83; Muñiz (1917, p. 213), less than 4,000 able to bear arms, in circa 1826; D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97; 4: 192), 8,000 to 10,000 souls, in 1829; Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), four groups of about 400 adults each, with a rather large proportion of children, and with women outnumbering men three to one, in 1833; Coan (1850, p. 171), about 1,000 souls, in 1833–34; Gardiner (1852, p. 22), 9,000 to 10,000 souls, in 1842; Cox (1863, p. 166), about 6,000 souls, in

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Ona SH4
Alacaluf SH2

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1862–63; Musters (1871, p. 184; 1872, p. 204), not over 1,500 souls, about 1,400, in 1869–70; Berg (1875, p. 371), 200 [2,000–?] souls, in 1874; Lista (1879 a, p. 75), about 500 warriors, 2,000 to 3,000 souls, in 1878–79; Roncagli (1884, p. 768), 300 [warriors–?], in 1882; Spears (1895, p. 159), perhaps about 500 souls, in 1894, according to gaucho informants; Hatcher (1903, p. 262), doubtful if over 500 left, in 1896–99; Borgatello (1924, p. 134), at most 1,300 to 1,500 souls. Of the foregoing writers, probably Viedma, Muñiz, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Borgatello were best situated to learn the facts. 161

Detailed data on the *Tehuelche* are given by Reiber (1920, p. 115) as of 1913–14, for the *Tehuelche* then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: 35 men, 40 women, 17 boys, 15 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about 50 of the rest were full-blooded *Tehuelche*. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of *Tehuelche* surviving today (1943).

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In 1829 the population had become reduced by one-half since the smallpox epidemic of 1800–12, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97). Borgatello (1924, pp. 133–136) attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Whites, smallpox, and alcohol. Reiber (1920, p. 118) called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time (1913–14) among the reserve *Tehuelche*, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, biscuit, and marmalade, had been largely responsible. 161 164 [262]

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Caucahue*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Poya*. O A T

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Yacana-cunnees* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Yacana* cacique, Tamu, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. 91–93, 111; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. 86, cf. pp. 195–196). King (1839, 1: 104, 113) in 1827–28 saw a Fuegian [*Ona?*] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan (1880, pp. 103, 127, 171), who spent about 2½ months with the *Tehuelche* in 1833–34, very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner (1852, pp. 21–24) found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, pp. 31, 33, 35, 40). Spears (1895, p. 129) also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded (1884, pp. 233, 235, 237) the presence of Fuegians [*Ona?*] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable migration of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries. 177

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Moreno (1879, p. 378) referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche*; Dumont d'Urville earlier (1842, 1: 51, 156, 265–266), of *Alacaluf* children. The *Huaicurú* mentioned by Cox (1863, p. 165) 9 177

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Alacaluf SH2

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may also have been *Alacaluf;* the *Guaïcaro* vocabulary gathered by Lista (1896, p. 41) from a *Guaïcaro* medicine man living among the *Tehuelche* is *Alacalufan.*

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Caucahue.—In the early Chilean chronicles from 1641 on, the tribal denomination *Caucahue* (*Caucau*, and other variants) occurs sporadically, as applied in the most confusing manner, sometimes to short or medium-statured Indians of the western coast archipelago, at other times to "gigantic" Indians of the mainland. (Cf. details in Cooper, 1917, passim.) Our most detailed account of the latter tall type is that of Pietas (1846, pp. 503–504). He described the *Caucahue*, one of whom he had seen, as "gigantic" in stature, living south of the *Chono*, between the Cordillera and the Golfo de los Evangelistas, and speaking a language unknown to any one in Chiloé. It is quite possible that these tall "*Caucahue*" were *Tehuelche*, but by no means certain. They were very expert in the use of a heavy throwing club. (Cf. also Morrell, 1832, pp. 100–101, on "*Caucau*" met by him in the Guaianeco Islands in 1923.)

Huilliche Serrano.—It is quite possible, too, that the *Huilliche Serrano* of the Chilean chroniclers were *Tehuelche*, or perhaps *Puelche*, to judge from their tall stature as compared with that of the *Araucanians* and from their geographical location. (Cf. original data assembled from sources by Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 218–220.) But our information upon the *Huilliche Serrano*, as upon the tall *Caucahue*, is too meager to justify any but the most tentative surmises as to their ethnic relationships.

Poya.—As regards the *Poya* (*Powya*, *Pogya*) we are a little better off. (Cf. original source data assembled in: Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 220–222; more fully, *Vignati*, 1939 a; Fonck *in* Menendez, 1900, passim, and esp. p. 319, on "*Puelche*"=probably *Poya*.) They should not be confused with the *Araucanian*-speaking *Poyo* or *Payo*. (Cf. Cardiel, 1938, p. 141; E. Simpson, 1875, p. 104.) The *Poya* were described by three of our four chief sources as big bodied. They spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue. They lived in the general region of Lake Nahuel-Huapí, to the south or southeast thereof. Cardiel (1938, p. 141) seems to class the *Poya* as a branch of the foot *Tehuelche*. The *Poya* made an intoxicating beverage from a wild fruit called by them muchi (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Menendez, 1900, p. 412); muchi is the *Tehuelche* name of the fruit of the *Duvaua dependens*, called huingan by the *Araucanians*, and eaten by the *Tehuelche* (Cox, 1863, p. 211). Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) has called attention to the custom of septum perforation, certainly unusual in these parts, attributed independently to the *Poya* by Florez de León (1898, p. 256) and to the early *Tehuelche* by Fletcher (Drake expedition, 1578: see Fletcher, 1854, p. 50). The

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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identification by Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) of the *Poya* supernatural being, *Checheuelli* (*Chahuelli:* Olivares, 1874, pp. 511, 514, 516, 519) with the *Tehuelche* being called *Cheleule* (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78; Outes, 1928, b, p. 380) appears less convincing.

All in all, there seems to be fairly good evidence, although far from decisive, that the *Poya* were *Tehuelche*. In view, however, of certain cultural peculiarities of the *Poya*, as well as of their still somewhat uncertain linguistic affiliation, we shall devote a special short section to them in our treatment of Patagonian-Pampean culture.

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The Puelche.—The name by which the *Puelche* call themselves is *Genakin* (Hunziker, 1928 b, p. 277, "*Genacin*," *c=k*), from *geni*, "gente, pueblo, nacion" + − *kin* (?). Variants are: *Gennacken* (Moreno, 1879, p. 220), *Gennaken*, *Genakenn*, *Gūnūna Kūne*, *Gūnūna Kūne* (Harrington, 1933–35, 1943). In the present article we are using for the *Genakin* the name *Puelche*, as the one best known and longest established in anthropological literature.

The name *Puelche* (*Pueicho*, and other variants) is from *Araucanian* ("eastern people"). It was first used in our sources by the Chilean chroniclers to denote various groups living in or near the higher cordillera or on the plains to the east—the people later known as *Pehuenche* (the piñon-eaters of the high cordilleran valleys), or the plains people in general east of the Chilean Cordillera, or sections thereof. Later it was much used by Chilean *Araucanians* and Whites for the *Araucanians* who spread out over the Pampa. In these senses the name usually either excluded the people known to modern anthropology as the *Puelche* or else included other peoples as well. It was from the beginning a geographical rather than a strictly tribal name, and remained so down to recent times. Hence the unending confusion in its use.

In the middle 18th century, *Puelche* began to be used by the Jesuit missionaries (cf. Lozano, 1924, p. 297; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 28–30) for one of the main ethnic groups of the Pampa, south and southwest of Buenos Aires, particularly those Indians living around the Sierra del Tandil and the Sierra de la Ventana, the Río Colorado, and beyond to the Río Negro and toward the Andean Cordillera.

These same *Puelche* were also known to the Spanish of Buenos Aires as *Serrano* or *Montañeses*, on account of their mountain habitat and meeting place (Lozano, 1924, p. 297; Strobel, 1924, p. 442; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–31; Cardiel, 1922, p. 62, and 1930, pp. 245–247). *Serrano* (Querini, 1922, p. 64), and likewise were called *Peguenche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 30—a possible misprint or author's slip). Camaño (1937, p. 114) used the name *Puelche* for the *Araucanian*-speaking peoples of the Pampa; Falkner (1774, pp. 90–100), in a much wider and geographic sense, for all the eastern Pampa and Patagonia tribes, regardless of language—the *Taluhet*, *Diuihet*, *Chechehet*, and *Tehuelhet*—from Córdoba and Buenos Aires to the Strait of Magellan; Poeppig (1835–36, 1:464), for the *Patagon* east of the Andes from 37° S. lat. to the Strait.

Other names by which the non-*Araucanian*, non-*Tehuelchean* Indians of the Pampa have been known are *Pampa* and *Tehuelche of the North*. *Pampa* was so used by Donavidas (1903, p. 365), Lozano (1873–74, p. 431), Camaño (1937, p. 114), Cox (1863, p. 165), Musters (1871, pp. 70, 304), La Vaulx (1897–98, p. 94); and Milanesio (1898, p. 38)—by the last four at least, to denote the *Puelche*

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101 proper. *Pampa* was also used for the Indians adjoining the *Huarpe* and extending to the Atlantic coast (Ovalle, 1888, 12:177–179); for some of those in the vicinity of Buenos Aires (Vásquez de Espinosa, 1942, p. 608; Querini, 1922, p. 64; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 29); and in a broader sense, to include all Pampa-dwelling tribes, regardless of language, by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 29) and Dobrizhoffer (1822, 1:130), both of whom consider the name a geographic one, not an ethnic one. The name *Tehuelche of the North* was used for *Puelche* by Cox (1863, p. 165).

101 There are still other complications (cf., e. g., Lehmann-Nitsche, 1923 a, p. 26), but the foregoing are the main ones. Lehmann-Nitsche (1923 a) endeavored to
197 interpret and identify the units in Falkner's elaborate system of tribal subdivision and nomenclature, but most of the system defies exact analysis, even if Lehmann-Nitsche's *Het* language be accepted as proven. Falkner was certainly mistaken as regards some units of his system; but separating all fact from all error in it is a well-nigh hopeless task, at least in the present state of our knowledge. The Falkner problem, like a good many others connected with Pampean linguistics, culture, and nomenclature, will be solved, if ever, only by intensive field work in the culture and linguistics of surviving Indians in southern Argentina, with perhaps a little help from still hidden and unpublished archival material.

197 About the same may be said of the *Het* family which Lehmann-Nitsche (1923 a) believed he had isolated, as a fourth linguistic family spoken on the Pampa in the 18th century, in addition to *Araucanian*, *Tehuelchean* (*Chon*), and *Puelchean*. With great skill and originality, he drew upon both the literature, especially Falkner, and upon his own linguistic field work, to support his thesis, and was able to present a very respectable amount of evidence for it. Falkner's use of the nomenclatural ending *het*, as meaning "people," is certainly suggestive of the existence in his time on the Pampa of a language that was neither *Araucanian* nor *Tehuelchean* nor *Puelchean*. Nor could Lehmann-Nitsche identify from field studies or the sources a certain number of words in Falkner as belonging to any one of these three tongues; and so concluded, if the present writer interprets his procedure correctly, that they belonged to the *Het* family.

But on the other hand, it seems strange that if there had been such a fourth family language in use at the time, nothing explicit should have been written about it in the numerous extant letters and reports of the missionaries who had direct personal contact with the Indians of the area or who had been in close touch with others who had had such contact. Camaño, whom Füriong (1938 a, p. 37) calls "el más notable lingüista" among the Jesuits of the Río de La Plata region, makes no reference to such a fourth family, nor does Sánchez Labrador; nor does Hervás, who drew upon the knowledge of Jesuit missionaries acquainted with the region and with its peoples. On the contrary, they imply that there were three and only three family languages spoken in the area of the Pampa south and southwest of Buenos Aires down through Patagonia to the Strait. Then, too, the data from Falkner, arresting though they may be, are nevertheless rather meager, where there is question of positing a whole new linguistic family. And Falkner's work, in other respects, is open to much justified criticism on the score of looseness.

Querini (1922, pp. 64–65) recorded that the *Pampa* of the missionary foundation of the Reducción de la Concepción, established in 1740 near the mouth of the Río Salado about 100 miles southeast of Buenos Aires, and the *Serrano* of the Reducción de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, established in 1747 farther south near the present Mar del Plata, had each their own language. This might suggest two

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non-*Araucanian*, non-*Tehuelchean* languages spoken in the region south of Buenos Aires. But Strobel, who had some practical knowledge of the languages concerned (Fürlong C., 1936 a, pp. 88, 90, 96), stated (1924 (1740), p. 443): "... the language of the Serranos . . . differs from that of the Pampas, as German does from Flemish." He also had remarked just previously that the *Serrano* "are kin of our Pampas Indians, since ties of blood bind them together." Strobel's testimony suggests the interesting possibility—it cannot be called more—that the *Het* tongue, if it existed at all as a separate linguistic entity, may have been one of the two related languages referred to by Querini and Strobel.

All in all, as the evidence stands at present, it would seem wiser to reserve judgment on the question of the *Het* family. We can only express the hope that the urgently needed field studies may still be made to clear up this as well as other pending problems of Pampean and Patagonian anthropology.

Field work cannot help, but possibly existing archival material might help, in clearing up another problem of the area, namely, the relation of the *Puelche* to the *Querandí*. We may best approach this problem by starting with the better known and working toward the less well known.

Our first definitive linguistic identification of the *Puelche* comes from the short vocabulary thereof gathered and published by D'Orbigny. At the time of his 8-month stay in the lower Río Negro region in 1829, the *Puelche*, according to him, had their habitat between the Río Negro and the Río Colorado, between 39° and 41° S. lat., where they had resided "for more than a hundred years previously," but especially on the banks of the Río Colorado (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:221). This would place them in the area as far back as the first half of the 18th century. According to the Jesuit missionaries (cf. supra), in the middle 18th century this area was inhabited chiefly by non-*Araucanian* non-*Tehuelchean* "*Serrano*" or "*Montañeses*," known also at the time as "*Puelche*." The identity of both habitat and name establishes a fair probability, at least, that the mid-18th century "*Serrano*" were *Puelche*, that is, *Gennaken* proper.

Further, according to the previously cited explicit testimony of Strobel, who from his first-hand contact with the peoples concerned and from his knowledge of their languages was certainly in a good position to know what he was talking about, the "*Serrano*" tongue was of the same linguistic family as that of the "*Pampas*" of Buenos Aires, that is, of the Indians living north of the *Serrano* and nearer to Buenos Aires. These "*Pampas*" would therefore have been *Puelche*-speaking.

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Finally, there are some fairly good reasons for thinking that these "*Pampas*" of Buenos Aires and vicinity were no other than the Indians earlier known as *Querandí*. 101

As far back as the middle 18th century the "*Pampas*" of the Buenos Aires region were explicitly identified by Lozano (1836, p. 236), with the *Querandí*:

"The nation of the Pampas was called at the time of the Conquest Querandíes, and dominated all the region that Buenos Aires now occupies, extending their power toward the south and the west."

(Cf. also: Lozano [ca. 1745] 1873–74, p. 431; Hervás, 1800–05, 1:131.) This explicit report is corroborated by the less explicit statement of his contemporaries and confrères, Querini and Camaño. According to Querini (1932, p. 64), who with Strobel founded the Reducción de la Concepción among the "*Pampas*" in 1740, these Indians were "nomadic people who from the first entrance of the Spaniards upon the conquest of these provinces gave them [the Spaniards] much trouble." According to Camaño (1937, p. 114): "The Pampas have always been

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known in Buenos Aires, and in Córdoba; they traded with the Spaniards; they worked as hired laborers on the Spaniards' country estates."

In how far may we accept these statements as they stand? On the one hand, Lozano was, many years later, taken sharply to task by Camaño (1937, p. 114) for certain grave misconceptions regarding the ethnic relations of some of the Indians around Buenos Aires. On the other hand, as regards the point under discussion, Camaño is in agreement, as far as he goes, with Lozano. Then, too, Lozano, as official historian of the Jesuit missionary province of Paraguay, including the Pampa, had at his command a wealth of archival material. Further, Lozano, Querini, and Camaño were all in personal touch with their missionary confrères as well as with the colonists of the area. Lozano and Querini had come from Europe to Buenos Aires and Córdoba as early as 1717. Lozano was at Córdoba from 1717 to 1723 or 1724, and at Santa Fé until the end of 1727. Querini was at Córdoba for some years from 1717 on and was then transferred to Buenos Aires, where we find him in 1729 (Furlong C., 1930, pp. 8–24; 1938, pp. 87–88). In the encomienda list of the jurisdiction of Santa Fé, drawn up at Buenos Aires in 1678 by Gayoso (1897, pp. 176, 178–179), a number of the Santa Fé encomienda Indians of the time were designated as *Querandí*. At least some of these *Querandí* must have survived some years, until toward the end of the century or beyond—within a couple of decades of the 1710's and 1720's. Lozano and Querini, therefore, were reporting, not a nebulous tradition harking from the remote past and about a distant people, but one concerning an Indian group in close contact with the colonists, as is clear from Camaño's statement, and well known to and personally remembered by colonists still living in Lozano's and Querini's day.

Then, too, the territory earlier ascribed to the *Querandí* was about the same as that occupied in the middle 18th century by the "*Pampa*." (Cf. for *Querandí* Ruí Díaz de Guzmán, 1835–37, pp. 10–11; reprint in full of source material in Lothrop, 1932, pp. 197, 201–204, 213; detailed discussion of habitat by Canals Frau, 1941; for "*Pampa*," sources cited infra.) The *Querándí* were described by the early writers as a numerous people: Schmidel (1567, 2 verso, cf. 3 recto) reported a population of about 3,000, not including women and children, in 1535 around what was later the site of Buenos Aires. There is evidence of wars and pestilences in the area, but of none so severe as to lead to total extinction; in fact, *Querandí* certainly survived until 1678, as previously noted, and no doubt until at least near the end of the 17th century. They were driven from the gates of Buenos Aires in 1580, but in the 17th and far into the late 18th century there was abundant food on the Pampa in the form of feral horses and cattle as well as of wild game. The culture attributed to the *Querandí* agrees in practically all diagnostic respects with that of the later "*Pampa*" of Buenos Aires. The *Querandí* were described as taller than the Germans but not so tall as the *Tehuelche*, a description which, so far as it goes, tallies with that given in 1772 by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 31) of the "*Pampa*." Archeologically, there is indication in the *Querandí-Pampa* region of only minor cultural differences. (Cf. Archeology of the Pampa, present volume.) And the disappearance of the name *Querandí* from contemporary literature, after the last part of the 17th century has no particular importance for our problem. The name was one derived from *Guaraní* (Outes, 1897, p. 27), not one the *Querandí* called themselves; while, according to Vásquez de Espinosa (1942, p. 693), writing in 1628 or 1629, the bolas-using Indians some 16 leagues from Buenos Aires—from the location, more probably *Querandí*—were those early called *Pampa*. (Cf. also Canals Frau, 1940–42, pp. 37–38, on "que" in caciques' names in Garay's repartimiento of 1582 as possibly equivalent to *Puelche* "ken.")

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In the foregoing chain of evidence—*Puelche*=*Serrano*=*Pampa*=*Querandí*—the second link is the strongest, the first and third less strong. While a chain is only as strong as its weakest link, the evidence does appear to give some fairly good ground for the identification of the *Querandí* as *Puelche*-speaking. But in any case, there is no positive scientific ground whatever, as our evidence stands at present, for assuming that *Querandí* was a distinct linguistic family. 101

Puelche territory.—What territory and population we attribute to the *Puelche* prior to D'Orbigny's time, 1829, will depend largely upon the view we take of the *Het* and the *Querandí*-"*Pampa*-" "*Serrano*"-*Puelche* problems.

To his *Het*-speaking Indians of the Pampa of the mid-18th century, Lehmann-Nitsche, relying mostly on Falkner, ascribed chiefly the belt inland from and flanking the Atlantic coast from near the Río Negro to well north of the Río Colorado (1923 a, pp. 49, 60, map opp. p. 18).

In the early 17th century, the *Querandí* territory appears to have included roughly about what we know today as the Humid Pampa. (Cf. Ruí Díaz de Guzmán, 1835–37; Lothrop, 1932 b; and especially Canals Frau, 1941 b, previously cited.) The "*Pampa*" of Buenos Aires occupied the region south and west of the city and its adjacent hacienda belt in the 17th and mid-18th centuries (cf. sources cited supra). In the middle 18th century, the "*Serrano*" lived south and southwest of the "*Pampa*," around the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana, and extended down as far as the Río Negro and as far west as the foothills of the Andes (Cardiel, 1922, p. 63; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–30; cf. Lozano, 1924, p. 296), with a chief center on the Río Neuquén or Río Limay west of their junction. (Cf. Cardiel's 1747 map in Fúrlong-Cuñes, 1940; Falkner, 1774, pp. 26, 80, and map.)

Our earliest definitive location of the *Puelche* is that given by D'Orbigny (cf. supra) for the year 1829, between the Río Negro and the Río Colorado, especially the latter region. Cox (1863, p. 165) located one band of *Puelche* at the mouth of the Río Negro; other *Puelche*, mixed with Argentine *Araucanians*, in the west from the Río Limay to the Río Chubut. Musters (1871, p. 70; 1872, p. 194) in 1869–70 found *Puelche* between the Ríos Negro and Chubut, while several clans were living on the plains north of the Negro; from these centers they raided up as far as the province of Santa Fé as well as to Córdoba and Mendoza. Moreno (1873, p. 445) found at the mouth of the Santa Cruz River a camp made up mostly of *Puelche*.

Thus a southerly drift of the *Puelche* occurred after the time of D'Orbigny, a continuation, if our provisional identification of the *Puelche* with the *Querandí* be correct, of an earlier southerly drift that probably began with the founding of Buenos Aires in 1580 and with the establishment of regular lines of land communication between Buenos Aires and Santa Fé, Córdoba, and Mendoza.

Puelche population.—Population statistics for the early *Puelche* are none too definite. The *Querandí* were consistently described as a numerous people—more than 8,000 adult males in 1535, if we can accept Schmidel's statement. By the middle of the 18th century, we get much lower numbers. Cardiel's *Serrano*, probably *Puelche*, numbered in all only 100 to 200 men able to bear arms (1922, p. 63), but it is not clear whether this number includes all the then existing *Puelche*. Lozano (1924, p. 296) calculated the number of "*Picunche*" in the provinces of Tucumán and Cuyo, some of whom were probably *Puelche*, at 70 families in all. Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 43) stated that the "*Pampa*" of 161

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Buenos Aires Province numbered about 400 families of an average of 5 persons each, while in the Córdoba and Tucumán districts there were only 50 families; but perhaps not all of these were *Puelche*.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:268, 4:12) estimated the population of the *Puelche* in 1829 at 500 or 600 souls. Musters (1872, p. 205) believed that the number of *Puelche* south of the Río Negro numbered "perhaps under six hundred." In 1915–16, 10 to 12 *Puelche* still survived in the lower Río Negro region (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924 a, p. 8). A few "*Pampa*," by which are apparently meant *Puelche*, were living around 1925, according to Fasulo (1925, pp. 111, 114, 141), in Neuquén and the western part of La Pampa Territory; and a few *Puelche*, at least 10, are still living in Chubut Territory (Harrington, 1942, p. 3).

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Recurrent epidemics of smallpox, in the early (Lozano, 1924, p. 296; Falkner, 1774, pp. 98–103), middle (Querini and Strobel, 1924, p. 444), and late (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:221) 18th century, largely accounted for the great reduction in *Puelche* population during the period. Lozano (ibid.) also mentions the part played by murders committed during drunken brawls; various writers, wars with Whites and Indians; D'Orbigny (ibid.), daily attacks by the Argentine *Araucanians*. No doubt there were other causes, but we lack specific information thereupon.

HISTORY OF INVESTIGATION

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The post-Magellanic history of the Patagonian and Pampean hunters may be divided into three main periods: an early one, 1520 to circa 1725, from first White contact to the *Araucanian* invasion and the acquisition of the horse; a later one, circa 1725 to 1883, the date of the closing of the military campaigns which finally broke the power of the Indians of the Pampa and drove many or most of the survivors south and southwest of the Río Negro; the recent one, 1883 to date, the era of decline. In the present paper we shall for convenience refer to the natives of these periods as the "early" (*Tehuelche*, *Puelche*, and so forth), the "later," and the "recent," respectively.

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Early period, 1520–ca. 1725.—First European contact with these southern hunters was that of Magellan (narratives of Pigafetta, Maximilianus Transylvanus, Albo, Herrera) in 1520 with the *Tehuelche* at Port San Julian on the Atlantic coast of Patagonia. During the following 150 years, eight other expeditions encountered the *Tehuelche:* 1526, Loaisa (narratives of Urdaneta, Oviedo); 1535, Alcazaba (Mori, Vehedor); 1558, Ladrillero; 1578, Drake (Cliffe, Cooke, John Drake, Famous Voyage, Fletcher, Nuño da Silva, World Encompassed); 1580, 1584, Sarmiento (Sarmiento, Hernández); 1586, Candish (Pretty); 1599, Noort; 1670, Narbrough, and Wood. Earliest contact with the *Querandí*, farther north, who may have been the ancestors of our modern *Puelche* (cf. supra), was Sebastian Cabot's (Ramírez, Cabot, Oviedo) in 1526. (See details, Lothrop, 1932, pp. 201–202.)

Meanwhile, the Spaniards in Chile were in sporadic touch from the 1540's on with the Pampean and Patagonian hunters nearer the Andes, whom they called "*Puelche*," "*Poya*," and "*Patagon*." Such

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contact was: Economic, through trade and encomienda labor (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469); military, through expeditions to and raids by "*Puelche*"; missionary, a little by Rosales (one or two visits between 1650 and 1653), more by Mascardi, 1670–73, and his successors, 1703–14, at Lake Nahuel-Huapí. (Cf. details and sources assembled by Fonck, 1900; Latcham, 1929–30; and Vignati, 1939 a.)

All these relationships, however, have netted us very meager anthropological information, and for the peoples of the heart of the Pampa region practically none.

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Later period, ca. 1725–1883.—The beginnings of this period in the first half of the 18th century were marked by three very significant events: the deployment of the *Araucanians* out over the Pampa, the acquisition of the horse by the Patagonian and Pampean tribes, and the founding of the Jesuit missions among them.

The deployment of the *Araucanians*, begun before the close of the 17th century, gathered great headway shortly after the opening of the 18th, and carried them almost to the gates of Buenos Aires. In the same period, owing apparently in large measure to *Araucanian* influence, the Patagonian and Pampean tribes, previously foot Indians, took to horsemanship, and also began to be profoundly influenced by general *Araucanian* culture.

As for the *Tehuelche*, after 1670, when seen as foot Indians by Narbrough and Wood at Port San Julian, there is a long gap of 71 years in our sources. When next seen, in December 1741, near the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan by Bulkeley and Cummins, they were riding horses. With the horse came many other new cultural traits (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409). The chief explorers (with dates of contact) to whom we owe first-hand data on the *Tehuelche* until the close of the period are:

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Eighteenth century: Morris, 1742–43; Cardiel and Quiroga, 1746 (Lozano, *in* de Angelis, 1836–37, vol. 1); Barne, 1753; Byron, 1764; Wallis, Carteret, 1766; Duclos-Guyot, 1766 (*in* Pernety, 1769, vol. 2; 660–662); Bougainville, 1766, 1767; Juan de la Piedra, 1779; Viedma, 1780–83; Vargas Ponce, 1785; Tafor, Pineda, Peña, 1789; Coleman, 1793 (†).

Nineteenth century: Muñiz, ca. 1826; D'Orbigny, 1829; Fitz-Roy, 1833; Coan, 1833; Wilkes, Hales, 1839; Gardiner, 1842; Bourne, 1849; Cox, 1862–63; Musters, 1869–70; Berg, 1874; Moreno, 1874, 1876–77; Beerbohm, 1877; Lista, 1878–80; Roncagli, 1882; Spegazzini, ca. 1884.

The list is long, but the data are relatively scant.

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The missions of the Jesuits to the peoples of the Pampa south of Buenos Aires, 1740 to 1753, gave us a considerable volume of anthropological information on the mixed *Puelche* and *Araucanian*-speaking peoples of the Pampa proper and, to a lesser extent, on the Patagonians. In the writings of Fathers Dobrizhoffer, Lozano,

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Cardiel, Quiroga, Strobel, Camaño, Rejón, García, Querini, and particularly Falkner and Sánchez Labrador, we get for the first time an insight into the cultural and linguistic lay of the Pampean area and into its relations with the Patagonian and *Araucanian*. (Most of cultural data are given in Sánchez Labrador, 1936; Falkner, 1774; Pennant, 1788; and Fúrlong Cárdiff, 1938 a).

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Some very valuable anthropological information also was contributed by the 19th-century Protestant missionaries: Coan, 1833–34; Gardiner, 1842, 1845; Schmid and Hunziker, 1859–63. (For details, cf.: Gardiner, 1852; Marsh and Stirling, 1874; Coan, 1880; Outes, 1926 b, 1928 c.)

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The period came to an end with the military campaigns under Generals Julia Roca and Conrado Villegas in 1879–83, which completely defeated and disorganized the Indian confederates, cleared the Pampa region almost entirely of its Indian inhabitants, and drove most of the survivors beyond the Río Negro and into Neuquén.

Recent period, 1883 to date.—Settlers, following the frontier, have taken up most of the country from the northern limit of the Pampa to the Strait of Magellan. The surviving Indians are found scattered here and there in small groups, mostly south of the Río Negro. The process of Europeanization has been in full swing; the native culture has largely been replaced. Relatively very little field work has been done among the survivors during the last 60 years. The Salesian missionaries, Fathers Milanesio (1898, 1917) and Borgatello (1924), have given us some new light direct from the toldos of the natives. A great deal of attention has been devoted by a corps of Argentine scholars—Canals Frau, Fúrlong C., Lehmann-Nitsche, Outes, Serrano, Vignati, and others—and by Fonck and Latcham of Chile, to critical surveys and interpretations of published and manuscript data, a work still in active progress.

Selected annotated lists of the more important of our very numerous first-hand sources on the culture of the *Tehuelche*, *Poya*, and *Puelche* will be given infra under Culture at the beginning of the sections on the culture of the respective three tribes.

There are few more urgent tasks facing anthropological science than thorough studies, as thorough as possible under the circumstances of native cultural disintegration, of the surviving *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, studies made directly in the field, from information that may probably still be gotten from older members of the fast-dwindling remnants of these once numerous and powerful tribes.

CULTURE

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Our cultural data are fullest and most clearly identified for the *Tehuelche*, whose culture will be treated first. Next will follow a

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short account of the *Poya*. Finally, we shall deal with the culture of the *Puelche*.

In the case of the *Puelche*, were we to confine ourselves to those data which are unmistakably and beyond all possibility of doubt attributable to people speaking the *Puelche* language, we should have to rely almost exclusively on D'Orbigny's extremely brief account. For reasons previously given, we seem to be on fairly safe ground in concluding that the *Puelche* of D'Orbigny's day were the linguistic descendants of Sánchez Labrador's "*Puelche*" ("*Pampa*," "*Serrano*") six or seven decades earlier. If not the linguistic descendants, they were almost certainly the cultural ones. We shall use, therefore, the data from Sánchez Labrador, where we can be sure he is speaking of cultural phenomena peculiar to his and our *Puelche* or shared by them with the contemporary *Tehuelche* and/or Argentine *Araucanians*.

For those who hold with Lehmann-Nitsche to the former existence of a *Het* family on the Pampa, what we shall describe as *Puelche* culture would connote, so far as the description rests on data from Sánchez Labrador, *Het* culture or *Het-Puelche* culture.

Less use can be made of Falkner than of Sánchez Labrador, as the former gives fewer details and discriminates less between *Araucanian*, *Tehuelche*, and *Puelche* cultural features.

TEHUELCHE CULTURE

On *Tehuelche* culture the very early sources prior to 1670 yield only the most meager information, and this almost exclusively regarding the more obvious elements of material culture. About the best of these early sources, such as they are, are Pigafetta (1906) and Fletcher (1854).

The most important later sources are Viedma (1837 b) and Musters (1871, 1872).

Next in importance to these last three publications may be listed: Borgatello (1924), Bourne (1853), Coan (1880), Moreno (1879), Muñiz (1917), and D'Orbigny (1835–47). Some good material is also found scattered through the works of: Cox (1863), Falkner (1774), Fitz-Roy (1839, dependent largely on Falkner), Gardiner (1852), Lista (1879 a, 1879 b), Pennant (1788, data derived from Falkner in England), Reiher (1920), Roncagli (1884), Sánchez Labrador (1936), and Spegazzini (1884). On the linguistic relations of the *Tehuelche*, Lehmann-Nitsche (1913) is basic, while Cardiel (1938) and Camaño (1937) were important pioneer contributors.

Where it is possible or advisable to distinguish between the culture of the foot *Tehuelche* before 1670 and that of the horse-using *Tehuelche* after 1741, in the following account of *Tehuelche* culture the terms "early" and "later" will be used respectively.

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of [545] method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them [276] chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

231 The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early [241] *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, 177 probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2: 100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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342 414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly [372] closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open [573] side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, 592 p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended 596 family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did 621 not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1905, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

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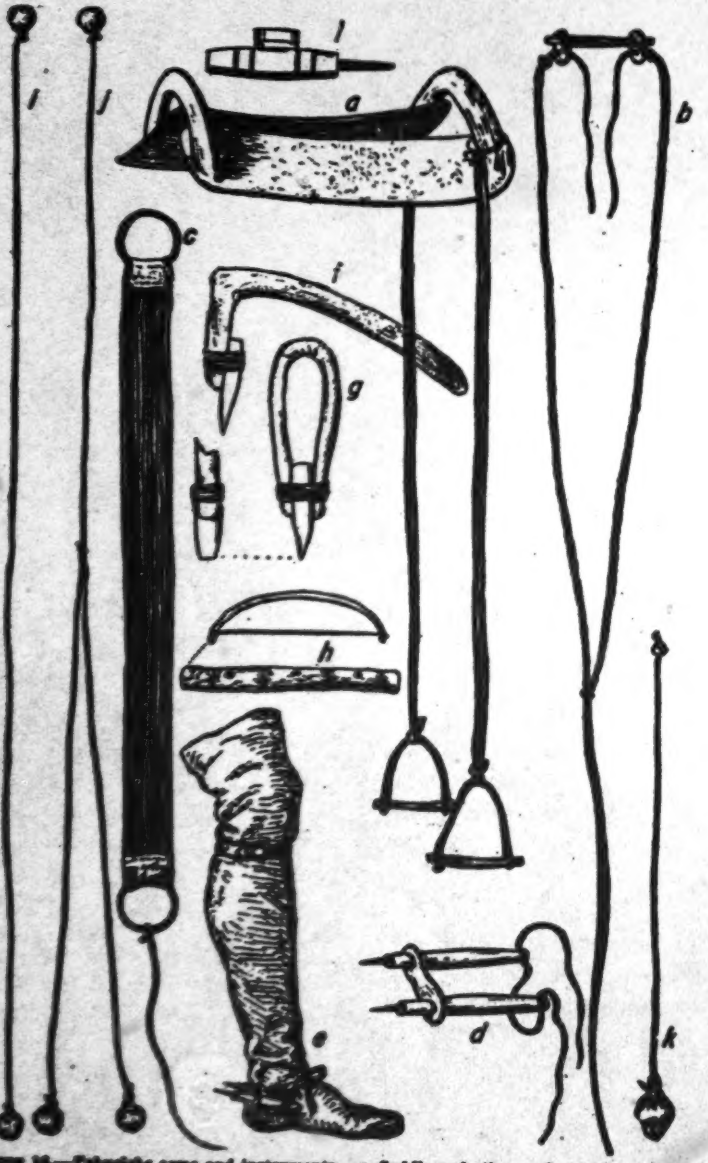

FIGURE 16.—Tehuelche arms and instruments. a, Saddle and stirrup; b, bridle; c, girth; d, spurs; e, boots with spurs; f, adz; g, scraper; h, musical bow; i, ostrich bolas; j, guanaco bolas; k, bola perdida; l, pipe. (After Musters, 1871, opposite p. 106.)

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304 **Ornaments.**—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 4 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, *in* Fletcher, 1854, p. 50; cf. *Poya* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche. 302 1924). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1:18; Beerbohm, 1879, pp. 90–91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 122); facial and bodily depilation with shells. [304] Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1872, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, 381 p. 81). Personal adornments (pl. 39, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—brooches, including topu type, earrings (often of *Araucanian* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. supra Introduction). They did use, at least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or bull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1853, pp. 133–134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 256–257).

492 With the horse (see supra) came saddles, stirrups, including the toe-stirrup (fig. 18, *a–d;* Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1880, p. 68), wooden bits, and double-goad spurs (Musters, 1871, pp. 167–169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdouall, 1833, p. 79), but usually seated high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 130).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780–83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their toldos (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—No basketry is reported. Fillets were woven, but we 285 have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1880, pp. 193–194).

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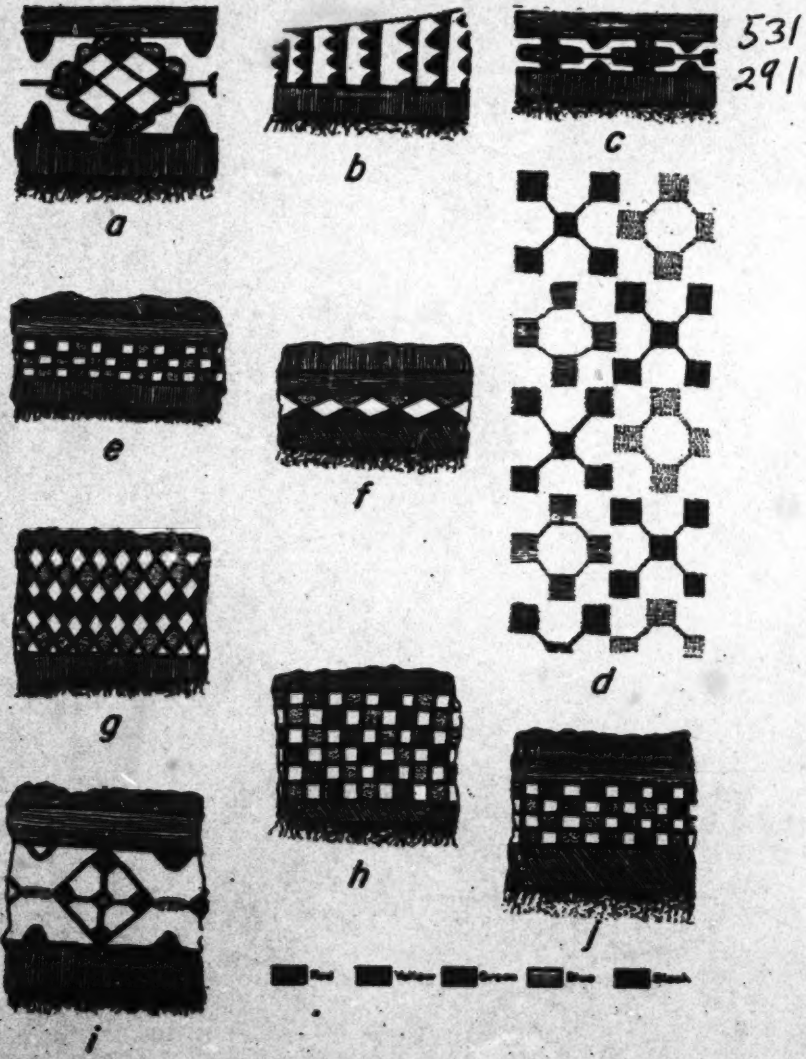

FIGURE 18.—Design from Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, centers; *e*, *f*, one-border patterns; *g*, *h*, corner patterns; *i*, *j*, three-border patterns. (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 8 and 9.)

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323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

Skin dressing.—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them 281 down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, [413] or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were [413] softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of [283] an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "*Pampa*" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche;* he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f;* cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i, j, k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 232) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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515 but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the
356 abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

114 Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

621 **The band.**—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

621 Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may
423 be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of
721 Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73).

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780–83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65–68), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4′ S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

> The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: *although that family does not thereby lose its right to the* [its] *territory* [italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the tolderia which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.]

A tolderia may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76).

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621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

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304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were so bandaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73–74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

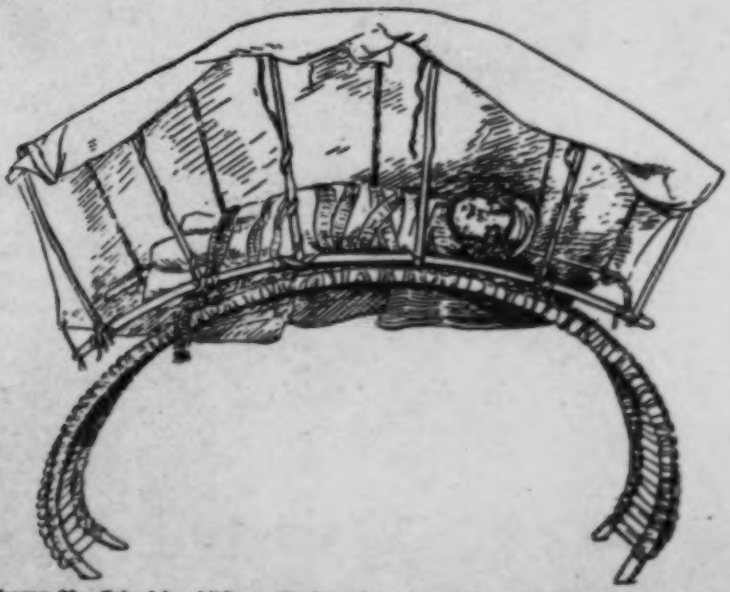

FIGURE 20.—Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Vaulx, 1901, p. 189.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199–200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202).

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Education.—Children were indulged and seldom corrected. Whether the *Tehuelche* ever had the Elel bugaboo rite (cf. infra under *Puelche*, Education) is uncertain. Gusinde (1926 a, p. 310; 1931, p. 1083) was told by the *Tehuelche* of the upper Río Gallegos, to whom he paid a very brief visit in 1924, that they had a rite called, as among the *Ona*, klóksten; the rite was held in a tent covered with guanaco skin, and face covers of feathers were used instead of the *Ona* masks. Field work on the point here raised is imperative, to gather details, and to determine, if possible, whether this rite is an ancient *Tehuelche* one or one introduced more recently by immigrant *Ona*. (Cf. supra Introduction, on *Ona* immigration into Patagonia.)

Girls' puberty rite.—The *Tehuelche* had a simple puberty rite for girls. This first menses rite, as described in detail by Musters from personal observation (1871, pp. 76–78), followed the general pattern of the birth rite as regards painting and bleeding by the medicine man, erection of the "pretty house," slaughter of mares with feast, evening bonfire, dancing in fours by plumed and girdled men to instrumental accompaniment (pl. 39, *bottom*). The main differences were: The girl was placed in seclusion in the "pretty house," and the old women sang while the men danced.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Peña (1789, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordoves (1906, p. 47), tent(s) painted red.

Muñiz (1917, p. 905) reported two small huts, with the girl seated in one, and a young man with the title of "king" armed with a whip and bolas, who castigated the men or women who executed poorly the dance around the fire between the two tents. Muñiz ascribed this rite to the Pampean Indians in general, not specifically to the *Tehuelche*. The role of the "king" in it suggests that it may have been exclusively *Puelche*, or else *Tehuelche* influenced by *Puelche*. (Cf. Elel first menses rite, pp. 165–166.)

Marriage.—See page 149.

Death observances.—The most common form of disposal of the dead in the Patagonian area was cairn burial on a hilltop, the body resting on the surface of the ground with knees to thorax; other forms were sand interment and cave and crevice disposal. Some belongings were buried with the dead.

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764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish),
525 and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

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hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 a, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1853, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20–22).

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soychu (*Talukst* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774. p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76).

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sañchez Labrador, 1936, p. 52), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 158; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 128) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives.

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 58; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 358), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it.

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story.

LORE AND LEARNING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183;

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Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Dueosus dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them!]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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Yahgan SH6

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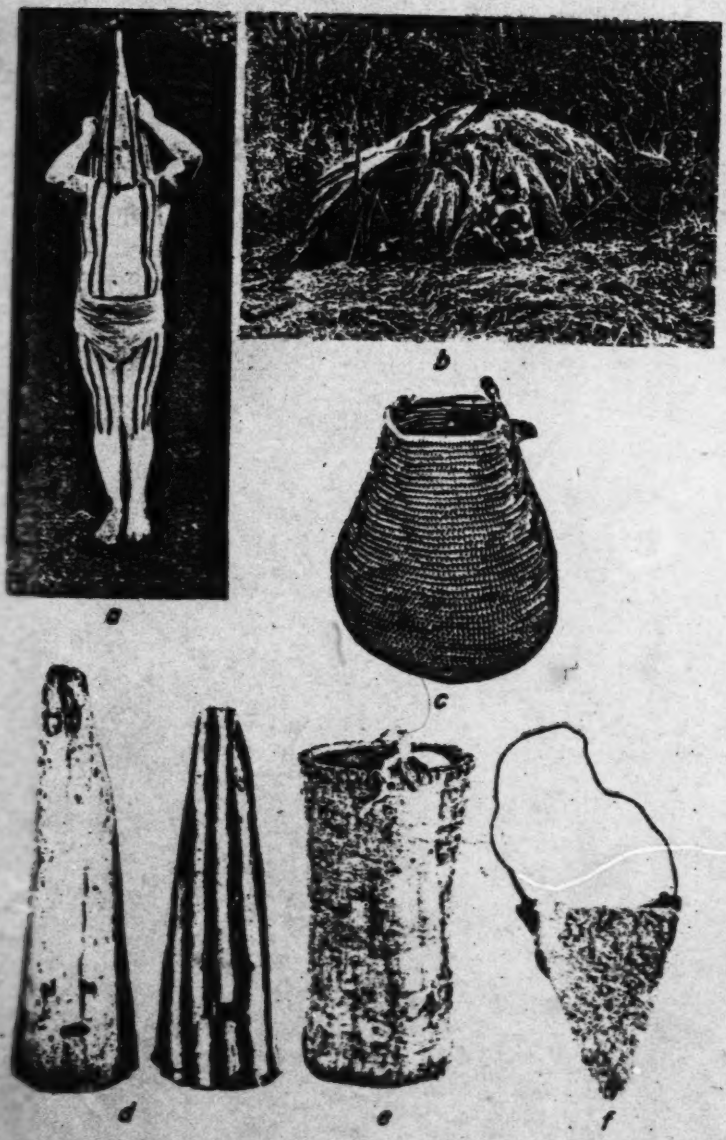

PLATE 32.—Yahgan life and manufactures. a, Masked Kina spirit (after Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 4); b, domed hut (after Hyades and Deniker, 1891, pl. 20); c, coiled basket (courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires); d, bark masks used in Kina rite, height of taller 27 in., or 68.5 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 92); e, bark basket, height 13½ in., or 31.7 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 55); f, pubic covering, width 9 in., or 23 cm. (after Lothrop, 1928, fig. 44).

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1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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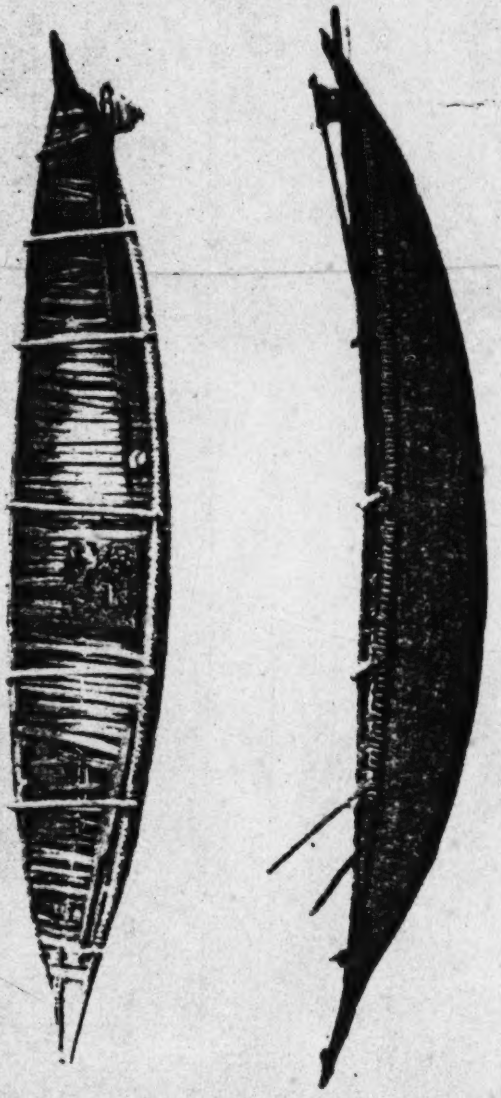

PLATE 34.—Yahgan bark canoe. Model. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 72.)

[P. 160 B]

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Yahgan SH 6

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[p. 160 c]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Yahgan SH6

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PLATE [illegible].—Yahgan spear throwing. Typical posture. (After Hyades and Deniker, [illegible], pl. 1.)

[p. 160 D]

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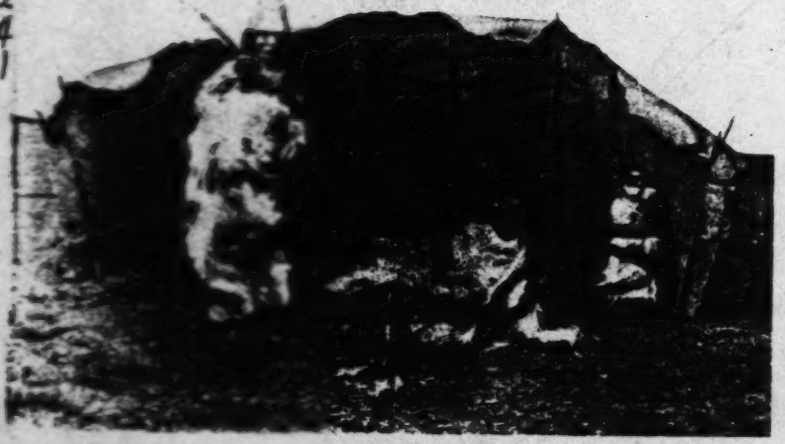

Plate II.—Ona and Tehuelche shelters. Top: Model of Tehuelche hide. Bottom: Model of Ona wind shelter. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[P. 160 E]

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Ona SH 4

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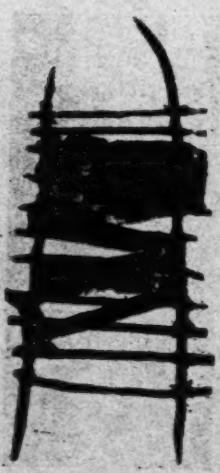

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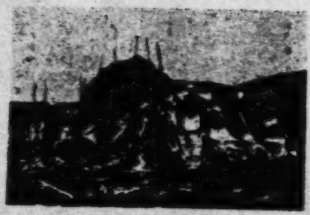

PLATE 38.—Ona and Tehuelche culture. *Top (left)*: Ona man. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 132.) *Top (right)*: Ona men, painted for Kewinsk dance, an all-day recreative interlude during Klöketen rite. No masks are worn in this dance and women take part. (After Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 2.) *Bottom (left)*: Ona cradle, length 30 in., or 76.5 cm. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 18.) *Bottom (right)*: Tehuelche toldo, Province of Santa Cruz. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 114.)

[p. 160 F]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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PLATE [illegible].—Tehuelche costume and accessory. *Top:* Clothing and adornment. (After d'Orbigny, 1947, costumes, No. 1.) *Bottom:* Girls' puberty rite dance held by firelight. (After Musters, 1871, opposite page 173.)

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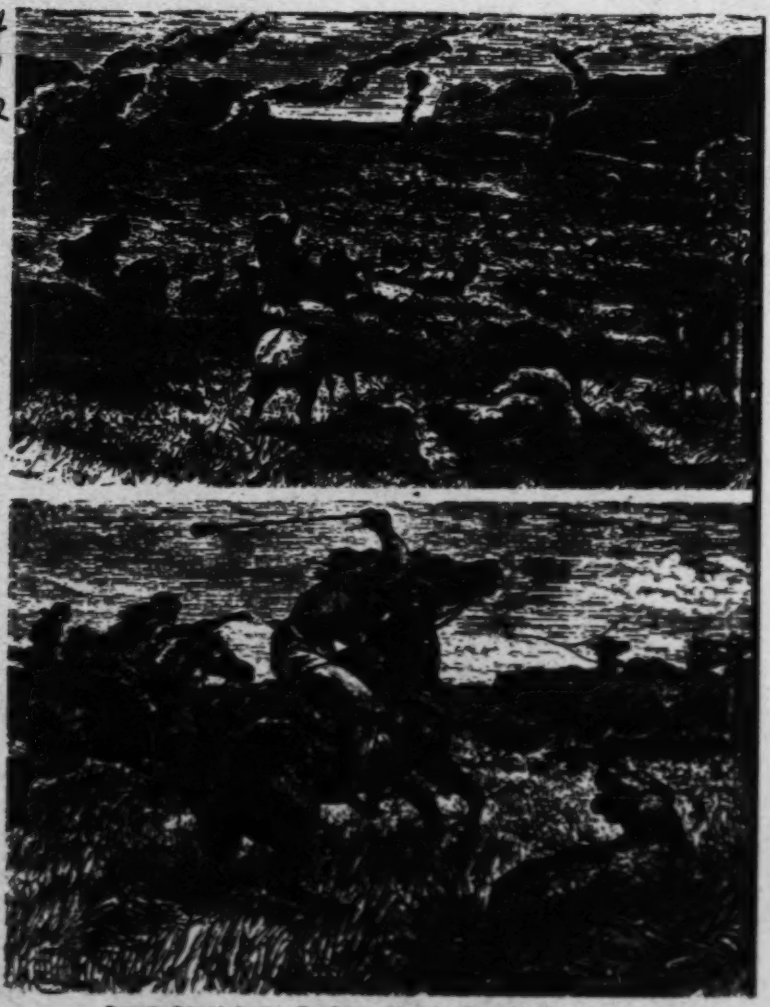

PLATE [illegible].—Tehuelche hunting. Top: Communal hunt, in valley of Río Chico. (After Musters, [illegible], opposite page [illegible].) Bottom: Guanaco hunt. "Would killing a person." (After Musters, [illegible], frontispiece.)

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Poya
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T 771 **Religion.**—Of *Poya* religion we are merely told that there was a belief in a superior being called Chahuelli or Chechuelli (Olivares, 1874, pp. 511, 514, 516, 519), who could do good or evil to people. Olivares compares him (and/or it) to the *Araucanian* huecubu (1874, p. 511).

T 757 **Curing.**—Bloodletting was medicinally practiced.

PUELCHE CULTURE

Pu 114 The bulk of our information on *Puelche* culture is derived from Sánchez Labrador (1936), Falkner (1774), and D'Orbigny (1835–47, 4:221–223, and esp. 2:266–272). If and how far the description by Ovalle (1888, pp. 178–179) of "*Pampa*" culture refers to the *Puelche* is doubtful. Very frequently Sánchez Labrador and Falkner, especially the latter, give rather detailed cultural data for tribes of the Pampa and vicinity in general, without specifying any particular tribe, *Puelche* or other. D'Orbigny clearly distinguishes between *Puelche* and others, but gives few details on *Puelchean* culture, dismissing, for instance, practically the whole of material and social culture with the statement that *Puelche* culture was in these phases like *Tehuelche* and Argentine *Araucanian*. In the following account we shall confine ourselves to those data that can clearly or with reasonable probability be assigned to the *Puelche* as such—not an easy task, since by D'Orbigny's time and even Sánchez Labrador's and Falkner's time great acculturation with *Araucanian* and *Tehuelche* culture had taken place.

Pu 197 If Lehmann-Nitsche's theory of a fourth Pampean language, the *Het* family, spoken, he believed, by Falkner's *Chechehet* of the southern Buenos Aires Province region, and by some of the *Diuihet*, should turn out to be fully validated, then it would be imperative to draw a distinction between the culture of the *Het* peoples and that of the *Puelche*. Lehmann-Nitsche, for example, considered that gualichu, the name for the evil spirit(s), was of *Het* provenance. At present, however, even though we accept the *Het* hypothesis, there is very little of Pampean culture that can be assigned specifically to the *Chechehet* or *Het*-speaking peoples. In the following summary of *Puelche* culture, only at a point here and there will the possibility be considered that a given cultural trait assigned to the *Puelche* may actually have been *Het* instead. This approach is not all that might be desired, but appears to be the most satisfactory one under present limitations of space and knowledge.

Pu 101 Scattered through the early Chilean sources, such as Rosales and the Proceso Criminal de 1658, are certain sparse data on the culture of the nomadic hunting peoples living at the time in Pampean territory, often called in these sources by the generic geographic name of

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Puelche SI 10

"*Puelche*," and sometimes hunting in territory that around the middle of the 18th century may have been true *Puelche* country. In general the relation of these "*Puelche*" of the early Chilean sources to our modern *Puelche* is difficult to determine; at best we get a reasonable surmise in some cases as to identity, more frequently not even that. It seems best, therefore, to omit most of these Chilean data.

The culture of the *Querandí*, who may well have been *Puelche*, is treated elsewhere in this volume (pp. 180–183).

All cultural attributions in the following account refer to the later *Puelche*, that is, from the middle 18th century on. Prior to that date *Puelche* culture is for all practical purposes a complete blank, or, even if we use the Chilean data, a nearly complete one.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Food.—In the middle 18th century, the staple food of the *Puelche* was horse meat. When meat was abundant, only the ribs, loins, and shoulder would be eaten. Grease and fat were especially appreciated. Lice were eaten. Among the *Puelche* met by D'Orbigny (1835–47, 4:101) fishing was not practiced.

The *Puelche* had no agriculture, and originally no domestic animals, except the dog. They must have acquired the horse somewhere around the early 18th century; it is unlikely that they had it earlier.

Hunting weapons.—Wild horses were hunted with bolas and lasso in Sánchez Labrador's time (1936, p. 34). D'Orbigny's *Puelche* also used the bow and arrow, and the lance—the latter in fighting, the former probably both for hunting and for fighting (1835–47, 2:223; 4:196). The *Puelche* known to Musters (1872, p. 20) were experts in the use of the sling.

DWELLINGS

Huts were of horse skin on a wooden framework of thick poles. The ground plan was quadrangular. The roofing was of many skins sewn together with horse sinew, and put up with the hair outside. There were two doors, to east and west, or to north and south respectively (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 37–38). *Puelche* huts were, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:209), just like those of the *Tehuelche*.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing.—The common people, both men and women, wore square mantels of horse skin, scraped, softened, and painted, with the hair left on. Prominent individuals used mantles of guanaco, fox, or otter skin. The men wore as a pubic covering a triangular piece of horsehide about 8 inches (20 cm.) each side, attached to the waist

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with thongs, a third thong passing between the legs and tied to the other two; the women, an apron hanging from the waist to the knees. In warm weather the mantle was left off (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 35–36). The *Puelche* of the Río Negro in D'Orbigny's time dressed like the *Tehuelche* (1935–47, 2:269).

Adornment.—Facial depilation and body painting in various colors were customary. No deformation or mutilation of any kind is recorded, not even ear piercing; nor is tattooing. To what extent the various personal adornments of women and girls, as listed by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 36–37), were of *Araucanian* or other introduction, cannot be determined. The feasting and weeping at hair cutting (ibid. pp. 76–77) may also be of non-*Puelche* origin. Río Negro *Puelche* adornment as observed by D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:269) was like *Tehuelche*.

TRANSPORTATION

No type of watercraft is reported for the *Puelche*. On horseback, the women sat, not on a saddle, but on a high blanket-covered seat.

MANUFACTURES

No basketry is recorded, and no pottery making. In Sánchez Labrador's day, the *Puelche* women did no weaving; woven ponchos and mantles were bought from the Argentine *Araucanians* by the *Puelche* to trade with the Spanish (1936, p. 40); but they were beginning to learn weaving in D'Orbigny's time (1835–47, 2:269; 4:223).

Flint knives and hafted flint scrapers were used.

Weapons included bolas, lassos, bows and arrows, lances, and slings (p. 162); armor was also used (p. 164).

SOCIAL LIFE

The *Puelche* had no sibs, no secret or other societies, no marked social stratification, no ruling caste. The points mentioned infra under Marriage and Family, viz, preference for marrying children of headmen to children of headmen, and the holding of captive "slaves," indicate rudimentary stratification.

Marriage and family.—The bride-price, consisting of objects of considerable value, was given over to the bride's people, and distributed among them according to degree of kinship. The bride was then brought to the groom's tent. Monogamy was the general rule, except for headmen who would have two or three wives; one chief, the famous Cacique Bravo (Cangapol), had seven (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 71–73). Sometimes a man married his brother's widow (Camaño, 1937, p. 115), but there does not seem to have been any mandatory levirate. Headmen liked to marry their daughters into the families of other headmen.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Puelche SI10

of other headmen. Divorce was uncommon; its occurrence was mostly among newly-wed couples. According to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 270), adultery was punishable with death, but could be compounded by payments; there were many concubine slaves taken from enemies. (Details on marriage in Falkner (1774, pp. 124–127) refer no doubt in part to the *Puelche*, but here, as in most other sections of his treatment of culture, he does not distinguish sufficiently to permit confident use of his data as applicable to *Puelche* culture.)

Etiquette.—Nothing is specifically known. The Indians of the Pampa like those of Patagonia used to bathe in the river or lake of mornings before sunrise (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 49).

POLITICAL LIFE

The band.—The *Puelche* appear to have been broken up into relatively small bands, each with its own headman. The five bands who in Cardiel's time (1922, p. 63) made up the *Puelche* as known to him totaled in all only 100 to 120 warriors—probably about 100 to 120 persons per band. The headmen had to be good orators and good warriors; they had no authority to command the members of their band. There was no paramount chieftain for peacetimes.

Warfare and disputes.—Warfare was the common thing. The lance, sometimes thrown when the enemy was out of thrusting reach (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 45; cf. Azara, 1809, 2: 46), was the chosen weapon; the bolas were also important in warfare; few used the bow and arrow in the middle 18th century, as it was considered cowardly to do so (ibid., p. 46). Hide coats and helmets served as defense arms. Face and body were painted on war expeditions.

Within the tribe conflicts were settled by private action, without intervention of the headman.

Mercy killing by premature interment in cases of hopeless illness was practiced. Cannibalism is not reported.

The peoples of the higher Andean Cordillera and the trans-Andine plains were persistently reported by the early Chilean writers to have used poisoned arrows (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 6, 96; Rosales [1674], 1877–78, 1: 239). But whether these reports are fully dependable and whether they concern the ancestors of our *Puelche* are points that cannot be decided with confidence. (Cf. discussion by McClafferty, 1932, pp. 41–42.)

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Practically nothing is known of economic culture. Active trade was carried on with other tribes and with the Spaniards. Food was generously shared, but the giver of one day would be the receiver of other days. The "concubine slaves" mentioned by D'Orbigny

The "concubine slaves" mentioned by D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270) may have represented drudges or adopted wives or a combination of both; he gives no details. §67

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—After delivery, the mother bathed in a lake or stream. The medicine man was called in to massage and breathe on the newly born child in order to give it strength. The couvade obtained in very full but simple form: When the child was born, the father took to his bed—for how long, Sánchez Labrador does not say, nor does he give further details (1936, p. 73). D'Orbigny merely states (1835–47, 2:270) that birth observances were nearly the same as among the Argentine *Araucanians*. §44 §46

Puberty rites.—There is no mention of a boys' initiation rite. Sánchez Labrador, however, gives (1936, pp. 67–71) rather minute details on the Elel first menses rite which, he states, was observed by the *Puelche* and *Tehuelche*, but not by the other Pampean (*Araucanian*) peoples. The *Araucanians* of Chile, as distinct from those east of the Andes, had no girls' puberty rite, so far as we know. The *Tehuelche* first menses rite, as described by Musters, D'Orbigny, and Peña, has little in common with the rite which Sánchez Labrador describes. There is, however, a definite though only fractional resemblance between the Elel rite and the rite of the "Pampean Indians" [including the *Tehuelche!*] as Muñiz records it. (Cf. supra, p. 138.) There is thus ground for suspecting that the Elel rite in its specific characters is not an original *Tehuelche* one, that the Muñiz instance may represent an intrusion into *Tehuelche* culture from a foreign center, and that the Elel rite is the native "*Pampa*" form, presumably the native *Puelche* one. §81 [71]

At the first two menses of the daughter or other relative of a headman, a large tolde covered with painted horsehides was erected, and decorated lances stuck upright around and within it. With a drum formed of a brass pot, the people were summoned. One of the older and most respected men made a speech, at the end of which he appointed one of the most valiant Indians to play the part of Elel, the chief of the evil [!] spirits, as Sánchez Labrador calls this being. The Indian took flight but was pursued and retrieved. He was clothed in a special decorated mantle and a feather headdress, his face was painted in various colors, and he was assigned six young unmarried fellows as pages and guardians. Behind the large tent another was put up in which four old hags stayed day and night, keeping up a continuous wailing. Still another tent served as kitchen. [34] [292]

Throughout the three weeks or month of the rite, the girl remained hidden in the large tent, only going out alone to seek roots and fruits ("frutillas" [strawberries!]) on the Pampa. Both she and Elel fasted

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche
Puelche SI.10

881 Both she and Elel fasted
[573] rigorously, although he was allowed to drink plenty of fermented chicha. Elel had authority to command any one to do his bidding. No one spoke to him directly, but only through his pages. Toward the end he got angry (or pretended to), and bade the people gash themselves, and he would beat them; those beaten considered it an honor. He would give orders to capture individuals and then demand [535] a ransom. There were sports, and a dance by nude Indians decorated with feathers and two horns on their heads and with a tail behind.

Finally Elel escaped, and ate his full, while the others had to fast 6 days on only roots and fruits; if they did not, Elel would castigate them. So ended the Elel rite. (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 67–71.)

861 This same being, Elel, entered also into the native educational system, apart from the first menses rite. Once or twice a year, the headman would order one of the young unmarried men to dress up as Elel with tiger skins and with painted face, and to go around to all tents and make as if to snatch away the young boys. These would flee to their mothers for protection. Parents did not punish their children, but if the latter were bad or would cry too much, they would be threatened with Elel, and the parents would tell them they would not defend them when he came for them (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 74).

764 **Death observances.**—Our chief sources are Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 41, 80, 56–63), Falkner (1774, pp. 118–120), and D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 270; 4: 112, 223); and for comparison, Rosales (1877–78, 2: 96) on burial customs in the Cuyo province. D'Orbigny gives only the most meager details; Sánchez Labrador and Falkner give considerable information, but only in certain points specify what is peculiar to the *Puelche*. Furthermore, it looks as if even as early as the middle of the 18th century there had occurred a great deal of acculturation with *Araucanian* burial customs.

Disposal of the dead.—The favorite *Puelche* burial was probably that in caves in the hills, the body deeply flexed, knees to face, and enveloped in the mantle. The personal property, such as weapons and adornments, of the deceased person was buried with him; his horses and dogs were killed; his hut was burnt to the ground. If death occurred far from the mountains, the body might be disposed of on the plains. In some cases at least, it seems that if death occurred far off from the hills, the flesh was stripped from the bones and the bones transported thither later. Bone stripping also occurred among the Cuyo Province Indians of the 17th century, according to Rosales: On the first anniversary after death, the bones of the deceased were disinterred, and after the flesh was stripped off them, they were painted yellow and other colors, were carried around in saddle bags

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Pualche SI10

on a horse from camp to camp, and were deposited in a special hut at each camp (Rosales, 1877–78, 2:98; cf. Vignati, 1937 a, on polychrome painting of archeological crania in southwest Buenos Aires Province). Whether secondary burial was part of earlier uninfluenced *Pueloche* culture, cannot well be determined. 764

Pouring some of the first chicha of the year on the bones of the dead, a custom reported for the *Pueloche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 63), was perhaps of non-*Pueloche* origin. The *Pueloche* did not cremate.

[illegible] AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

A kettledrum was used, and clothing was painted. We lack, however, detailed data on esthetic culture that can be with confidence attributed to the *Pueloche*. 534

Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 39–43, 46–49) mentions the following items as characteristic of the Pampa Indians in general: Target shooting with toy bolas as boys' play; dolls, jacks, and hop-scotch as girls' play; a ball game resembling *Araucanian* pilluna as men's play; a simple football game as women's play; heavy gambling with dice and cards, introduced by Spanish captives, indulged in by men, and gambling with dice, at least, by women too; use of the native chicha from algarroba beans or from apples, and of spirituous liquors acquired from the Spanish, with a great deal of intoxication. Presumably, the *Pueloche* would be included in these generalizations. If so, non-*Pueloche* influence is obvious in some of the items. Whether the early *Pueloche* had a native intoxicant of their own is not clear. 857 526 524 273

[illegible]

Sánchez Labrador and Falkner have given us considerable information on religion and shamanism among the tribes of the Pampa, but very little of this information can with confidence be specifically attributed to the *Pueloche*. 114

According to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), the *Pueloche* of his day believed in a beneficent being who gave them all they desired without their praying for it, and also in an evil spirit called Gualichu or Arrahun who sent sickness and death. Hunziker (1928 b, p. 276) includes in his *Pueloche* vocabulary Atgenual as meaning "el Gran Espíritu"; Hale (1846, pp. 854, 856), Anau-kanitan and Siés, "God," and Anau-kaitan, "evil spirit"; Milanesio (1896, p. 29; 1917, opp. p. 6), Tukutmal, "God." 776

As for the *Pueloche* of the middle 18th century, Sánchez Labrador states (1936, pp. 64, 66) that they had no belief in God, but that they did believe in an evil being or beings, Balichu, and in a prince of them called Elel, who caused all sickness, death, tempests, and so forth; Falkner (1774, p. 114) states in a general way that "these

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche;* see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND IDEATION

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

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[facing p. iii]

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AT HOME

WITH

THE PATAGONIANS

A YEAR'S WANDERINGS OVER UNTRODDEN GROUND
FROM THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN
TO THE RIO NEGRO

BY GEORGE CHAWORTH MUSTERS

RETIRED COMMANDER R.N.

Second Edition

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1873

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PREFACE.

IN SUBMITTING the following pages to the public, I am conscious that some readers who desire exact and scientific descriptions of the geography and geology of Patagonia will be disappointed; but it must be urged as an apology that instruments could not be carried nor safely used under the circumstances. The course travelled was as carefully laid down, by the help of a compass, as was possible; and the map of the country is so far accurate, and, if incomplete, at least is not imaginative. To others who may perhaps eagerly expect tales of stirring adventure and hair-breadth escapes, such as are usually recounted as the every-day occurrences of uncivilised life, I can only express the hope that this faithful record of life with the Indians all the year round, if not very sensational, will serve at least to make them really at home with the Tehuelches. It is a pleasanter task to record my thanks to those by whose assistance the results of my journey have been utilised; foremost of whom is the venerable ex-President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir RODERICK MURCHISON, whose kindly

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reception and introduction of the returned traveller to the Society are gratefully acknowledged. My obligations are scarcely less to CLEMENTS MARKHAM, C.B., whose unrivalled knowledge of the early history as well as the geography of South America has been freely placed at my disposal; and to Dr. HOOKER, Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew, for his courteous assistance in identifying some of the plants observed: while to Mr. RUDLER, of the Museum of Mines, I am indebted for a careful classification of the various specimens of rocks and minerals collected in the country. Lastly, the reader will share in my gratitude to Mr. ZWECKER, whose able pencil has created, out of rough outlines sketched in a pocketbook, the vivid and faithful illustrations which bring before his eyes the scenery and incidents of life in Patagonia.

G. C. M.

September 1, 1873.

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INTRODUCTION.

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THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years ago the great navigator Magellan anchored in a port on the eastern coast of an unknown shore, part of the seaboard of the vast continent of South America, to which he gave the name of St. Julian. Starting from this point, the pilot Serrano explored the coast to the southward, and discovered a river which he named Santa Cruz. His ship was wrecked near the mouth, and left her timbers on the rocks, the first of the long list of vessels lost on that ironbound coast, which, from the mouth of the Rio Negro to the Straits, offers but one or two safe harbours, while submerged reefs, furious gales, strong tides, currents, and overfalls combine to render it nearly the most perilous known to navigators.

Magellan remained at Port St. Julian and Santa Cruz from April till October of 1520, when he sailed southward, and discovered the Straits which bear his name. Two months after his arrival at Port St. Julian a man of gigantic stature appeared on the beach, 'larger and taller than the strongest man of Castile.' Eighteen natives afterwards arrived dressed in cloaks of skins and shoes of guanaco hide, which made huge footmarks, whence they were called Patagonia, or 'large feet,' by the Spaniards; and thus originated the nickname

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175 the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta
[342] with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames,
[202] covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were
[412] very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking
[229] the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth." They never cut their
[302] hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they
[46] carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are
[134] fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

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gether wrong in naming them giants, yet they are not taller than some Englishmen.' Drake next visited Port St. Julian; and, curiously enough, as Magellan had in this place put to death two and marooned a third of his captains who mutinied, so this harbour was the scene of the execution of Mr. Doughty, who chose rather to be beheaded than to be put on shore. The ensuing year Sarmiento was despatched from Callao to examine the Straits in search of the daring Englishman. He saw natives who chased their game on horseback, and brought it down with bolas. But fifty years had elapsed since horses had been imported by the Spaniards of the Rio de la Plata, and already the Indians in the far south had become horsemen, and would seem to have exchanged their bows and arrows for the bolas.

In 1581 Sarmiento was sent from Spain with 2,500 men in twenty-three ships, to found new colonies in the Straits, and established a settlement, leaving 400 men and thirty women furnished with eight months' provisions. On his way home his ship was captured by the English, and the unhappy colonists were altogether forgotten and neglected by their Government.

Five years after, Thomas Cavendish anchored in a bay to the south of St. Julian, called by him Port Desire, which perpetuates the name of his little craft of 120 tons. Here the natives attacked his men with bows and arrows. Visiting the Straits, he arrived at the settlement, and found only twelve men and three women surviving, the rest having perished of slow starvation and disease; and the name of the place, Port Famine, conferred by him, still recalls the miserable fate of these ill-fated colonists.

On his next voyage, in 1591, Cavendish died; but John

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1775 Davis twice visited Port Desire, and explored the river for twenty miles. During his stay some 1,000 natives visited the strangers, and Knyvet describes them as being fifteen or sixteen span high.

Passing over the visits of Van Noort and Schouten, in the reign of Charles the Second, Sir John Narborough took possession of the country near Port Desire in the name of the King. But few natives were seen, and the mate, Mr. Wood, boastingly declared that he himself was taller than any of them.

In the eighteenth century Byron and Wallis successively visited the shores of Patagonia, and made friends with the natives, whose height was found to be from five feet ten inches to six feet, while some were nearly seven feet high.

In 1774, the Jesuit Father Falkner published his work on Patagonia, containing all the information procured by himself and the other Jesuit missionaries who had attempted to obtain a footing on the western and northern boundaries. His account of the Tehuelches, or Tecuees Indians, was evidently derived from personal communication with them, although his knowledge of the topography of their country seems to have been procured from the reports of others. By this work, which produced a great sensation, the jealous fears of the Spanish Government were aroused, and they hastened to despatch an expedition to form settlements on the coast of Patagonia.

Of the brothers Viedma, who were sent in command, Francisco founded Carmen at the mouth of the Rio Negro; and Antonio, after first fixing on Port Desire, determined finally on Port St. Julian as the site of another colony. He thence undertook the first exploration of the interior in

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search of timber for building, in the course of which he 175
reached the great lake at the foot of the Cordillera, from
which flowed the Rio Santa Cruz. Both on the coast and in
the interior he received much friendly aid from the Indians,
of whom he formed a most favourable opinion.

Under his brother's auspices the Rio Negro was ascended
as far as the mountains of Villarino, to whose expedition
reference will be made in the proper place.

No further knowledge was gained of the interior of Pata-
gonia until the survey of the Beagle, so ably performed and
so admirably described by Fitzroy and Darwin; during
which the ascent of the Santa Cruz River for 200 miles
enabled the latter to observe the remarkable formations
which he has so aptly described in his work on the Geology
of South America.

This brief but perhaps tedious account has been given to 176
show that although the coasts of Patagonia had been ex-
plored and surveyed, yet the interior of the country, though
pierced by the expeditions of Viedma and Fitzroy, remained
up to a late date still almost unknown. Its inhabitants, the
Tehuelches, had been often communicated with, their stature
noted, and their friendly disposition commended; but their
real manners of life as they wandered through the country,
and their relations with, or differences from, the Araucanian
and Pampa Indians, had remained almost as much a mystery
as they were in the last century.

During the last thirty years the Governments of Chili and 175
of Buenos Ayres have shown themselves inclined to claim 177
the possession of the coast, the former trying to advance
from the Straits, and the latter from Patagonia; and the
natives have acknowledged the influence of either Govern-

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ment as they happened to be in the northern or southern parts respectively. Our missionaries also have not left the Patagonians without some efforts to instruct and evangelise them; and although these efforts have been necessarily limited to the coast, yet the fruits of Mr. Schmid's sojourn with the Tehuelches remain both in their friendly feelings and in the lasting record of the vocabulary of the Teenecn language published by him. And the intercourse of these Indians with Argentines and Chilians, and more especially with English officers, sealers, and missionaries successively, all of whom have testified favourably to their character, has tended to make them more open to access, and to give them a knowledge of foreigners; so that in this respect I can feel that to all those who have been mentioned as having thus preceded me, this brief record is due from a traveller who has experienced the friendly feelings of the natives towards strangers, and especially Englishmen.

115 177

114. While engaged in preparing the ensuing pages for the press, I have had an opportunity of perusing the work of M. Guinnard, first published in French, and recently given to the English public in a spirited translation, entitled 'Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians.' The name necessarily attracted me, but to my great surprise careful perusal led to the distinct conviction that the author's personal experiences were altogether confined to the Pampas Indians north of the Rio Negro. From his own statements and omissions it is quite evident that he was not carried by any of his successive masters across this river, which he clearly and accurately defines to be (page 40) the northern boundary of Patagonia. The name of Patagonians is, therefore, a complete misnomer; and the curious account (pp. 72. 73) of the

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'Tehéuelches,' or Foot Nomads, clothed in seal skins, and accustomed to live on fish, and literally destitute of horses, is applicable to no tribe whatever east of the Cordillera, the Fuegians being the only race presenting any of the characteristic habits attributed to this so-called Patagonian tribe.

I hope I may not be supposed to be desirous of impeaching the accuracy of M. Guinnard's account of the hardships endured in his captivity, or the customs of the Indians into whose hands he fell, much of which I can corroborate; but it is to be regretted that he was induced, probably by others, to describe under the name of Patagonians the Pampas Indians, who, by country, race, language, and character are marked as being altogether distinct from the Tehuelches of Patagonia.

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AT HOME
WITH
THE PATAGONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE STRAITS TO SANTA CRUZ.

Journey Planned—Preparations—Passage from Stanley—The Straits—First Footsteps in Patagonia—The Narrows—Punta Arenas—Commandante Viel—The Colony—The Town—Chilotes and Convicts—Resources—Visit to the Coal Bed—Lieut. Gallegos—The Start—Rio Chaunco—The Patagonian Pampas—Our Party—Cabecera del Mar—Oazy Harbour—A Useless Chase—A Fireless Night—Volcanic Hills—Pampa Yarns—Rio Gallegos—First Indians—Sam Slick—Rio Cuheyli—Meeting with Tehuelches—Caravan of Women—'Anglish' Politeness—Desert—Santa Cruz at last.

122 IN April, 1869, chance took me to our remote colony of the Falkland Islands, with the purpose of taking thence a passage to Buenos Ayres to arrange some business matters. During my stay in the settlement, the coast of Patagonia, in the survey of which H.M.S. Nassau was then engaged, formed a frequent topic of conversation. I had formerly, when stationed on the south-east coast of America, read with delight Mr. Darwin's work on South America, as well as Fitzroy's admirable Narrative of the Voyage of the Beagle, and had ever since entertained a strong desire to penetrate if possible the little-known interior of the country. Now,

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at length, a favourable opportunity seemed to have arrived for carrying out the cherished scheme of traversing the country from Punta Arena to the Rio Negro, Valdivia, or even to Buenos Ayres. The accounts given me of the Tehuelche character and of the glorious excitement of the chase after the guanaco, graphically described by a seaman, Sam Bonner, who had been much on the coast and had resided at the Santa Cruz station, made me more than ever anxious to prosecute this plan; and, having a tolerable acquaintance with Spanish, which language many of the Indians know well, it seemed to me possible to safely traverse the country in company with some one or other of their wandering parties. Accordingly I bestirred myself to obtain information as to the best way of getting such an introduction to the Indians as would probably secure their consent; to which end most material assistance was afforded by Mr. Dean, of Stanley, who kindly provided me with letters of introduction to Captain Luiz Piedra Buena, an intelligent Argentine well known in Stanley, the owner of a schooner, in which he worked the seal fisheries on the coast, and also of a trading station at the Middle Island, on the Santa Cruz river. Mr. Dean was of opinion that I should be almost certain to meet with Don Luiz in the Straits of Magellan, and that he would willingly exert his influence with the Indians to enable me to carry out my plan of travel. I was furthermore provided with letters of credit to the firm of Messrs. Aguirre and Murga, at Patagones, or, as it is most commonly called at Stanley, the Rio Negro.

Thus armed with credentials, and equipped with a guanaco skin mantle, lazo and bolas, I availed myself of the offer of a passage to the Straits made by an old friend who was bound to the westward coast.

133 In the first week of April we sailed from Stanley, and, after a boisterous passage of eleven days, anchored in Possession Bay, just within the entrance of the Straits, to wait for the turn of the tide, as the extreme velocity with which the

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tides ebb and flow through these channels renders it im- 133
possible for any vessel not possessed of great steam-power to proceed except the tide is favourable. Our first view of the Straits did not impress me favourably. On either hand the shores looked bleak and barren, though far away to the south and west the mountains of Tierra del Fuego could be distinctly seen. As we anchored early in the afternoon, a descent on the coast of Patagonia was proposed, and a party speedily volunteered—well provided with guns and other arms, for the purposes of sport and self-defence in case of necessity—and were soon in the boat. As the tide was out, the shoal water did not permit us to reach the shore, so we had to wade some two or three hundred yards over beds of sharp-edged mussels, and, after a climb up the steep cliff, found ourselves on the verge of a barren plain which seemed perfectly destitute of life.

After a tramp of some distance we came to the edge of a 136
gully running down to the coast, where finding the torn carcase of a guanaco, we stopped to examine what was to most of us an unknown animal; and our speculations as to the curious hybrid form of the odd-looking 'camel-sheep' were put an end to by the discovery close by of the fresh foot-prints of a puma. These were eagerly tracked, in the hopes of a little entertainment; but after some tedious searching we abandoned the pursuit, and again resuming our excursion, tramped along through high, coarse grass, and sparsely scattered thorny bushes; some of the sportsmen varying the monotony by an occasional shot at a snipe. The day was very genial, the warmth of the bright sunshine was tempered by a wind just cool enough to make a walk pleasant, and the Patagonian climate was pronounced by all hands to be agreeable. Whilst we were beating a rough bit of ground, to our utter amazement and delight our friend the puma jumped out of a bush; but the first surprise was so great, that the opportunity of giving him a long shot was lost. Away we all started in chase, hoping to be able

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136 to keep him in sight from a small adjacent eminence; and after a good breather two of the party succeeded in viewing him to somewhere near the edge of the cliffs, mainly guided by a retriever dog, which seemed as anxious as anybody to see what the catamount hide was made of. On arriving at the cliff, a seaman observed his tracks on the soft clay of the shelving brow, and soon proclaimed his discovery of the puma in a hole or small cave just below, by the exclamation of 'There he is!' at the same time thrusting the stick he had been beating with nearly into the mouth of the 'lion,' which had set our dog, and appeared about to spring on him. Two shots were fired in quick succession, but apparently without effect, as he made good his retreat, affording us a fine view as he went off, springing in great bounds, along the beach. Pursuit was of course organised, but night being near failed to afford us an opportunity of a closer study of this specimen of the feline race; and we accordingly started again for the ship, after firing a shot or two into the numerous flocks of oyster-catchers and shags which were domiciled on the rocks and about the cliffs. The number of these and other sea-birds was incalculable; the numerous beds of mussels furnishing them with constant food.

133 Next morning we were under weigh with the flood-tide, and rapidly ran through the narrows at a speed of eighteen miles an hour. The scenery on the northern side of the Straits offered little variety until we sighted the Barrancas of San Gregorio, a range of somewhat picturesque hills, rising near the north shore of the bay of the same name, and running along for some miles in an easterly direction. On the southern or Fuegian side of the Straits the land was low for some distance from the coast, and resembled the northern shore, but high mountains were visible in the background. After passing the second narrows, an hour or two's run with the flood-tide and a good head of steam brought us opposite to the 'Island of San Isabel,' or Elizabeth Island; after passing which, the snow-clad peaks of Mount Sarmiento, in

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the southern part of Tierra del Fuego, came into sight, 133
appearing to rise out of the water, ninety miles distant, if
not more. Steaming along the coast through numerous beds [137]
of the characteristic kelp seaweed, which in the most forcible
way attracted our attention, by fouling the screw, and hold-
ing the ship as if anchored for about an hour, we passed
Cape Negro, and opened completely different scenery. In-
stead of undulating plains, hills thickly wooded were seen;
at the foot of one of which, on a low piece of flat ground,
numerous horsemen, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, were
visible, careering about.

It was the afternoon of Sunday, which in all Spanish 137
South American countries is a gala day, more or less appro-
priated to horse-racing. However, the sight of a steamer
appeared to cause a diversion, and, in fact, a general race
to the settlement ensued, all being apparently anxious
for anything new or strange. The anchor was soon
dropped, near an American schooner lying off the Sandy
Point, from which the Chilian settlement of Punta Arenas
derives its name.

There was no sign of the Nassau, then engaged in the
survey of the Straits, which we had hoped to find in this
anchorage; but from the Chilian officer, who speedily boarded
us, we learned that she had sailed to the westward a day or
two before our arrival, and was expected to return imme-
diately. The results of the careful observations made by
Mr. Cunningham, of the scenery and natural history of the
Straits, have appeared while these pages were in preparation
for the press; and it affords me pleasure to refer such as
desire more scientific accounts of the botany and zoology, at
least of Southern Patagonia, than it was in my power to
obtain, to his work.

My own object in visiting Punta Arenas was to proceed 122
thence to Santa Cruz with the Indians, or in whatever way
might prove feasible; but, in truth, it was by no means clear
to my mind how it was to be accomplished; it was, therefore,

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122 with great relief that I learned from the Chilian lieutenant that a small expedition was about to be despatched by the governor to Santa Cruz in pursuit of some runaways from among the deserters who were serving their term of punishment in the colony. He suggested that the Commandante would, doubtless, give permission to accompany this party; and, without delay, I accompanied him on shore, and was introduced to Commandante Señor Viel.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and courtesy with which the Commandante entered into my plans; he at once not only gave me permission to accompany the party, but, unasked, offered me the use of a horse, and told me not to trouble myself about the commissariat for the road. It was possible, however, that the deserters might be overtaken in the Pampas, in which case the party would return without proceeding as far as Santa Cruz; he therefore advised me to secure the services of some one acquainted with the route, who could act as guide in the event of having to proceed without the rest of our companions.

I was afterwards introduced to Señora Viel, a fair Limena possessing all the proverbial charms of the ladies of Lima, and who bemoaned bitterly the isolation and ennui of life at Punta Arenas; she had literally no equals of her own sex, and scarcely any of the other to speak to. Señor Viel had formerly commanded a Chilian ironclad, instead of which he had accepted the government of this distant colony; his zeal and energy in discharging the duties of his office were unceasing, and his naval habits asserted themselves in the strictness of discipline maintained, which was absolutely necessary to keep in order the motley population. But as a residence, viewed from a social point of view, Punta Arenas must have been unimaginably dull. The Commandante kindly pressed me to make his house my home, promising quarters for the night—which his own limited accommodation could not supply—in an adjacent house. So after two days, agreeably spent in the interchange of courtesies and

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visits, I bade adieu to my shipmates, who were to sail at daylight for the Western Straits, and removed myself and traps to a wooden house close to the Cuartel, the quarters of Don Centeno, the engineer in charge of the Government works. The next morning, accompanied by Captain Cushing, of the schooner Rippling Wave, I set out to procure some few necessary supplies, and make inquiries for a guide. We bent our steps to the store of a man named Guillermo, and after purchasing tobacco and other necessaries, the talk turned on gold, of which Don Guillermo showed us some specimens, obtained from the banks of a neighbouring stream. One of the crew of the Rippling Wave grew greatly excited and exclaimed, 'Ah, that's the stuff we used to grub up in a creek in Californy; I guess if the old boat lays her bones on these here shores, I'll stop and turn to digging again.' Hanging up in the store were some Indian bolas and a belt made of beads, studded with silver bosses, which the owner informed me was a woman's girdle, and, with the bolas, had been left in pawn by the Indians. They had not, however, visited the colony, at least for trading purposes, for several months, as they had taken umbrage about a dispute between a Chilian and an Indian, in which they considered their comrade to have been treated with injustice. The party described by Mr. Cunningham evidently arrived with doubtful intentions, and the tact displayed by Señor Viel removed their resentment. This information explained what had previously mystified me, viz., that nothing was to be seen or heard of the Indians with whom I had hoped to make acquaintance. My good fortune in arriving on the eve of the departure of the expedition, and the Commandante's courtesy, were now even more keenly appreciated by me, as otherwise I should have been simply stranded in Punta Arenas. The guide difficulty was not long of solution, although, from the natural dislike of most of the unofficial population to take part in the recapture of runaways, it had seemed rather perplexing. After we had quitted the store, we were accosted

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122 by a man named J'aris, who came to offer his services. A short examination of his knowledge and recommendations proving satisfactory, he was engaged on terms which certainly were far from exorbitant, and he deserves to have it recorded that he fully earned his pay. My equipments and preparations for the journey were now made complete by the thoughtful good-nature of Captain Cushing, with whom I proceeded on board his vessel, where he provided from his stores, and forced on my acceptance, several most useful articles; and it is pleasant to be able to publish my sense of the kindness received from one of our American cousins, who are always ready to sympathise with and befriend a Britisher, at least according to my experience.

000 A stroll of inspection round the settlement was extended to the saw-mill, not far distant, worked by water-power; where, under the direction of Mr. Wells, an American, the trees when cut down are converted into boards to build the houses that take the place of the forest. Proceeding thence to the half-cleared outskirts, we found the Commandante supervising numerous labourers, principally of the convict class, who were busily engaged in felling trees, clearing stumps, and otherwise preparing the way for the future development of the settlement.

To any one unaccustomed to frontier towns, the *coup-d'œil* of the town presented an irregular and random growth of wooden houses; but the plan which was indicated in outline was laid out after the usual Spanish-American fashion, as originally prescribed by the Council of the Indies. A main street ran near and parallel to the beach, crossing a large vacant square—the Plaza, out of which, and at regular intervals from the main street, ran other embryo streets intersecting at right angles, so that the houses, whenever they should be built, would form blocks or 'cuadros.' In the Plaza were the church and a large unfinished school-house. Chilian ideas as to the public duty of education are advanced, and the schoolmaster is a state

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functionary, combining at this time at Punta Arenas the duties of secretary to the Governor with those proper to his office. The excellent sketch of Staff-Commander Bedwell (Cunningham, 'Straits of Magellan,' page 70) shows the Governor's house nearly at the end of the main street, and beyond it was the Cuartel, a palisadoed inclosure, containing the barracks, the gaol or lock-up, and the guard-house, irreverently termed by the officers of the Nassau 'The Punch and Judy House,' and shown in the same sketch.

From this a constant look-out is maintained, and a light displayed at night. The transverse streets, running up almost to the uncleared forest, were only indicated by scattered houses, and in the line of the main street two or three detached dwellings a mile distant were only separated from the trees by patches of potato ground.

The first penal colony planted in the Straits by the Chilian Government was established in 1843, at Port Famine, the ominous name of which recalls the miserable fate of the colonists left there by Sarmiento in 1581. The superior anchorage was the inducement to select the same place for the modern colony, but the same evil destiny seemed to cling to it. After struggling on for some years, during which the inhabitants were frequently reduced to great distress by the failure of supplies of food from Chili, it was sacked and destroyed by the convicts, who mutinied and killed the Governor and Padre. They afterwards seized a vessel in which they attempted to escape, but were pursued by a man-of-war, and met with deserved punishment.

The colony was subsequently removed to its present position, and in addition to the involuntary immigrants, chiefly deserters from the army, settlers were tempted by liberal grants of land, and a large number of Chilotes, or natives of Chiloe, were introduced. These men, who are of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, are a hardy, sturdy race, accustomed to the use of the axe in their own thickly-wooded country, whence they export quantities of timber. They are

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very Puddies in their diet, living almost together on potatoes, which grow freely in Chiloe, but in Punta Arenas do not attain large size. Besides land, the Chilotes receive wages from the Government for their labour, and are the most industrious portion of the population: the men are hard working, but also hard drinking, and the women are said to be very lax in their notions of fidelity. Of the convicts some were allowed, for good behaviour, to live in their own houses, subject to certain restrictions; but many of them were utterly reckless, and needed to be kept under the strictest surveillance, and locked up in the Cuartel every night. Notwithstanding all precautions, escapes are continually contrived, and the runaways face the difficulties of the Pampas; sometimes succeeding in joining the Patagonians, but as often losing their way, and perishing of starvation, or becoming a prey to the pumas. Three, ten or a dozen had succeeded in escaping just before my visit, necessitating the despatch of the expedition in chase of them. The garrison consisted of some fifty or sixty regular soldiers, besides irregular employés, who hunt wild cattle or deserters, as occasion requires. The number of troops is quite sufficient to defend the place against an attack of the Indians, but the southern Tehuelches are not naturally inclined to raids, and if well and fairly treated are more willing to avail themselves of the trading facilities afforded by the half-dozen stores, the existence of which could only, in my mind, be accounted for by the hopes of Indian barter, for they were far in excess of the wants of the colony. Still the permanent population was certainly a thirsty one, and seemed to do its best to encourage trade, at least in grog: drunkenness in the streets is, however, an offence punishable by imprisonment, and at the time of my visit the blacksmith was in durance vile, whence the Irish Doctor had only just been released for this venial offence.

There appeared to be little cultivation, with the exception of potatoes. The climate does not permit wheat or barley [illegible]

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ripen, though, perhaps, oats or rye might succeed. The tame cattle seem to be stunted and miserable, but in the forests there are others of a wild breed, which are said to be large and of excellent quality; these as well as the red deer, afford, during some portion of the year, occupation to a few hunters, who obtain high prices for their meat, but the supply is too scanty and irregular to prevent fresh meat from being a rare luxury. The resources and prospects of the colony naturally formed the subject of conversation at Señor Viel's, and Don Gustavo, who was in charge of the survey of the newly-discovered coal-bed in the vicinity, invited me to join him the next day in a visit of inspection.

Next morning we accordingly set out, and crossing a small stream, shortly arrived at the commencement of the forest, through which a straight road was in course of formation. Numerous groups of Chilotes were employed on all sides, some levelling the way already cleared, others at work felling trees, others applying fire instead of the axe. The timber consists chiefly of Chilian beech (Fagus antarctica) and Winter's bark, described by Mr. Cunningham, the former of which splits readily and is available for most purposes.

After Don Gustavo had completed some minor details of surveying, we struck into the dense forest, and followed a winding path until we arrived at the bed of the stream, which debouches at the colony. This we followed up for some time, and eventually arrived at a ravine, the sides of which were so regular as if nature had been employed to form a cutting, in which, at a point of sixty yards above our heads, the seam of coal was visible. Here we dismounted and scrambled up a slippery path to a spot where a shaft, or rather burrow, had been driven into the bed, to the depth of perhaps fifty or sixty feet, made apparently for the purpose of examining the quality, regularity, &c., of the seam. The coal did not appear to me of a very good quality; but I have since heard that it gave exceedingly favourable results. My companion also pointed out to me a place in the opposite

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bank where some men had been washing for gold, the specimens of which I had seen in the town; and their labours were said to have been attended with good returns. As the day was advancing and rather chilly, a fire was kindled; and after a warm thereat, mounting our horses, we returned homewards down the ravine. On emerging from the forest, we observed a large steamer just on the point of anchoring; so we hurried on to obtain news and despatch our letters if it should prove the Magalhaens—one of the line of packets from Liverpool to Valparaiso. On the beach we found the Commandante and Mrs. Viel, the latter having visited the vessel and obtained some English newspapers. After dinner, accepting the Governor's offer of his boat, I proceeded on board, and found her to be a magnificent steamer of great power and good accommodation. The establishment of this line of steamers will doubtless have a most beneficial effect on the prosperity of Punta Arenas; as, though agriculture and Indian trade are not likely to reward industrious or speculative immigrants, the discovery of the coal-bed is of the most obvious importance as affecting the future of this colony. It will now be possible to maintain powerful steam-tugs to tow sailing-vessels through the Straits, and thus avoid the passage round Cape Horn; whereas up to the present time the navigation of the Straits has been almost closed to sailing-ships; while, owing to the great steam-power required, even steamers, whether war or merchant ships, are frequently obliged to buy wood at Sandy Point; and then, owing to the vast quantity used to keep steam, not unfrequently are obliged to stop again before entering the Pacific to renew their supply wherever they could get it. Now this will all be changed, and a steam-launch will probably be kept to tow the lighters to and fro, and thus materially facilitate coaling. As population and colonisation increase, encouraged by the accommodation afforded by the Pacific steamers—which at this present date run every month, bringing the Straits of Magellan almost within hail—the interior of the country may

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become opened up, in which case, probably, other sources of mineral wealth will be discovered and made productive.

Our departure having been definitely fixed for the morrow, I proceeded to review and arrange my equipments for the journey, a list of which may gratify intending explorers of Patagonia. Two saddle-bags contained my kit and necessaries, consisting of a couple of shirts and a jersey or two, a few silk handkerchiefs, and soap, lucifer matches, writing materials, fishing lines and hooks, quinine and caustic, and a small bottle of strychnine. The armoury comprised a rifle in case complete, and two double-barrelled breech-loading pistols, hunting-knives, a small ammunition-case of unfilled cartridges, and a supply of powder. The only instrument ventured on was a small compass. My personal equipment was a shooting suit of tweed and a Scotch cap, and a most excellent pair of boots made by Thomas, to which for comfort were superadded a guanaco skin mantle, two ponchos, and a waterproof sheet. In the evening Señor Viel introduced me to my future travelling companion, Lieutenant Gallegos, who was to command our party. He was a short, thick-set man, with a dark, almost Indian complexion, and looked all over what the Commandante declared him to be, 'a man for hard work.' In his native province of Arauco he had been for many years employed in the frontier wars with the Indians, and could handle the lazo or the lance with wonderful dexterity. He spoke with great cordiality of the officers of the Nassau, and seemed well inclined to the company of one of the same service; indeed, I am strongly inclined to believe that he is introduced into the foreground of Commander Bedwell's sketch—at all events, if any reader wishes to know his appearance, the occupant of the fallen tree presents a strong resemblance to the leader of our party. Our arrangements and prospects were fully discussed; and after bidding farewell to Captain Cushing, who was to sail the next day, and to my most kind and courteous host and hostess, we parted, agreeing to meet at daylight ready for the road.

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122 At an early hour in the morning of the 19th of April I was awoke by *J'aia*, and with him and my small belongings proceeded to the Corral, where the horses were being caught and loaded. Here we were joined by Gallegos, and when everything was nearly ready for the start adjourned to his house close by for a cup of coffee. The Indians seemed to regard me with great commiseration, and recounted various dismal tales of the dreadful cold winds, hardships, Indians, and other disagreeables to be encountered; but consolations were cut short by the entrance of *J'aia* with the news that all was ready. After a parting glass of something stronger than water, we got into our saddles, and the cavalcade, consisting of Gallegos, myself, one regular soldier, three irregulars or employés of the Government, and *J'aia*, with twenty-one horses, left the town. As we passed the Cuartel, the guard turned out in the bravery and presented arms, and the bugler exercised a musical salute. It was a fine frosty morning, and we rode on in high spirits, accompanied by two or three horsemen, who were going to spend their Sunday feats in duck shooting, and had made an early start to escort us a little way. Scarcely had we crossed the stream when one of the baggage horses kicked his load off; this was soon replaced; but when the bustle was over and the cavalcade reformed, *J'aia* and one of the employés, to whom I had unwittingly entrusted a bottle of rum, were missing, and they did not turn up again for some time, and the bottle never again. We rode along the coast until we reached the outpost called Tres Puentes, where a narrow pass between the forest on one hand and the sea on the other, is barred by a gate-house manned by two men, posted there to prevent desertion; they turned out, and we lingered for a farewell chat, during which one of the sportsmen stalked and shot some ducks; at the report of his gun, the regular soldier's horse, not being used to steel fire, shied and threw him, capsizing his saddle-bags, and strewing the beach with tortillas (cakes) and coffee, with which his so

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doubt provident and thoughtful 'she' had stored them. 22
Gallegos sat in his saddle and laughed at the scene; but as the others could not catch the horse, he gave us a proof of his dexterity with the lazo. After this little diversion we pursued our course along the beach as far as Cape Negro, where the forests terminated, and our accompanying friends bade us adieu after taking a parting glass all round; J'uria and the other absentee overtaking us in time for this part of the performance.

Our horses' heads were then turned from the coast in a 23
north-north-west direction, and after half an hour's ride a halt was called for breakfast under the lee of a sheltering hill. To the southward we viewed the counter slope of the wooded hills, below which on the other side lay Punta Arenas. A thick growth of shrubs covered the ground, but beautiful glades of luxuriant pasture were visible; one of which opened just to the south of our camping-place, and others appeared east and west like oases of green. Their appearance caused me to remark that as a settler I should choose this location for my hut. Gallegos, however, replied that the pastures could not be used for the cattle of the settlement during the summer, as neither the Indians nor their own men could be trusted; the latter would desert, and the former would steal the beasts. After a pipe we remounted, and having crossed the hill we descended to the valley of a small but deep stream, called the Rio Chamoso, having forded which we ascended the opposite border slope, and entered on the Pampa, which name is universally used in Patagonia to designate the high undulating plains or plateaux, frequently intersected by valleys and ravines, or rising into successive or isolated hills, which generally occupy the crest of the country. The Indians, indeed, who know a little Castilian, apply the word Pampa indiscriminately to any tract of country hunted over by them. After a successful day's sport, and the contentment consequent on a hearty meal, they will ask with great satisfaction, 'Muy buena Pampa? No?' really meaning

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"Is not the wild life the best?" But English readers, who have derived their idea of a Pampa from Head's delightful work, or from other experiences of the unlimited grassy or thistle-covered plains which roll away for miles in the Argentine States, and offer no obstruction to the stretching gallop of the untiring gaucho, must not transfer that pleasing picture to Patagonia. The Pampas, properly so called, of Patagonia, occasionally indeed present a tolerably even and uniform succession of rolling plains covered with coarse grass, but more frequently the surface, even when unbroken by hills and suddenly yawning ravines, is sterile, with a sparse vegetation, consisting of stunted bushes and round thistle shrubs; and even these are often wanting, and nothing clothes the bare patches of clay or gravel; elsewhere it is strewn with huge round boulders, and again rugged with confused heaps or ridges of bare sharp-edged rocks, many of them of volcanic origin: this more particularly applying to the northern part of the country. The only uniformity of appearance is afforded in the winter, when the white sheet of snow covers rocks, grass, and shingle; but one accompaniment is the same, whatever be the nature of the soil or surface; and the word Pampa invariably recalls to one's shuddering memory the cutting blasts which sweep almost without intermission from various points, but chiefly from the west, over the high country, till, reaching the heated atmosphere of Buenos Ayres, the cold Patagonian wind becomes the Pampero, the sudden and terrible blasts of which cause so many disasters among the shipping. The descent from these Pampas to the valleys, or more sheltered and fertile level ground bordering the banks of the streams and rivers, is commonly termed 'Barranca,' or bank, from the scarped slopes, varying in depth from fifty to two or three feet, and in angle from an easy to an almost perpendicular descent, but often fastened by ravines or gullies, affording roads, down all of which, however, the native riders gallop with equal recklessness.

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The Pampa we were now traversing presented an expanse [33]
of undulating or rolling plains covered with a uniform growth of coarse grass interspersed with barberry bushes, and occasional lagoons in the hollows. No living creatures except ourselves appeared on the waste. To the westward the snow-clad peaks of the mountains bordering the Sarmiento Straits greeted us with an icy blast which made my thoughts longingly revert to the cozy cabin and my late shipmates, who were, no doubt, threading the intricacies of its channels. But the good guanaco mantle kept out the wind, and our motley party pushed briskly on in good order. Lieutenant Gallegos has been already introduced; as to the [22]
others, J'aria was a small man, of rough exterior, of doubtful extraction, and more than doubtful antecedents, who looked fit for any business except good; but he served me most assiduously and with unlooked-for care. The soldier was a fine-looking fellow, new to the Pampas, whose carbine, which he duly carried, proved a source of great embarrassment to him; and his horse being by no means too manageable, he was considerably bothered, much to the delight of the rest. Two others were hybrids, between gauchos and sailors, having, like our marines, been equally accustomed to service *per mare, per terram;* but, like the jollies, they were undeniably useful and good men. The last of the party was of the J'aria type. All were well mounted, and provided with a spare horse. We carried for provisions biscuit, charqui or dried meat, roasted wheat meal, and coffee and sugar, and were furnished with an unusual but welcome luxury, a small tent, underneath which we cared little for the bitter frost outside.

After riding over the Pampas for three or four hours, we [35]
encamped for the night in a hollow by the side of a lagoon, having selected a suitable spot for pitching the tent on the sheltered slope, well out of the sweep of the wind. The lagoon was covered with black-necked swans and other wild [36]
fowl; so, as soon as the horses had been unloaded and looked

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after, a fire lit, and all arrangements made for camping, two or three of us went out to try and shoot some wild fowl; but our sporting endeavours were not crowned with much success, and a little before dark we returned to a supper of charqui, and after a talk over the fire, turned in, and slept sound and warm, though outside the frost was severe. My mind was much disquieted, first by the discovery that the box of rifle ammunition which J'aria carried had been dropped by that worthy at the scene of the baggage horse escapade, and secondly, by the mysterious absence from my shot-belt of all my coin, consisting of an onza and a few sovereigns. I said nothing, however, until next morning, when I proceeded quietly to search, remembering that I had taken off my accoutrements before the tent was pitched, and dropped in the grass I found the missing coins. The story afforded J'aria a great theme for jokes, and he often adverted to the chance of inheriting my ounce, in a way that might have made a timid traveller expect foul play, though nothing was farther from my guide's thoughts. At seven o'clock, after coffee and a biscuit, we were again *en route*, and about ten arrived close to the head of Peckett's Harbour. Here one of the party discovered a horse, which was chased into our troop, but as it appeared lame, was not pressed into our service; it had probably belonged to the Indians. As in a long voyage, so in a journey of this description, the slightest novelty serves to relieve what it is needless to say becomes the slightly monotonous task of trotting along behind the troop of horses over barren wastes, so we were always on the *qui vive* for something to chase. One of the men had a dog with him, and shortly after the excitement about the horse we started some ostriches, which, however, proved too swift for the cur, and escaped over some muddy plots close to the
133 'Cabecera del Mar.' This is a large inlet or arm of the sea, running up some miles from Peckett's Harbour, with which it communicates by a very narrow channel, which can only be crossed at low water; it was our good fortune to arrive at

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this period, thus escaping a long *détour* round the inlet. [133]
But our crossing was not effected without trouble; the flood-tide rushing up like a mill-race, and proving almost too much for the steadiness of one of the baggage-horses. After clearing the channel, in our farther progress we passed several small streams, with swampy ground, all of which probably discharge themselves into Oazy Harbour, and arrived towards evening at an old Indian encampment situated under a range of hills, running more or less north and south, forming one barrier of a broad and well-watered valley, bounded on the eastern side by the well-known 'Barrancas' of San Gregorio.

Our station was just within the opening of the valley, [34]
which, being sheltered from the wind, is the favourite winter quarters of the Southern Tehuelches, whose encampment is usually pitched near Oazy Harbour, called by them 'Oazy Sales.'

Westward the low flats which bordered the shores of the Cabeceera del Mar terminated in irregular hills, beyond which higher peaks rose, and they in their turn were overlooked by distant snow-clad summits on the horizon. Among the blue [135]
hills of the middle distance floated wreaths of light haze so much resembling smoke that Gallegos, ever on the alert for signs of the deserters, proposed to deviate from our route to investigate, and only my strongly pronounced opinion in favour of haze never smoke induced him to give up the idea. The Argentine Government formerly planned a settlement in this valley, which was not carried out, and the missionaries also proposed to fix a station hereabouts, with Oazy Harbour as a depôt, but the Chilians of Punta Arenas set up their claims and compelled the missionaries to desist.

After camp was arranged, the weather, which since our short lull been bright with cold winds and moderate frosts at night, changed to rain, and Gallegos proposed to me that, in the event of its continuing bad, we should remain under the shelter of the tent. However, though the night was

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Rough and rainy, morning broke fair and the sun rose bright and warm, so we started, following a path along the base of the before-mentioned range of hills until about ten o'clock, when, just after passing a beautiful little stream where I noticed fish darting about in the pools, a herd of guanaco, hitherto concealed by a small eminence, came into view. Chase was immediately given, but most of our horses were soon blown, and Gallegos, the soldier, and myself having ascended the hills over which the herd had taken flight, as it appeared useless to continue the chase, stopped on the crest and watched the animals as they streamed up on an opposite hill. One of the party was missing, and suddenly an exclamation from the Lieutenant, 'What is it?' caused us to turn our eyes in the direction to which he pointed, where some fancied they descried a man. The idea of deserters immediately occurred to their minds, so they started off, asking me to tell J'aria (who had remained with the horses) to travel on to a given spot at the head of the valley. Having descended the hill, which was tunnelled with burrows
[136] of the Ctenomys Magellanicus,* the crowns of which, yielding to the horses' tread, proved a series of dangerous traps, I rejoined J'aria, and we pursued our way for a few miles until we reached a small lagoon at the head of the valley, covered with thousands of widgeon and duck. The sight suggested the thought that no man need starve in this country, so abundant seemed the supplies of animal life. Here we waited, and in the course of half an hour the remainder came up with their horses blown, one of the party having a piece of guanaco meat hanging to his saddle. This was José Mariners, one of the hybrids, who had succeeded in lancing a guanaco, at which he appeared intensely delighted. The 'man,' as I had previously supposed, proved imaginary. I regretted not being up at the death, as it turned out that José had been close to us, but hidden from sight by a rise. After a pleasant and refreshing rest and a draught of café

* Cunningham, p. 180.

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Quillota (parched corn meal and water), we resumed our 080
route north. After leaving the lagoon, a scarcely perceptible 133
slope ascended from the valley, and a more undulating course
was traversed until we reached a small cañon, which after a
gradual descent dipped down between walls a hundred feet
high, sloping up at either hand, and finishing in a rounded
summit leading to the high plain. 'Here,' said J'aria, 'there
is no firing, and those *stupid* Indian women actually carry
loads of it from the next stage.' But the event proved
that the Indians were wiser than ourselves. Following this,
we arrived at another cañon running at right angles, east
and west, on one of the grass-covered sides of which we
observed a couple of horses feeding in a hollow which looked
more verdant than the rest of the ground, but the animals
being caught and examined proved unsound and useless.
In the bottom of the cañon there flowed a small but deep
stream spreading into lagoons in places. We crossed this
and encamped on the northern side, and found J'aria's
words, as to no fuel to be found about this valley, verified,
much to our discomfort. Towards evening we went out and
shot some ducks, but having no fire to cook with, were con-
tent to turn in on meal and water. During the night the
tent pole, having been first soaked with rain and then frozen,
snapped in two, and down came the spread of wet canvas;
and altogether we did not spend a very pleasant time.

Misfortunes never come single; at daylight no horses were
to be seen, and we had to wait until near ten o'clock before
they turned up. During this interval we burnt the tent pegs
and some chips from the tent pole, and raised sufficient fire
to make coffee. J'aria informed me that this cañon extends
from the Cordillera to the sea, but runs in a tortuous manner,
and we afterwards again struck either the main line or some
cañon leading from it. Having scaled the precipitous 133
banks, we headed towards a range of peaked hills, curiously 137
resembling one another, and after passing down one or two
more cañons, where we refreshed ourselves with the berries

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133 of a barberry (Berberis axifolia), called by the Chilians calafate, and also saw plenty of the red and white tea-berries, so common in the Falklands, we entered a wide plain or valley, at the farther end of which rose a peculiar pointed hill, one of a range that stretched away east and west, pierced by a pass. In the midst of it a huge square flat rock shone white in the sunlight, forming a striking object: it looked like a megalith, deposited by giants to cover the grave of some deceased hero. Others of less dimensions lay strewn here and there, giving somewhat of a graveyard aspect to the scene. As we advanced the ground was encumbered with rocks and scoriæ, lying in heaps in all directions, making it very difficult travelling for the horses, and on arriving at the hills themselves their appearance was decidedly volcanic. The whole immediate vicinity of this range of hills presented a peculiarly wild, blasted, and weird appearance; nevertheless ostriches and guanaco were observable in great quantities. My first thought on passing one hill, where, among the other fantastic forms into which the rocks had been tossed, was a natural corral, or circle of huge fragments, built with apparent regularity, but of superhuman dimensions, was, 'What a hell this must have been when the volcanoes were in an active state, belching out the streams of lava and showers of rock, and that perhaps at no distant period!' While at Santa Cruz, Casimiro told me of an active volcano situated at a distance and in a direction which would fix it as belonging to this range. Formerly its neighbourhood had been frequented by the Indians, as the guanaco resorted thither in great numbers during the winter; but the Indians' horses most of them had been poisoned by
133 drinking the water of a stream close to the range, and soon
731 after all the toldos were shaken down by an earthquake or the vibration of an explosion, and since then they had not ventured to go near the place. Casimiro and Gonzalez had, however, subsequently ascended the volcano, and had killed numbers of guanaco in the neighbourhood. It was also

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mentioned that when they were encamped on the Cuheyli, or Coy Inlet River, tremendous volumes of thick black smoke, rolling from the west, enveloped the Indians and terrified them exceedingly. No signs were afterwards found of burned pasture, and it was conjectured that the Canoe Indians of the Chonos Archipelago had fired the western forests, but it was much more likely to have been due to volcanic eruption. While trotting along the defile through these hills formed by a chasm, with perpendicular walls of rock rising on each hand, as evenly scraped as the sides of a railway cutting, I observed several caves, which J'aria had a tradition the Indians formerly used as dwelling-places. This pass led into another valley still more rugged, and strewn with sharp angular fragments of rock, amongst which stunted shrubs began to appear; and lagoons, some of which were encrusted round the edges with saltpetre, and contained brackish water, might be seen at intervals. Towards evening we encamped by the side of a small lagoon of circular form with wall-like cliffs rising some 200 feet from its banks, and nearly surrounding it. I took a stroll, rifle in hand, whilst the men were getting firewood; and plenty guanaco were visible, but I only succeeded in wounding one, which escaped on three legs. Traces of puma, in the shape of carrion, were also there, but Leon himself was hidden. So I returned empty-handed to the fire, where I found a cheerful supper of wild duck and guanaco meat just ready. The moon was beautiful, and the air just frosty enough to be bracing and exhilarating, so some of us staid smoking and spinning yarns until the small hours. The stories were chiefly of adventures on the Pampas. José narrated how, when in pursuit of a party of runaways in the depth of winter, when the snow lay thick on the ground, he and his comrade rode into a valley where countless guanaco had taken refuge from the storm in the upper heights, and stood huddled together, too benumbed by the cold to attempt to escape, and were slaughtered like oxen in the shambles. In

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another hunt the party overtook the deserters, housed in the toldo of an Indian, and a fight ensued, ending in the death of one of the pursuers; the deserter who shot him was pistolled, and J'aria and José carried the dead body of their comrade on horseback to the settlement, sixty miles distant, proceeding without a halt all through the night, and accomplishing their ghastly journey by the next morning. J'aria related how he had been drifted in a launch among the ice in the Straits, and carried over to Tierra del Fuego, where they found rocks so magnetic that iron nails adhered to them. He further amused us by a short dissertation on his domestic arrangements; how, when his last wife died, he married a Chilote to be mother for his children and wife for him, and he always called her in conversation the 'Madre Mugur'—wife mother.

133 [136] Next morning we started early, and varying our march with one or two races after foxes, which generally met their death in a very short time, and an engagement with a female puma, which one of the men despatched by a splendid revolver shot through the head, traversed some uneven Pampas, with occasional hills, and arrived at the descent of the valley of the Rio Gallegos, where the very remarkable bench formation, afterwards observed on a smaller or larger scale in other Patagonian rivers, first arrested my attention. To the west, some miles away, a high hill, apparently of basalt, the square summit of which, with seemingly regular walls and towers, mimicked the distant view of an extensive fortress, served as a landmark for the break in the barranca, which formed a natural road, by which we reached the first or upper bench, a mile and a half in width; from this a drop or scarped slope of fifty feet and upwards descended to another terrace or plain of equal extent, and terminating in another fall, at the bottom of which lay the bed of the river; it is fordable in the summer months, I believe, in many places, but when we crossed the water about reached where one's saddle flaps would be if riding on

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an English saddle. After crossing the ford, a halt took place [133]
to smoke a pipe, whilst doing which we watched the gyra-
tions of a huge vulture of the condor species; he hovered [134]
for some time, and at length boldly settled on a point of
rock about a hundred yards distant; so the soldier, whose
carbine was always ready, took a shot, but missed, much to
the grief of Gallegos, who asserts that the heart of the
vulture is a good remedy for certain diseases. We then [135]
mounted, and riding about a mile halted for the night by a
spring, gushing out of a ravine in the slope between the upper
and lower benches, where the pasture was good, as J'aria
declared that water was scarce for some leagues farther on.
The bivouac arranged, José and myself proceeded to try and
shoot a guanaco, but the plain was too open, so, after light-
ing up a bit of dry grass to attract any neighbouring
Indians, we very foolishly indulged in a bathe in the river.
The water was intensely cold, and the ill effects of this ill-
timed indulgence were felt for a long time after. The soldier
meanwhile was away on horseback, chasing a large herd, but
he returned about dusk empty-handed. Next morning we
started about nine o'clock, having been, as usual, delayed by the
horses having strayed some distance. Ascending the slope,
we crossed the higher bench, a barren, dreary waste, for
about a league, until we came to a lagoon covered with
upland geese, and lying just below what may be termed the
barrancas of the Upper Pampa. Halting here for a smoke
and warm to dispel the effects of the intensely cold wind, we
were about resuming our route to ascend the steep slope of
the upper plains, when large columns of smoke, in answer to [202]
the signal fire we had left behind us, rose up to the sky in a
N.E. direction. We moved on, and arriving at the summit
of the ascent, looked eagerly round for signs of the fire, but
nothing was visible. The plains lay before us apparently
destitute of life, excepting a stray guanaco here and there.
J'aria then set light to a neighbouring bush, which gave out
dense clouds of black smoke, and in a few minutes this was

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answered in the same direction as that previously observed. A horseman was at length espied galloping towards us, who proved to be an Indian named Sam, son of the chief Casimiro, who has been mentioned in the missionary reports. After conversing for a short time with J'aria and Gallegos, he turned to me, and said, in English, 'How do you do? I speak little Anglishe,' which he had learned during a visit to the Falklands, where also he had acquired his sobriquet of Sam Slick. He then galloped away at full speed, and brought up his companions, who had been concealed from view in a neighbouring hollow; the party consisted of two men and a boy, and two women, all mounted, and apparently having just finished hunting, as they had plenty of fresh guanaco meat with them. We halted by a bush, and in a few minutes had a fire kindled, and the pipe being handed round, I had an opportunity of observing them closely. The men were fine muscular specimens. One, whom they called Henrique, was a Fuegian—formerly, I believe, a captive, but now doctor, or wizard. He travelled with this party separate from the remainder of the tribe, on account of some suspicion of his having caused the death of a chief. One of the men, taller than the others, was a Tehuelche. The boy was bright looking and intelligent, and it afterwards appeared that Don Luiz Buena had kept him for some time, vainly endeavouring to teach him Spanish. They were very cordial, and especially forced on me more meat than I could carry; but there was a certain constraint visible in their manners, probably owing to their being conscious of some dealings with the deserters, whom J'aria counselled them to despatch whenever they might meet with them. The women carried bottles of water, which they readily gave us, to our great refreshment and relief, for we were all parched with thirst.

Gallegos asked Sam whether he was willing to guide us to Santa Cruz, J'aria not being over-certain of the route. The tracks made by the guanacos are easily mistaken by almost any one but an Indian for the trail of 'chinas,' or caravans

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of women and laden horses; and this, combined with the want of landmarks on the Pampas and the confusing succession of hills closely resembling each other, renders it only too easy to lose the right direction. As examples of this, out of ten deserters of whom the party were in search, six were never more heard of. Our guide J'aria himself, when travelling from Santa Cruz to the colony, lost his way, and would inevitably have starved had he not fortunately been fallen in with by a party of Indians. Sam having agreed to come with our party, we bid adieu to the Indians, who, in return for their presents of meat, were gratified with a little tobacco, and rode off. Suddenly a fox started up from a neighbouring bush. The soldier gave chase, Sam shouted, 'Stop, I'll show you:' at the same time putting spurs to his horse, and cutting Reynard off, he put his hand to his waist-belt, drew out his bolas, gave them two turns round his head, and in another minute the fox was lying dead, with his ribs crushed completely in where the metal ball had struck him. Under the directions of our new guide, who rode ahead with me, we traversed a succession of high barren plains, sinking into frequent irregular hollows, without streams, but usually containing lagoons of salt or brackish water, until, about 4 P.M., we descended into the valley of Rio Coleyli, or the river, which debouches at Coy Inlet. The beach formation, though noticeable, is not here so decidedly marked. For some time we pursued the trail in an orderly march; but an ostrich springing nearly under our horses' feet, and escaping over some marshy swamp, where horses could not follow, roused Sam's hunting propensities, and he proposed to myself, the soldier, and José to leave the path—which he said, with emphatic disdain, was good for women, not for men—and ride up the barranca to see him ball an ostrich; so having regained the Pampa, we formed into line, about two hundred yards apart, to drive a certain area of ground down to a point where there was a gentle slope to the valley, so as to meet the advancing cavalcade of

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the rest of our party. We saw nothing except one ostrich vanishing at great speed towards the valley at another point, and a pair of doves, which I remarked with interest; so we returned to the track, and as night was closing in, pushed on, wishing to cross the ford of the river and encamp on the other side. At seven o'clock, having reached a nice spring flowing from the barrancas, where there was firewood in profusion, Gallegos ordered a halt, although Sam wished to proceed, observing that the moon was so bright it was 'all the same as day.' We accordingly encamped for the night, after making a good supper off guanaco meat, which was a pleasant change after our previous charqui. The valley of the Cuheyli slightly indicates the bench formation, though it does not present so distinctly marked terraces as those which border the Gallegos River; but the lowest or river plain, which is nearly two leagues wide in the neighbourhood of the ford, is of a more fertile character, the pasture being luxuriant and good. One or two of the springs—notably the one the water of which, contrary to our guide's advice and example, we drank—had a strong taste of iron, which caused all the party to suffer from internal derangement; and Sam stated that near our encampment there was a deposit of the black earth with which the Indians paint their bodies. Starting early, after a night of severe frost, we soon struck the ford. Our guide had vanished; but while rearranging the packs, we saw a volume of black smoke rising to the east, caused by Sam, who, having thus signalled his countrymen, rejoined us on the march across the slightly ascending plain. We then observed numerous Indians galloping in our direction, and crossing the stream at various parts, as J'aria remarked, quite regardless of fords. We halted, and were soon surrounded by about forty or more, most of them riding useful-looking horses barebacked. As they appeared very friendly, Gallegos gave them some biscuit and charqui; their chiefs—the head cacique being a nephew of Casimiro—forming them into a semicircle, in tolerably good order, to receive the present.

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tolerably good order, to receive the present. There were undoubtedly some very tall men amongst them, but what struck me particularly was their splendid development of chest and arms. Although the wind was very sharp, many of them had their mantles thrown back in a careless way, leaving their naked chests exposed in the air, and appeared not the least inconvenienced. They readily recognised me for an Englishman, coming and examining me closely, and asking for tobacco with a broad grin on their faces, exposing a wonderfully clean and regular set of teeth. My gratifying their importunate requests for tobacco made Sam very jealous, and for some time he bothered me with remarks such as 'Me very cold, no got poncho,' 'Me no got knife, me no got "pellon"' (saddle-cloth), until, finding it useless to beg, he relapsed into sullen silence. A smoke of the pipe, however, brought him back to his usual cheerful temper, and as we galloped along he chanted an Indian song, which consisted of the words 'Ah ge lay loo, Ah ge lay loo,' expressed in various keys.

After a ride of some leagues in a rather more open but still undulating country, a break in the Pampas was reached. Hills of irregular and picturesque outlines, with labyrinthine valleys or ravines, not running in parallel order, but communicating with each other, occupied an extensive district, and though travelling was considerably more difficult, yet the change in the aspect of nature was grateful after the barren monotony of the plains.

We halted in an Indian encampment, situated in a valley underneath a peaked hill called 'Otiti,' where there were pools of fresh and salt water in close proximity. Amongst the incense and thorn bushes, which grow at intervals in these regions, we passed to-day another description of shrub with a thick rough bark, which is readily detached, and leaves a long rattail-like sort of twig. From the Rio Gallegos the soil had become generally of a yellower colour than on the south side of that river, although in the valleys and hollows

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dark peaty earth was generally to be found, and the surface of the Pampas had assumed a more desolate appearance, being strewn with small pebbles, and studded with bushes—generally of a thorny species. Round clumps of prickly thistles—which burn like tinder on applying a lighted match—and a few stray tufts of withered grass, only made more desolate the hungry barrenness of the deserts, over which the wind blew with cutting violence, yet they are the home of large herds of guanaco, ostriches, pums, and armadillo, though the latter were at this period comfortably hybernating.

Next morning no horses were visible, and as time went on till ten o'clock without any appearance we all began to suspect Indian treachery. Sam volunteered the remark that if they (the Indians) had played us such a trick, he would go and clear all their animals out the following evening. This threat there was fortunately no occasion for him to put into execution, as the troop proved only to have strayed into another valley. As we were now nearing Santa Cruz, which the last of the Indians were just leaving, having completed their trade and finished all the grog, we saw numerous columns of smoke, caused by their hunting parties. After passing the broken ground and reaching the high Pampa, Sam and myself rode on ahead, amusing ourselves by fruitlessly chasing guanaco or ostrich, but Sam's dexterity with the bolas was frustrated by his being mounted on a horse belonging to the expedition and unused to this work. Towards evening, after again passing numerous salt lagoons, we came to a descent of 300 or 400 feet leading to a valley containing a large salina, and halting, made our fire by the side of a spring, near which, Sam informed me, were the graves of two Indians, which he mentioned with the deepest respect and in an awe-stricken undertone.

Our signal smoke, which was so much to attract Indians as to give the direction of our route to Gallegos and J'aria, was soon responded to from the opposite hills on the northern

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side of the valley, and shortly a line of mounted women and children descended the slope in front, making for our fire, which Sam informed me was their intended camping-place. We advanced to meet them, and Sam conversed in their tongue; interpreting to me that they had left Santa Cruz two days previously, and that Don Luis P. B. had quitted his settlement on the island to sail in his schooner to Buenos Ayres; while the Northern Indians, encamped to the north of Santa Cruz, with whom I hoped to proceed to the Rio Negro, had no intention of marching until the coming spring. On leaving these Indios, amongst whom was a young and rather pretty girl, I lifted my hat in salute, which called forth a burst of laughter from the whole group, and cries of 'Anglish, Anglish!' amidst which we rode off to join the remainder of our party, who were crossing the valley to the eastward, having intentionally deviated from the straight route; and although Sam used every effort to induce Gallegos to stop at the Indian encampment, the latter wisely determined to proceed about a league further, knowing that a halt here would cause considerable inroad to be made in the stock of provisions, which, in view of the return journey, with perhaps an increased party, it was desirable to avoid. We accordingly left the sheltered valley and encamped on the plateau in an exposed situation near a lagoon, the ice of which had to be broken to secure a supply of water. The frost was keen, and the tent afforded but a partial protection from the biting wind; so that the ceremonial foresight of our leader resulted in all the party spending the coldest night hitherto experienced by us.

During the evening we were visited by several Indians, [9-3] bringing presents of ostrich and guanaco meat. I was pre- 574 sented by the soldier with a piece of the gizzard (the tid-bit), which he had cooked on the end of his ramrod; but I must confess I did not appreciate it at the time, though later on in my journey I learnt to relish this and other strange delicacies. Amongst the Indians who gave us the benefit of

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their company this evening was 'Pedro el Platero,' mentioned
[132] in Mr. Gardiner's mission book; also an old squaw rejoicing
in the name of 'La Reina Victoria' (Queen Victoria), who was
the occasion of much chaff, my Chilian friends declaring I
ought to salute the sovereign of the Pampas in due form;
but having obtained a cheroot and a light for her pipe, all
she required, she was soon lost sight of in the dark. We
gladly left the camp early the ensuing morning, the cold
continuing unabated; the wind blew strong in our faces, and
though from the southward, was so keen that Sam and my-
self kept galloping on and kindling fires at intervals.

133 Then we rode on over a tract of country surpassing in
desolation all the districts hitherto traversed. As far as the
eye could reach stretched a level waste unrelieved by even an
eminence or hollow; the aspect of the low withered shrubs,
coarse parched grass, and occasional patches of pebble-strewn
ground which for thirty miles wearied the eye with dreary
sameness, produced an extraordinary feeling of depression,
which was afterwards recalled when journeying through the
Travisia, bordering on the Rio Negro, which this district
resembles, though on a smaller scale. Occasional frozen
lagoons, doubtless supplied by rainfall, only added to the
desert aspect of this trackless wilderness. The situation
was not improved by Sam pulling up and remarking that he
was by no means sure that he had not lost himself. The
only variety was afforded by an unlucky fox which we chased
till he escaped, as he thought, on the ice of a lagoon, but
the treacherous surface gave way, and poor Reynard, after a
vigorous struggle, sank out of reach of a lazo. At last,
about two o'clock, the desert terminated in a cliff rising
from the valley at our feet, and we looked down upon the
winding river of the Santa Cruz.

Having waited till the rest came up, we descended by a
gorge to the valley, when, after refreshing ourselves by
a drink of water, we struck into a trail which followed the
river downwards. We were all in high spirits at the prospect

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of a speedy and felicitous conclusion to our journey; and J'aris was continually questioned as to the distance of the settlement. His answer was invariably 'a league;' and we rode along vainly expecting every moment to see the place, rounding innumerable promontories or points where the barranca advanced into the valley. Each of these projecting cliffs, which stood like outposts of the Pampas, J'aris declared in succession to be the last, Sam all the while maintaining a dignified silence, until at length, at 7.30, when we had almost despaired of ever arriving, we came to the ford opposite the island of the settlement, and a barking of dogs saluted our ears. After Sam had hailed, an answer came back, that if we were going across that night we must look sharp, as the tide was flowing. We accordingly proceeded to cross at once, narrowly escaping having to swim our horses, which on a cold frosty night would have been anything but a pleasant business.

My ideas as to the size and extent of the settlement—and it must be confessed my visions of 'cheerer,' and even of wine, to put some warmth into my chilled frame—were sadly dispelled by the reality; the thriving, though small, town of my imagination being represented by one house, and all wine and liquor proving to have been exhausted. But this was fully made up for by discovering in Mr. Clarke—or, as the Indians called him, 'Clakalaka'—an old acquaintance, whom I had known some years previously in the Falklands. His utter surprise at the sudden appearance of one whom he thought far away may be imagined. But, to my great delight, he thoroughly approved of the proposed excursion. His cordial welcome and hot coffee soon cheered up our spirits, and when warmed and rested we discussed my plans. It appeared that the Indians had not reported wrong as to Don Luiz Buena's movements and the intentions of the northern party; but Mr. Clarke believed that the schooner was still detained in the river mouth waiting for a fair wind, and undertook to send off a messenger to communicate with him: my object

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being to obtain permission to reside in the settlement until the return of the schooner, so as to equip myself with stores as presents for the Tehuelches. After an agreeable "comfab," I turned in on a shakedown on the floor, well satisfied with having accomplished the first stage, and deriving a good omen for the remainder of the journey from this successful trip to Santa Cruz.

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CHAPTER II.

SANTA CRUZ.

Introduction to Chiefs—Orkeke—Chilian Deserters—The Settlement—Island of Pebon—Natural Advantages—The Mission Station—Mr. Clarke—Our Circle at Pebon—Expedition to Lake Viedma—Winter Occupations—Work and Play—Casimiro's Adventures—His character—A Winter Hunting Excursion—A Pampa Snow-storm—The Santa Cruz Valley—Up the River—The Northern Hills—Pumas—Devil's Eye—Hunting on Foot—Intense Cold—Return of the Deserters—Visit to the Indian Camp—First Night in a Toldo—Towing a Horse—Adieu to Santa Cruz.

OUR first business next day was to despatch a messenger to board the schooner, if she should prove to be still in the mouth of the river. My Chilian friends had found some of the deserters, who had been taken into employment, and subsequently detained as close prisoners by the major-domo, at the instance of a sergeant sent round from Punta Arenas in the schooner, to solicit Don Luis's assistance in their capture. About noon Casimiro, *soi-disant* chief of the Tehuelches, and father of Sam Slick, rode in from a hunting excursion, mounted on a tall, shapely horse, and carrying a guanaco on his saddle. I was formally introduced, and my plans and purpose fully explained to him; and soon after Orkeke, the cacique of the party of Northern Tehuelches, encamped on the Rio Chico, arrived. His consent was necessary to enable me to accompany them in their journey, and by means of Casimiro as an interpreter, as the chief spoke but little Spanish, my request was preferred. He confirmed the state-

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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Master, You never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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whom, as often happened, he joined one little circle, and in the company of his old friend Mr. Clarke, calmed from his gravity and laughed and talked in a way that seemed quite foreign to the usually serious chief. It must be confessed that he was jealous and suspicious, and a little stingy, growing to increase rather than lessen his large stock of horses, gear, and arms; but from the time I became his guest his conduct to myself was irreproachable. 22

In the evening the messenger returned; he had of course completely misdone his instructions, and informed Don Luis that the Englishmen desired to proceed in the schooner to Buenos Ayres, and accordingly a boat arrived with the morning flood-tide to take me off. Mr. Clarke good-naturedly undertook to go himself and explain matters; and returned with a kind message, offering me quarters and every hospitality if I chose to remain in the settlement for the next two months, at the end of which period the schooner might be expected to return. Lieut. Gallegos strongly urged me to accompany him back to Punta Arenas, painting in strong colours the tedium and discomfort of a winter at Santa Cruz. But it was plain that the opportunity of cultivating the unpossible and securing the confidence of Orkeke would thus be thrown away, and with it the prospect of traversing the country. Gallegos believed that this plan was fraught with danger, and indeed almost certain destruction; but as I was immovable, we took an affectionate farewell of each other. He and all his party had treated me, an utter stranger, with the greatest kindness, and I bade adieu to them as true comrades. They departed on their return journey, taking with them the four prisoners, who, however, are destined to appear again in these pages. These men had undergone much hardship to obtain the liberty of which they seemed again deprived; three of them had managed to secure a horse, and walking and riding in turns had found their way to the Indians. Two of them, Olate and Rosa, the latter, though a mere boy, with a thoroughly evil and murderous coun-

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tenance, were incurably bad; but Mena, a youth of nineteen, attracted one's sympathy by his handsome frank face and cleanly smart appearance; the fourth, Arica, had made his way on foot from Punta Arena to Santa Cruz, without any knowledge of the country, and only guided by a vague notion of the existence of the settlement to the north. He had for twenty-seven days followed the line of the sea-coast, subsisting on shell-fish and sea-birds' eggs; the toil and hardships thus undergone must have been indescribable, and his eventual safe arrival was a miracle of patient endurance. He brought in news of the loss of a tender to the schooner, a decked launch, in which Captain Warren and three men had sailed from Staten Land and been no more heard of; of their fate there was now little doubt, as he had found her dingy cast up on the beach, and a piece of the mainsail cut of which he had supplied himself with clothes.

The promising *élève* of the mission, Sam Slick, also accompanied the party. Before his departure he offered to give a specimen of his education by singing a hymn, with a broad hint that grog was a fitting accompaniment; but as none was forthcoming, we lost the chance of being edified by his performance.

We watched the cavalcade till it disappeared in the distance on the upper plains, and then returned to the station, where I settled myself to pass the ensuing three months of the Patagonian winter. The settlement or trading station of Santa Cruz consists of only three houses, built on an island called 'Pabon,' marked as Middle Island, in Islet Reach, in Fitzroy's chart. It is owned by Don Luiz P. Buena, who holds by virtue of a grant from the Argentine Government, which has also conferred on him the commission of captain in the navy, with power to prevent all foreign sealers from trespassing on the valuable seal fisheries on the coast. The island is about a mile and a half long, and has an average breadth of some 850 yards. Access is obtained from the south shore by a ford, about fifty yards across, only

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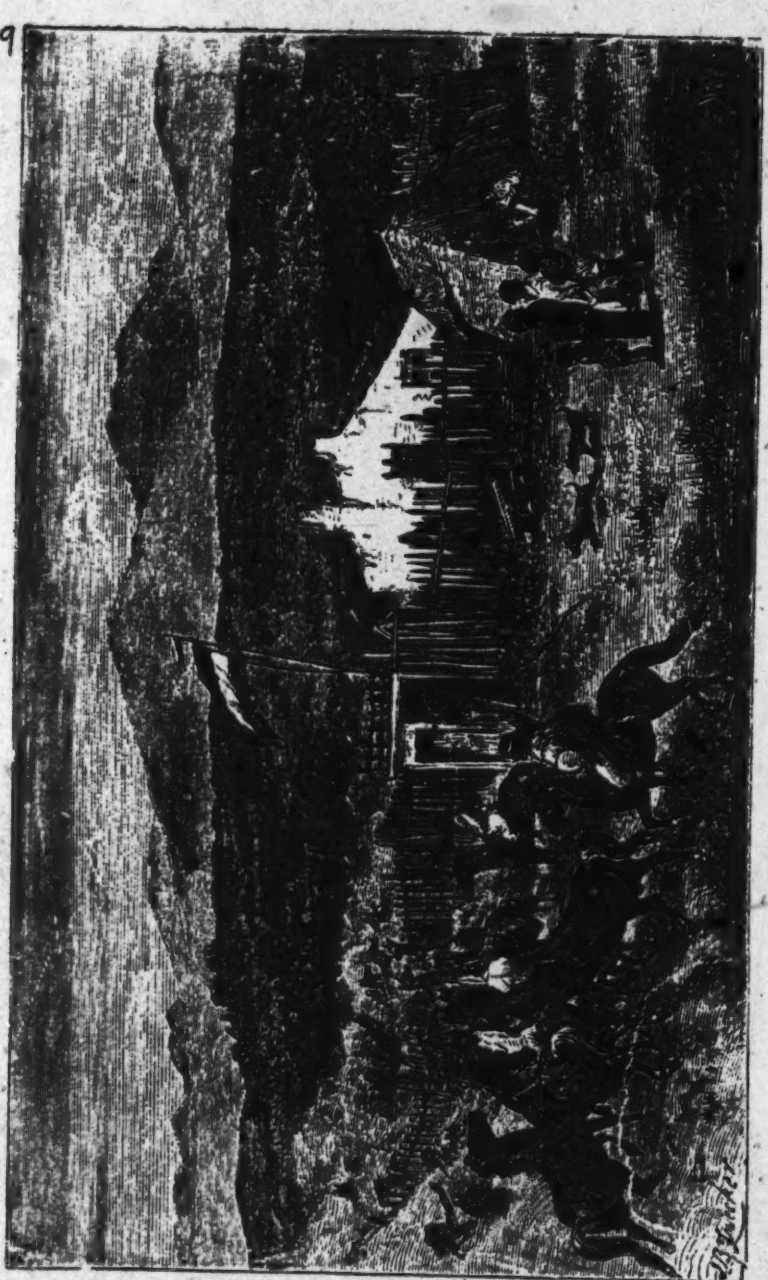

STATION ON PABON ISLAND, RIO SANTA CRUZ.

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passable at low water. The northern channel is wider and deeper, and the swiftness of the current renders it impassable save by a boat, which is moored ready to ferry over Indians desirous of trading, and is also useful for bringing wood for fuel, which is not obtainable on the island. About a hundred yards from the ford stands the [illegible]al house, substantially built of bricks, with tiled roof, containing three rooms, and a sort of porch to shelter a nine-pounder, commanding the entrance. It is further defended by a stockade, over which floats the Argentine flag, and beyond it a fosse, which is filled with water by the spring tides. The object of these fortifications is to afford protection in the case of the Indians proving troublesome when under the influence of rum. Though Mr. Clarke narrated some queer scenes he had witnessed, his excellent management had hitherto obviated any danger, and the fairness of his dealings with them had secured their friendship, a regular tariff with equitable prices having been fixed, and scrupulously adhered to, by which their barter of ostrich feathers and peltries was regulated; and although they are keen bargainers, often spending two or three hours in debating the price to be given, they appreciated the fairness with which they were treated. A second house was situated about fifty yards off, and being generally used as a store, bore the name of the Almacen: at this time being empty, one room served as a sleeping-place for some of the men, and the other had been given up for the accommodation of Casimiro and his family. A third house, which stood at the eastern end of the island, was unoccupied. Near it a small plot had been tilled, and potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables had been successfully raised. At the time of my visit no corn had been tried, but a subsequent experimental sowing of one and a half fanegas* gave a field, though little pains were bestowed on the crop, of twenty fanegas. As the lower part of the island is liable to be overflowed at high springs, a ditch had been cut across to

* A fanega contains 100 lb.

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drain off the water, and there was consequently no lack of irrigation. The ground was covered with stunted bushes, and the small spike-thorn round thistle, and coarse grass. The few sheep appeared to thrive well, but decreased very sensibly in number during the winter, as on days when game was scarce one fell a victim to the ravenous appetite engendered by the keen air of Patagonia. A numerous troop of horses grazed on the mainland, in a tract below the Southern Barranca, called the 'Potrero,' where the grass, though coarse, grew in rank luxuriance. When wanted for hunting, the entire stud was brought across the river in the morning and driven into the corral; but ordinarily one alone was kept on the island ready for emergencies.

It should be mentioned that a small stock of cattle, and also some pigs, had been imported; these, however, being necessarily left to graze on the mainland, had wandered, and become wild; the cattle probably falling victims to the Indian hunters; but the pigs will no doubt multiply, and become the founders of a race of hogs, destined hereafter to add pig-sticking to the amusements of the future settlers or of the wandering Tehuelches.

Above the island of Pabon there are several smaller islets, but as they are liable to be overflowed by the highest tides, they cannot, without artificial drainage, be made available for tillage. From one which had been occupied and tilled with root-crops, we obtained a quantity of well-grown turnips. It was a singular mistake of the Spaniards to form a settlement at Port St. Julian and overlook the far superior advantages presented by Santa Cruz. The plains and islands of the latter present good grazing grounds and tillage lands, as well as a site for a town secure from sudden Indian surprises; and as regards fitness for a shipping station, there is no comparison between the two localities, as ships can be beached at Santa Cruz in a sheltered place with the flood-tide; while the timber, in search of which Viedma made his

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expedition, was to be had in abundance by ascending the river. At the present time the knowledge of the navigation of the Straits would make it much easier and cheaper to import timber from Punta Arena than to send lumberers into the Cordillera and raft the timber down to Santa Cruz.

Near the Potrero, on the southern shore, there is a natural salt lake or salina, which must have been overlooked by the Beagle expedition, as Mr. Darwin fixes the southern limits of salinas at Port St. Julian. In the summer, and until the winter rains and snow set in, an inexhaustible supply of excellent salt can be obtained. It is at present worked only to furnish, besides the salt for home use, what is required for the annual sealing fishery; but if labour were more abundant, the salt would be found to be a valuable article of export to the Falkland Islands; the salina being situated less than half a mile from the beach, where there is good anchorage.

The river[1] also yields abundant supplies of fish—a species of bass and others—which when cured keep well: some which had been cured over a year proved excellent. These might be profitably exported to Rio Janeiro, &c., where cured fish are always in demand.

Notwithstanding these natural advantages, Santa Cruz could hardly at this period be considered a settlement. Subsequently to my visit, two Frenchmen from Buenos Ayres proposed to try sheep farming in the valley, but with what result I have not heard. As already mentioned, the station existed as a depôt for sealing, and as a trading post, to which the Tehuelches resorted to exchange their ostrich feathers, and puma, guanaco, and ostrich skins, for tobacco, sugar, ammunition, and above all, rum. There was little or no trade going on during the absence of the schooner, as all the stores had been exhausted; but after the summer campaign some of the Tehuelches invariably resort thither, and the vicinity has always been a favourite winter quarters. The missionaries, Messrs. Schmid and Hart, endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity for essaying the conversion

[1] [i.e. Santa Cruz River --Andyst]

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and civilisation of the Indians. They resided for some time in 1863 at a spot near Weddell Bluff, about ten miles from the mouth of the river. To quote Mr. Sterling's description, the station was at the mouth of the valley which 'retreats towards the south-west for a considerable distance inland; a stream of pure water flows perennially through it, and a broad belt of grass, offering fine pasture for cattle, gives a cheerful, fertile aspect to the low land; the hills on either side are intersected with ravines, or lift up their bronzed faces out of some intervening dale, and refresh the air with the aroma of shrubs and plants growing everywhere about them.'

This was written after a visit in the summer month of January, and the picture drawn presents the landscape in its fairest colours; very different from its bleak aspect as viewed by myself in the winter. This valley still bears the name of Los Misionarios, but this is the only existing trace of their settlement. Mr. Schmid, however, during his sojourn and journeys with a party of the Indians, compiled a vocabulary of the Tsoneca language, as spoken by the southern Tehuelches. Their plan for establishing trade at Santa Cruz, in order to secure the regular visits of the Indians, was not approved of by the managers of the mission, and they were obliged to abandon the scene of their praiseworthy but unsuccessful efforts—to instruct at least 'the little bright-faced Patagonian children,' of whom they speak in their journals with warm affection.

The counter attractions of rum supplied by a trader who visited the river were felt by Mr. Schmid to be very destructive of his influence, but it cannot be doubted that their store, if established, would have had no chance against any rival that supplied rum to his customers; for though there are many exceptions, the Indians too eagerly expend the spoils of their hunting and industry in liquor. Their wives, however, when they accompany them, take care to manage their business with discretion, and reserve sufficient stock

[i.e. Santa Cruz trading station--Analyst]

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to barter for more useful and innocent luxuries as well as necessaries. There is no doubt that in the event of the future development of this settlement, it might serve as a *point d'appui* to raise the Tehuelches to the level of a more cultivated and settled mode of existence; but speculations on this point are not within my province, and it is time to introduce the members of the party with whom my winter was agreeably spent on the island of Pabon. With Don Luiz P. Buena and his amiable and accomplished señora I subsequently made acquaintance, which ripened into friendship; but though his guest, I was at present personally unknown to him. In his absence, his representative, Mr. Clarke, who, as already mentioned, was an old acquaintance, did all he could to make me feel at home. He was a handsome young fellow of twenty-five, and an excellent specimen of the versatile and cosmopolitan New Englander 'raised' in Salem, Massachusetts, where he had been brought up as a builder, though he afterwards 'shipped himself on board of a ship.' In his nautical life he had been mate of the Snow Squall, in a homeward voyage from Shanghai, when she was chased off the Cape of Good Hope by the Alabama, and but for the pluck of the captain and crew, and the wonderful sailing powers of the craft, another item would have been added to Mr. Adams's 'little bill.' As it was, the beautiful vessel fairly outsailed the swift steamer. The steadiness of the crew, and their well-deserved attachment to the captain, were most strongly proved on this occasion. As there was no alternative between putting in for water at St. Helena—where it was too probable the Alabama would pounce upon the prize—and running home upon half a pint per diem each man, the captain left it to the crew to decide, and they chose the latter course.

Mr. Clarke had spent three months travelling and hunting in company with the Tehuelches, which had made him a most expert hand with lazo or bolas, and well acquainted with the Indian character; and it was pleasant to hear that

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609 he entertained a very high opinion of their intelligence and generous dispositions. He treated them with fairness and considerate kindness, and they repaid him by confidence and friendship.

CCC Five other *employés* made up the rest of our party. No social distinctions, however, prevailed, and the inhabitants of Pabon lived in pleasant equality. The charge of the dogs and horses, and the duty of supplying meat, devolved on two: Gonzalez, a goucha, a native of Patagones, who was as much at home in the schooner on a sealing excursion, as in the saddle balling an ostrich; and Juan Isidoro, a swarthy little man whose sparkling black eyes told of his Indian blood, a native of Santiago del Estero; he had been sent as a soldier to Rio Negro, whence he had managed to desert, and make his way with Orkeke's Indians to the settlement. Next comes Juan Chileno, a bright, fresh-complexioned youth of nineteen years, to look at whom was refreshing, after the swarthy and weather-beaten physiognomies of the others. Then Antonio, a Portuguese, by turns gaucho, whaler, or sealer, always ready with a song or a merry jest, and on occasion equally quick with his knife. Holstein furnished the last, but by no means least important; a strong-built, good-natured, rather stupid fellow, generally selected as the butt of the rest, who always styled him 'El Cooke,' a sobriquet earned by his many voyages in that capacity on board various ships. Curiously enough, he proved to possess information on a topic to me of great interest, as he had been one of a party which, about a year previous to my visit, had ascended the river Santa Cruz to its source. The expedition was organised by an American well acquainted with the Californian mining, who proposed to explore the mineral resources of the valley. Unfortunately, during the ascent of the river, a quarrel broke out, and the American left the others, and found his way alone to the Indians, thence returning to Santa Cruz. The loss of the only man capable of scientific observation rendered their

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journey almost useless; still the party proceeded, and about midsummer reached the lake, near which they remained some days, but were unable to penetrate the thick forests beyond its shores. In the valley they found meat tins and other traces of Fitzroy's expedition. El Cookè described the river as running from the lake in many small streams, and flowing over a rocky bed. The lake, which was covered with wild fowl, had floating ice upon it, and large glaciers were visible in the neighbouring mountains, while the weather experienced was cold, with continuous drizzling rain. His account confirmed my own conjectures as to the cause of the great difference between the periods of the highest floods in the Rio Gallegos, which is at its height in December and January, and the Santa Cruz, which is then at its lowest. This is owing to the lateness of the period at which the ice breaks up in the lake Viedma, situated, as it probably is, on a high plateau. About the lake the explorers found traces of herds of large deer, and always in close proximity those of a large fox or wolf, but they did not succeed in killing any. A specimen of the only mineral brought back appeared to be iron pyrites embedded in quartz. The journey from the lake to the settlement would require eleven days for baggage horses, but could be performed by horsemen within four. Of course the information was not too clear or reliable, but El Cookè, though not brilliant, seemed to possess the Northern quality of telling the truth, by the absence of which the Southern and Indian natures are, to say the least of it, often characterised. El Cookè was fond of hard work, and his greatest enjoyment was to set out in search of fuel, and lay on with his axe in a way that would have done honour to a Canadian lumberer, but was sadly thrown away on the incense bushes of Santa Cruz.

All these men, who had drifted together from various quarters, and, if truth be told, had all 'run,' for obvious reasons, from their own homes, worked by turns at hunting, trading, sealing, and raising salt from the Salina. They

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received a fixed salary, which, however, generally proved to be balanced by an account with the store for clothes, &c. In sealing expeditions all went shares, like our own mackerel and herring fishermen; while for working at the Salina, extra pay was given and well earned, especially at this time, since it involved sleeping out in the open for several successive nights, and that in a Patagonian May. Such were the companions of my residence at Pabon, besides whom more than a score of dogs of all sorts slept anyhow and anywhere, and followed anybody, giving their masters the preference.

A short time after our arrival, Mr. Clarke took stock of the stores of provision, which could not be replenished until the return of the schooner. The result was that the amount of biscuits and sugar was found to be about equal to a month's consumption. These articles were accordingly divided into equal portions, and each man received his share, to husband or improvidently use, according to his bent. There was abundance of coffee, black beans, tobacco, and maize, which accordingly were used at discretion. The next thing was to accumulate a good stock of fuel before the snow should render it difficult, if not impossible, to transport it.

Every Sunday all hands except one—the cook of the week—left on guard, went hunting, and, as occasion required, during the week, the gauchos would proceed to supply the larder with guanaco or ostrich, the latter being, however, rare. Idleness was unknown; when not hunting, wood-cutting, or salt-raising, manufactures were the order of the day. We picked stones and worked them round for bolas, and covered them with the hide stripped from the hock of the guanaco, the soga or thong connecting the balls being made from the skin of the neck, the method of obtaining it being as follows. The head having been cut off, and an incision made just above the shoulder, the skin is dragged off ino ne piece; and after the wool has been picked off, is softened by hand and carefully cut into strips, which are closely plaited.

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plaited. Of this leather we also make serviceable bridles, lazos, stirrup-leathers, and, in fact, horse-gear generally. Sometimes we would have a fit of making pipes, and all hands would be busy sawing out wood or hard at work boring the bowls; at others, spurs were the rage, made by the [192] simple Indian method of sticking sharpened nails into two pieces of wood, secured together by thongs fastened under the foot and round the leg; or again, we would work silver, and come out with our knife-sheaths glittering with studs. On non-hunting days, I invariably practised the use of the bolas, and caught almost every shrub on the island.

The evenings were passed in playing the American game of brag. Cash being unknown, and no one being disposed to risk the loss of his gear, the stakes were simply so many black beans to a box of matches; and as much excitement prevailed as if each bean or perota had been a five-dollar piece.

Both in our hunting parties and in the house which he [159] had been allowed to occupy, though he occasionally visited the camp on the Chico, I sedulously cultivated the acquaintance of Casimiro. Both the missionaries and Her Majesty's surveyors have made frequent, and often by no means honourable, mention of this Indian, who has always evinced a wish to conciliate the friendship of the English visitors to Patagonia. His history, as I learned it from himself, was a very curious one, and aptly illustrates the conflicting claims of Chilians and Argentines, and the confused politics of the Indians themselves, his father having been killed in an engagement with the Araucanian or Manzaneros Indians. His mother was a Tehuelche; being an inveterate drunkard, [139] whilst visiting the settlements of Rio Negro she bartered the child for a cask of rum to the governor of the fort, a Frenchman named Viba, who was connected with the slave-trade, for at that period Indians seem to have been made slaves of as well as blacks. Viba had Casimiro christened—whence his name Casimiro Viba—and brought up at the Estancia, or

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sheep-farm, where he learnt to speak Spanish fluently. When thirteen years old he ran away and rejoined the Tehuelches Indians, with whom he remained in obscurity for some years, until being in the Southern district, near the Chilian colony of Port Famine, he gained the friendship of one Santorin, a native of Patagonea, who had been taken captive by the Indians, but having adopted their manners and customs, and marrying one of the tribe, had risen to the position of a chief. Together these two performed a voyage to Chili, to negotiate with the Government in some matters regarding the protection of Port Famine from Indian raids. Santorin died during the voyage, but Casimiro was well received at Santiago by the then President, Señor Bulnés,* loaded with honours, and given the rank, pay, and rations of a captain in the army. He then returned to Port Famine, where he resided, off and on, for some time. By his own account, he was absent on a hunting excursion when the *émeute* took place which resulted in the destruction of the colony. The old wandering habits appeared to have taken possession of him, for he subsequently returned to the Rio Negro, and having entered the service of the Buenos Ayrean Government, again proceeded to the South. During this time he resided occasionally with the missionaries, during their journey to the South, and at their station at Santa Cruz, and entrusted to them his two sons for the purpose of education. The missionaries soon discovered that his objects were purely selfish, and that he had no idea of allowing others to participate in the advantages they could offer; and I am afraid that the labour and cost bestowed on the boys were thrown away, as neither of them appeared to have profited much by their chances. Sam, indeed, could still sing a hymn if there were grog to the fore, and had a lively recollection of material advantages, often saying, 'He was good man, give me gun,' &c. But the youngest 'Graviel,' who also understood a little English, was one of the laziest of the

* Casimiro gave the name as 'Bourne.'

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lazy, and had very undefined notions as to *meum* and *tuum*, as personal experience taught me. 159

In 1865 Casimiro made a voyage to Buenos Ayres, where the Government on this occasion recognised him as head chief of the Tehuelches, and assigned him the rank and pay of lieutenant-colonel in the Argentine army. He was then despatched, in company with an Argentine named Mendoza, to form a settlement at Gregorio Bay. They travelled by land as far as Santa Cruz at which place Mendoza disappeared, being supposed to have lost himself, but in reality having been killed by an Indian, jealousy being, I believe, the cause of the murder. With his right-hand man gone, Casimiro abandoned himself, to drinking, a habit which, as Mr. Cunningham mentions, he had before acquired—perhaps by hereditary development—and ultimately became reduced to the state of poverty in which I found him, owning but two horses for himself, his wife, daughter, and son, with hardly any gear. Indeed, he would have been reduced to great straits but for the kindness of Don Luiz and Mr. Clarke, who, for old acquaintance sake, helped him as much as possible; though his habitual drunkenness made it useless to give him anything valuable whilst there was liquor to be had, as he would exchange anything for drink. As it was my object to have a friend in camp, I made friends with him, and tried to induce him to go north to the Rio Negro, which he at length agreed to do, although he was in great fear of getting into trouble about the loss or death of Mendoza. This man when sober was quick and intelligent, and a shrewd politician. His extensive connections by marriage with all the chiefs, including Rouke and Calfieurá, gave him considerable influence. He was also an expert worker in various Indian arts, such as making saddles, pipes, spurs, lazos, and other gear. He was a powerfully built man, standing fully six feet in his potro boots, with a not unpleasing expression of face, although he had a scar or two which did not add to his beauty. Of his personal

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bravery ample proof will afterwards be given; but, like all drunkards, he was uncertain and not to be depended on. This veritable old Blue Beard informed me that he had been married six times; certainly, if all his wives were of the appearance and disposition of his last venture, it is not to be wondered at if he disposed of the former ones; for an uglier, dirtier, more contumacious old hag had never burdened the earth with her weight, owing probably to which latter quality, or quantity, she never, if she could possibly help it, quitted her room. Early in June, an Indian, known in Santa Cruz as El Sourdo, or the left-handed man, came across the river and pitched his toldo on the island. He was the husband of two wives, who lived together in perfect felicity and took care of one another's children. This Indian was, as most of them are, very ingenious in working wood and silver, and was a good addition to our hunting parties; he also quickly learned to play at brag. Casimiro would never descend from his lofty pinnacle of self-importance so far as to enter the kitchen when the general revels were held, but occasionally joined Mr. Clarke and myself at supper and sat telling stories for an hour or two.

The sketch of our life at Pabon would be very incomplete without asking the reader to accompany us on a hunting excursion; so I will describe one which took place after El Sourdo had arrived on the island. Game had become very scarce in our immediate vicinity, and our only farinaceous food was black beans varied by maize, which was too troublesome in the preparation to be much used. The meat went wonderfully quickly, so we determined to extend the sphere of the hunting a little more afield. Accordingly, one fine frosty morning at daylight, the horses were brought up, caught, and saddled, mantles and spurs donned, and eight of us, including the two Indians, Casimiro and El Sourdo, set off to make a circle, *i.e.*, enclose and drive an area of land on the southern shore of the river, finishing at the Missionaries'

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Valley. Casimiro and Gonzalez accordingly started, and the remainder followed in turn. During our drive down, one guanaco was captured by El Sourdo and Isidoro, and on our arrival near the valley of Los Misioneros I chased a guanaco, but, being without dogs and a tyro with the bolas, failed to capture him. However, on rejoining my companions, who had now finished the circle, I found that they had only killed one ostrich, which, through the carelessness of some of the party, the dogs had mauled to such an extent as to render the greater part of the meat unserviceable. The day had been unusually warm, without any wind. Though a bank of white clouds on the horizon seemed to threaten snow, it was agreed to camp out and try our chance of getting a supply of meat on the following day; so we proceeded to a sheltered place in the valley, and bivouacked under the lee of a big incense bush, while the horses were turned loose, and a fire was made, on which the remains of the ostrich were soon cooking under the master hand of Casimiro. After supper, which was rather stinted in quantity, we smoked a pipe and lay down to sleep. About three I woke up, feeling, as I thought, a heavy weight pressing on my mantle, and found that about two inches of snow had fallen, and that it was still snowing. At daylight it came on to rain, but quickly changed to snow again; so we made a fire and waited for an hour to see if the weather would clear. At last, on a gleam of sickly sunshine appearing, we proceeded to arrange the circle, Casimiro starting first. Emerging from the valley and ascending to the high pampa, we met a terrific gale of wind from the south, driving before it small snow in freezing blasts; but two ostriches jumped up from behind a bush, and Mr. Clarke balled one of them with great dexterity. This was very cheering, as we were all very hungry. But, as it was impossible to face the driving sleet and wind, which prevented us from seeing ten yards before us, we adjourned to the valley, leaving Casimiro, who was not visible, to his own pursuits. Suddenly El Sourdo

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discovered smoke behind a clump of trees, and, to our great delight, there was our friend before a good fire, nicely sheltered from snow and wind, within an arbour neatly cut out of a bush. We adjourned to the fire and had breakfast; invigorated by which, and encouraged by a lull in the storm, we started off to renew the chase, but soon got separated by the thick snow-storm. Mr. Clarke, El Sourdo, Gonzales, and myself, who were together, came close upon a herd of guanaco, making for the coast to escape the gale. The dogs gave chase and killed some, others were balled; in fact a regular slaughter took place, and eight or ten carcases were soon lying on the plain. Now came the tedious job of cutting up. I found myself standing alone by a dead guanaco, none of the others being visible, though not fifty yards distant. I proceeded as best I could to arrange the meat, and was about half through the task, with fingers nearly frozen, when I discovered Mr. Clarke and El Sourdo, and shortly after it cleared up, and the remainder of our party, all loaded with meat, arrived. Thus supplied, we turned our faces homewards, and arrived at Santa Cruz a little before sundown, where a steaming kettle of coffee soon dispelled our cold and put us into good spirits.

133 Mr. Darwin and Admiral Fitzroy have thoroughly described the configuration of the Valley of Santa Cruz and its surroundings, so that a lengthened attempt to portray it is not necessary. I would particularly refer the reader to the accurate and picturesque description by the former of the bench formation which causes the western part of the environs of the river to present the appearance of the shores of former successive estuaries—of a vast river or fiord.

Near the settlement the ascent of the Southern Barranca immediately leads to a level plain extending for the space of a couple of miles; then there is another rise of perhaps fifty feet, and another plain, which extends for about the space of a league to a range of successive ridges, which we called the Blue Hills from their peculiar appearance on clear days.

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Thess, eastwards, lose their elevations, and merge into the undulations of the high Pampa and a rolling shoreless waste of stones, coarse grass, and incense bushes; its uneven surface often traversed by ravines running in various directions. Amongst these hills there is a large lagoon which Casimiro informed me he used to visit whilst residing with the missionaries for the purpose of procuring wild fowl, of which there were then great numbers, but they had latterly given up this resort. There are other lagoons scattered at intervals in the before-mentioned plains, which, during the winter, were frozen, and the beautifully smooth ice often caused Mr. Clarke and myself to long for a pair of skates; indeed we tried to manufacture a pair, but without success. 133 [134]

Towards the sea coast from the Blue Hills the slope appears gradual, until nearing the coast, when the plain is intersected by gullies and deep fertile valleys, which render hunting very tedious work, as it is necessary to trust almost entirely to the dogs. Game abounds in this direction, especially during the winter. We made numerous excursions up river, generally staying away from the settlement three or four days, our favourite rendezvous being a place about sixty miles distant, called 'Chiskrookaik,' marked by Fitzroy as an Indian Ford or Pass of the river Santa Cruz, which statement both El Sourdo and Casimiro confirmed. At this point the river narrows considerably, and on the south side there are steep cliffs almost overhanging the water, a cave in which cliffs was always a sure find for a puma. Both above and below this point are large wide plains extending from the 'banks' or cliffs to the river, which may easily be encircled; and the game being hemmed in between the horsemen and the river are readily captured. Sometimes the ostriches take to the water, but in the winter this saves trouble, as their legs get frozen, and on landing they are unable to move. We made an excursion on one occasion some miles higher up the river, and found abundance of game. We had previously on our road had good luck. 133 136

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but, as is often the custom, left the skin animals concealed in bushes, with a poncho or something over them. During the interval of our absence severe weather set in, and on returning to examine our caches the foxes and birds of prey had succeeded for the most. The foxes are a great trouble to the hunters, as, frequently, whilst they are encircling the herds of guanacos, and taking the greatest care to keep out of sight, one of these brutes will jump up, the dogs give chase, and then good-bye to all chance of sport. Fitzroy remarked the number of guanaco bones found in his ascent of the river Santa Cruz, which appear to have puzzled him, but the cause is not far to seek. During the very severe winters which occur I believe about once in three years, these animals, finding no pasture on the high lands, which are covered with snow, are consequently driven down to the plains fringing the river, where they die from starvation. There is also a disease prevalent amongst them something similar to rot in sheep. On one occasion a hunting party killed ten guanacos, all of which were scabby, or, as we called it, 'mangy;' and, consequently, unfit for food. Mr. Clarke told me that after one severe winter he found cartridges lying in heaps, dead under the bushes, and also guanacos. The difficulty of getting the horses across the swift and deep stream, with its banks encumbered by ice, prevented us from making frequent excursions to the northern side of the river. A level plain extends from the banks for about a mile, bounded by a chain of irregular hills; near the foot of these I picked up many specimens of a spiral shell, apparently a Turritella, which appeared to have been vitrified; and crops were as transparent as glass, and of different colours. Beyond these hills rolled a succession of uneven plains diversified by ridges and hills; the general slope of the ground being apparently from west to east, and the hills towards the west often assumed the form of abrupt lofty cliffs. Near a lagoon at the foot of a cliff a hundred feet high I found boulders incrusted with sulphate of iron, such as had been

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pointed out to me in the Falklands, and numerous oyster (1)
shells and other marine shells occurred in various localities. (2)
There are no streams, but frequent lagoons in the hollows,
and surrounded by a luxuriant growth of incense bushes.
The undersken plains abound in round thistle, calfato, and (3)
the curious shrub called 'cotetail,' from the appearance of its
twigs when the thick bark is pulled off. When burned it
emits a dense black resinous smoke. To the north the horizon
is bounded by a lofty range of hills which form the
barrier of the valley of the Rio Chico, about sixty miles
distant. These northern hills abound with puma, some of
which, killed in our hunts, were of unusual size, measuring
fully six feet exclusive of the tail, which is generally
half the length of the body. They are, of course, most (4)
numerous where the herds of guanaco and the ostriches
abound; in the southern part of Patagonia their colour is
more of a greyish-brown than that of the species found in
the Argentine Provinces. These 'Lacunas,' as they are
universally called in South America, always appeared to me
to be the most cat-like of all the felidæ. They are very
timid, always running from a man on horseback, and, by
day at least, from a pedestrian; they run for a short distance
in a series of long bounds, at great speed, but soon tire and
stand at bay behind or in the midst of a bush, and sitting
upon their haunches, spit and swear just like a monstrous
tabby; sometimes endeavouring to scratch with their formidable
claws, but rarely springing at the pursuer. Mr.
Clarke on one occasion had his mantle torn off in this
manner. At another time, when hunting in the vicinity of
Santa Cruz, I observed from a distance Gonzales hacking
with his knife at a big incense bush, and on reaching the spot
found him occupied in clearing away branches to allow him
to knock a huge puma on the head with his bolas. He was
dismounted and attended by his dogs, which beyed the animal.
Still, had the puma not been a cur, he could doubtless have
sprung out and killed or severely wounded the gaucho.

154 The Indians affirm that the puma will attack a single man alone and on foot, and, indeed, subsequently, an example of this came under my notice; however, if a person should be benighted or lost, he has only to take the precaution of lighting a fire, which these animals will never approach. They are most savage in the early part of the spring or breeding season, when, according to my experience, they are found roaming over the country in an unsettled manner; they are then also thinner than at other times, but, like the wild horses, they are generally pretty fat at all times of the year. The females I saw were sometimes accompanied by two cubs, but never more. The meat of the puma resembles pork, and
[illegible] is good eating, though better boiled than roasted, but one or two Indians of my acquaintance would not touch the meat.
28 The hide is useful either for saddle-cloths or to make
[illegible] mantles of; and owing to its greasy nature it can be sufficient with less trouble than that of the guanaco. In Santa Cruz one of the men had a pair of trousers made of lion's skin, which worn with the hair side out was impervious to wet. From the hook and lower part of the hind legs boots may be constructed similar to those made from horse hide, and in common use amongst the Indians and also the gauchos of Plata. These, however, are only made from
[illegible] pumas of large size, and they wear out very quickly. To kill a puma with a gun is rather a difficult matter, as, unless the ball enters his skull, or strikes near the region of the heart, he has as many lives as his relation the cat. I once put three revolver bullets into one, and ultimately had recourse to the bolas as a more effective weapon. When wounded they become very savage, but they are at all times bad customers for dogs, which they meet in a shocking manner. The Indian dogs are trained to stand off and bay them, keeping out of range of the claws; nevertheless they not unfrequently get killed. Perhaps the simplest way of taking the pumas, is to throw a lazo over them, as directly they feel the noose they lie down as if dead, and are easily dra-

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patched. I was particularly struck, as are all hunters, with their eyes, large, brown, and beautifully bright, but with a fierce glare that does not appeal to any feelings of compassion. I shall never forget the expression in the eyes of one puma, best described by the remark made by one of the Indians as he reined back his horse, expecting a spring: 'Mira los ojos del diablo!' ('Look, what devil's eyes!')

One expedition on the northern shore was long remembered and talked of over the fire; and, indeed, might easily have had a very disastrous conclusion.

Towards the latter end of July I proposed to Mr. Clarke that we should proceed on foot, and investigate more closely the bed of fossil shells mentioned as situated on the hills about a mile from the north bank of the river. Accordingly, one morning we prepared to cross the river, and the remainder of the men, hearing of our intentions, volunteered, together with El Sourdo, to accompany us, and, after having visited the hills, to organize a hunting circle on foot: we started about sunrise, and crossed the river to the north side, where we secured the boat above high-water mark; we then all proceeded to the hills, investigated the beds of fossil shells, and gathered many beautiful specimens. The hunt was then formed, so many dogs being apportioned to each person, and the circle being directed to close on a point on the bank of the river about three or four miles west of the settlement. The ground was very favourable for our operations, as the dips, or slightly depressed valleys, hid us from the view of the game. On emerging on the plain at different points we saw several guanacos and some ostriches; and those nearest them slipped their hounds, following on foot at their topmost speed. Mr. Clarke, Isidoro, El Sourdo, and myself were in the centre, and killed amongst us two guanacos and an ostrich. Antonio, who was pointsman, disappeared to the westward with El Cooke, following their dogs in full chase of a herd of guanacos. Our party lit a fire, ate the ostrich, and conveyed what meat we thought advisable to take back

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with us towards the boat, following the river bank, which was strewn in many places with cornelians and flint-agates, and occasionally with fossilised shells. On our arrival at the boat we launched her down the beach, and as the wind had by this time risen to a severe gale and the tide was rapidly ebbing, watched anxiously for the return of the two defaulters; for the navigation of the river is at no time very easy, and when the tide is low, even in daylight, nearly impracticable. At length, after dark, when the squalls of bitterly-cold wind had become very violent, we saw fires in the distance, and almost half an hour afterwards our missing men appeared, each with a load of meat on his shoulders. They arrived considerably exhausted, so we gave them a rest, and then dogs and all got into the boat, and we shoved off, Mr. Clarke steering. We proceeded all right for a few yards, and then struck on a bank; after several ineffectual efforts to shove the boat off, we all jumped into the water and fairly hove her over the bank until the water was up nearly to our shoulders, and then got in and pulled across. Owing to the violence of the wind and the strength of the current, we only succeeded in landing fully three-quarters of a mile from the house; here we secured the boat, and ran up as fast as we could to get our now frozen clothes off and a drink of hot coffee. We all agreed that on another expedition it would be advisable either to encamp on the northern shore until daylight, or come back early enough to be able to get across while it was possible to see the banks. But the general conclusion was not to go again at all.

The weather in July was intensely cold, the lowest reading of the thermometer, which was duly examined every morning, being 8°. Washing our clothes became impossible, as during the process the water froze and the garments became stiff as boards. When crossing the ford, if the potro boots of the rider happened, as was not unfrequently the case, to get filled with water, in a few minutes not only were the boots coated with ice, but the inside resembled an ice-pail.

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The effect of the river ice piled up on the shore by the tides was very striking. Huge floes had accumulated to the height of fifteen feet and upwards, and besides rendering the passage difficult, had buried the carefully-stacked wood-pile under a small mountain of ice. This was in the comparatively sheltered valley. On the Pampas, when the fierce south wind blew, as it almost invariably did, it seemed impossible to face it and live. One attempt made nearly resulted in Gonzalez being overcome by the sleep which is the forerunner of death, and the horses of all the party absolutely could not advance. The snow lay eighteen inches deep, and we had flattered ourselves that the guanaco and ostrich would prove an easy prey. *They* could not run—but *we* could not chase, and were thankful to make our way, slowly and laboriously, down from the desolate and storm-swept Pampas.

The Indians from the Rio Chico occasionally visited us, and Orkeke's objection to my company was gradually giving way. He had probably feared that an English Señor would require a considerable amount of attention, and give constant trouble; but during our intercourse he found that the stranger could (and did) groom his own horse, and wait on himself generally, as well as take his part in whatever was being done, even to sleeping out with no shelter but the ample guanaco mantle. Casimiro also, according to promise, visited the camp, and argued in my favour, finally obtaining from the chief a somewhat reluctant permission for me to join his party. Towards the end of July some of his Indians had come to the settlement to inform us that the scarcity of game in their vicinity had compelled them to shift their quarters to a place higher up the Kio Chico. They anxiously inquired if the schooner had arrived; we were as eagerly looking for her, but day after day passed, and the looked-for boat did not appear.

On the 24th of July everybody had gone hunting, except Juan Chileno (who was cook for the week), and myself, whom a hurt received in my foot had compelled to remain

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quiet. I was employed reading a book, 'Charles Dashwood,' for perhaps the twentieth time, when Juan came in to say that the hunting party had returned. As it was only ten o'clock, my first idea was that the schooner had arrived with Don Luiz. However, this was dispelled by Juan, who had gone out to reconnoitre, rushing in with the news that ten Chilians had arrived on the south side with twenty-one horses. Shortly afterwards Mr. Clarke himself came in and corroborated the intelligence. These men proved to be deserters, who had escaped by night from Punta Arena, taking with them nearly all the horses in the corral. They had left on the 2nd of July, at two A.M. Four of the number were those previously recaptured in Santa Cruz, who had been kept in irons and closely confined at night; but by a supreme effort they had broken their chains, and together with the others, who had everything arranged outside the cuartel, had effected their escape. The sufferings these men must have undergone during the twenty-two days' journey over the Pampas, exposed without shelter to the fierce winds, and sometimes with the snow up to their horses' girths, must have been something frightful, and many of them were frost-bitten. It was out of the question for us to receive them, as our own supplies were failing, and in truth we congratulated ourselves on the horses being secured in the corral, and anxiously watched the movements of the new comers. The party during the afternoon succeeded in crossing the river to the north side, swimming their horses; and disappeared in the direction of the Rio Chico.

By this time even the kind companionship of Mr. Clarke failed to reconcile me to the tedious monotony of our life. The game also became scarcer and scarcer, and the chance of the schooner's coming appeared so indefinite, that at the beginning of August I began to think it would be better and more amusing to migrate to the Indian camp, where, at any rate, plenty of meat was procurable. Accordingly, when the Indians came over again on a visit on the 7th of August, I

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bought a horse, or rather exchanged away a revolver for one 484
(a three year old, newly broken), and started in company with Orkeke, Campan, Cayuke, and Tankelow, four Indians, all of whom were previous acquaintances. Casimiro followed with his family, taking one of the horses from Santa Cruz to assist in the transport of his household. This horse was one I had been accustomed to ride in Santa Cruz, and on arriving at the Indian camp was lent me as a second horse. Shortly after passing the first hills on the northern side, our party not being burdened with women and children, started off at a hand canter, which was kept up until a puma suddenly sprang out of a bush, when chase was immediately given; he, however, got into a thick tangle of incense bushes, from which we tried in vain to dislodge him, and although pelted with stones he lay there spitting like a great cat. Cayuke wished to fire the bush, but Orkeke would not waste time, so we mounted and proceeded on our journey. We continued riding over plains and ridges until about four P.M., when we reached a large laguna, close to which grew some high coarse grass and shrubs; here several ostriches were started, and one killed by Orkeke. On reaching the range of hills before described as the southern barrier of the valley of the Rio Chico, we halted, and shortly had the ostrich cooking on a good fire. We looked back for Casimiro, but could not see him, so after supper and a smoke pursued our journey by the soft light of a young moon. We rode on until about nine P.M., when we reached the Indian encampment. We had been previously puzzled by seeing fires burning a considerable distance up the valley, and found that our chief, Camillo, had already marched in that direction. One of the first persons who accosted me was Arica, and I shortly discovered that [609]
all the Chilians[1] were installed with the Indians in different toldos, which was rather an unpleasant surprise. I was ushered into Orkeke's toldo with due ceremony, and we took our seats by the fire. I had brought a bag of coffee with 272
me, so we set to work and roasted some, after which one of

[1] [i.e. escaped prisoners--Analyst]

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the Chilians was given the task of pounding it between stones, and we all drank what the Indians not inappropriately term 'potwater.' Many Indians crowded in to have a look at us, and amongst others that I noticed was a remarkably pretty little girl of about thirteen years of age, a niece of Orkeke's, who took some coffee when offered in a shy and bashful manner which was delightful to contemplate. In due time we all retired to rest, and a little before daylight I was woke by the melodious singing of an Indian in the next toldo. Shortly afterwards Orkeke went out and harangued the inmates of the remaining toldos, and presently the horses were brought up, and most of the men started for the chase. Snow had fallen during the night, a biting cold wind was blowing, and Orkeke told me there were very few animals about. I took this as a hint not to ask for a horse, so contented myself with sauntering round and examining the encampment. Some of the men were playing cards, one or two sleeping, whilst the women were almost universally employed in sewing guanaco mantles. About three P.M., Casimiro arrived with his family, and proceeded to the tent of a southern Indian, named Crimè, and shortly afterwards the hunting party returned by twos and threes, but the chase had not been attended with much success. We passed the evening pleasantly enough, making acquaintance with each other, and Keoken, the little girl, instructed me in the Indian names of the various objects about the place. Next morning the order was suddenly given to march. As this was totally unexpected, and I was not prepared for departure, I made up my mind to return at once to Santa Cruz, and fetch my clothes and other small articles; also to take back a colt, promised by an Indian called 'Tchang' to Mr. Clarke. After some little difficulty, as the Indians did not wish me to go alone for fear of getting lost, or any other mischance befalling me, Graviel, the youngest son of Casimiro, started with me. We had to take the colt, what a sailor would term, in tow, that is, drag it for some distance with a lazo. As Graviel's

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horse was shy, this work fell to my share. Shortly after the start, rain, or rather sleet, came on, and the contrariness of the brute at the end of the lazo claiming all my attention, I could not manage to keep my mantle tight round my shoulders, and getting thoroughly wet, and losing one of my knives, cursed Tchang, colt and all, freely. After a short time, however, when well out of sight of the Indians, I cast off the towing line, and we drove our 'bête noire' before us. We returned by a different route to the one travelled on the outward journey, guided a good deal by my pocket compass. Towards nightfall, deceived by the appearance of a hill, I flattered myself that we were near Santa Cruz. But, alas! it was still miles away, and we got into fresh difficulties with our charge, which being tired, absolutely refused to go down the hill, and had to be taken 'in tow' again and dragged along, and it must have been nine or ten before we reached the banks of the river. Here, after unsaddling our horses, we vainly attempted to kindle a fire, but everything, like ourselves, was so saturated with snow and wet that all attempts were fruitless; so, fairly tired out, and without fire or supper, we laid down under a bush, and, ensconced under our mantles, were soon in the land of dreams.

Next morning Graviel acted like a dutiful boy for once in his life, and left in search of the horses. Meanwhile the boat came over, and I was anxious to expedite matters; so, after splashing barefooted through several yards of sharp-edged ice on my way to the boat, which had grounded some distance from the shore, I got over to the island, where I was not sorry to get something to eat and a fire to warm my frozen limbs. I packed up my few things, ready for a start later on; but when the flood-tide made, a heavy gale of wind sprang up, and it was with great difficulty that the boat could bring over Graviel and the colt. The cheerful news also awaited me that my horse was missing, and that Graviel and El Cookè had seen a large puma on the river bank, which had probably watched in close proximity to us

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000 whilst sleeping the night before. Owing to the gale, it was impossible to cross that evening, so we made up our minds to stop and sleep on the island.

Next day, my horse not appearing, Mr. Clarke lent me one, sending Isidoro to bring the horse back, in the event of our not meeting with the missing steed. About four P.M., I bid adieu to my friend, whose kindness during my stay had proved him a friend indeed. Having shaken hands with the remainder of the boys, who one and all heartily wished me luck, we started; and after vainly searching for the missing horse, rode on till about ten P.M., when we halted and bivouacked by the side of a laguna. Next morning early we arrived at the Rio Chico, which we crossed on the ice, and about two P.M. reached the toldos. The men were away hunting, the smoke of their fires being visible, rising from the higher plains to the northward. As we had eaten nothing since our supper the night before, which was furnished by a small skunk (which, though very palatable, was unfortunately very thin), we were in urgent need of something to eat, and Arica hastened to cook some guanaco meat on the asador or iron spit.

When the hunters arrived, Orkeke gruffly asked Isidoro what he had come for, and seemed, naturally enough, the reverse of pleased at the information of the loss of his horse; and, altogether, the old chief's behaviour did not seem auspicious; but, without appearing to notice it, I made myself at home in the toldo, and took up my quarters as one of the family.

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CHAPTER III.

THE RIO CHICO.

Breaking up of the Camp—An Idle Day—A Rash Start—A Dilemma—Alone on the Pampa—Reunion—The Kau or Toldo—The Domestic Interior—The Indian Tribes—Three Races—Order of the March—The Hunt—Indian Game Law—Tehuelche Cookery—Basaltic Hills—An Indian Festival—My First Tehuelche Ball—Mrs. Orkeke's Spill—Fording Rio Chico—A Battle—Death of Cuastro—Dangerous Times—Chilian Conspiracy—Obsidian Plain and Pass—First Ostrich Eggs—Amakaken—Lifting the Boulder—The Devil's Country—God's Hill—Condors and Dinner—Sunrise on the Cordillera—The Plague Herald—Gelgel Aik—Escape from Matrimony—Téle—Eyes of the Desert—Preparations for War—Another Fight—Water Tigers—Indian Bravoes—Iron Ores—Ship Rock—Perch Fishing—Appleykaik—Casimiro's Escape—Arrival at Henno.

THE morning after we had rejoined the Indian camp was 361
marked by the general breaking up of the party. Camillo and some others had already left, and by this time were several marches in advance; Orkeke and Isidoro started off to Santa Cruz, in search of the lost horse, and charged with some little commissions for me. Finally, Casimiro and all the rest broke up their encampment and started, intending to overtake Camillo. Before leaving, Casimiro came to me, and affecting great interest in my welfare, confidentially urged me to accompany himself and live as an inmate of his (or rather Crimè's) toldo, adding that he had been informed that Orkeke had no real intention of marching northward, but designed to keep me in his toldo until, by some means or other, he could possess himself of my arms and ammunition.

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As I saw no reason to believe this story, I declined to comply with the proposal of Casimiro, who, having consoled himself by begging a little coffee, took his departure, and the encampment was reduced to the toldo, of which I was to consider myself an inmate, and another, belonging to the only Indians who remained—Tankelow, Orkeke's brother, and his son, a youth of about eighteen. Besides these, there were three of the Chilian deserters who as narrated had escaped from Punta Arena; one was attached to the household of Tankelow, and the other two to that of Orkeke. One of these was Arica, already mentioned, who being a very clever worker in hide, had employed himself in adorning saddles and bridles for the Indians, by which he had acquired a pretty good stock of gear. The condition of all three was, however, not enviable. They had lowered themselves at first by volunteering to discharge the drudgery of fetching wood and water, and by this time were little better than slaves, obliged to perform the menial offices, which before had been the task of the women. These fair creatures, headed by Mrs. Orkeke—a young woman almost six feet in height, and displaying a corresponding breadth across the shoulders—employed themselves in cutting out and sewing guanaco mantles, weaving fillets for the head, and chattering. Tankelow and his son presently started for a hunt; but as I was not offered a mount, and deemed it more reasonable to give my only charger a good rest and feed, I could only accompany them to the river, the frozen surface of which they crossed, and disappeared up a cañon that led up the barranca, on the northern limit of the valley, to the Upper Pampa. Having wistfully watched them, I reconnoitred the valley of the Rio Chico. Behind me, to the south-east, the river wound through plains covered with withered coarse grass, some eighteen inches high, extending on either bank for several miles till terminated by the rising barranca. Snow lay here and there in patches on some of the higher ground, and increased the dreariness of the prospect. About

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two leagues below the river divided into two branches, which reunited beyond an island of some extent. Looking up river in a north-westerly direction, the valley soon narrowed in, the southern barranca sloping down to within a couple of miles of our camp; and the view was closed by two remarkable hills resembling fortresses, which seemed to stand on guard on either side. I made a slight sketch of the outlines of the view, which forms the background of the hunting scene.* Having strolled back to the toldo, I was greeted by the women with the usual demand, 'Mon aniwee'—Anglicè, 'Lend us the pipe,' which was duly charged and handed round. We then sat and watched the proceedings of Keoken, Tankelow's pretty little daughter, just budding into womanhood, and a small boy to whom I gave the name of Captain John, who were amusing themselves by catching and riding some of the horses which were tamer than the others. The urchins soon grew tired of their equestrian feats; and, prompted by the spirit of mischief, which seems ever to haunt children, and especially Indian boys, came and begged a match of me. Not suspecting their purpose, I gave them the coveted prize, with which they hurried off in high delight, and in a very few minutes had set fire to the rank, withered herbage, some distance off the toldo, but to the windward. The conflagration was at first unnoticed by us; but at dusk, when Tankelow returned from hunting, with a supply of meat, it was palpably dangerous. So all hands had to set to work, and by dint of tearing up the grass, with great trouble we stopped its progress, which if aided by a breeze in the night would very probably otherwise have consumed the toldo and endangered the inmates. Of the culprits no notice was taken, the occurrence being apparently regarded as all in the day's work. After our supper off guanaco meat, and a smoke, I turned in, and slept soundly on my Tehuelche bed of hides and bolsters which had been carefully arranged by the tall hostess.

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* Frontispiece.

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The next day was got through by having a thorough 'wash' of my clothes, and cultivating a closer acquaintance with the Chilian Arica, from whom I obtained a dog in exchange for an old guanaco mantle. But as on the third day no signs of the return of Orkeke appeared, the inaction became insupportable, so after the departure on a hunting excursion of Tankelow and his son, Arica and myself determined to start in pursuit of Casimiro and his party. As Arica had no horse, it would be necessary for us to ride and tie; but even thus we could make quick travelling. Accordingly at two P.M. we started, much to the astonishment of the ladies, who protested that we were certain to lose our way or be killed by the pumas. One old lady, Orkeke's sister, after trying in vain to dissuade us, presented me with a slice of charqui, which with a few handfuls of coffee formed our stock of provisions. That day we did not get very far; but in the next march, as the track of the Indians was plain, we had made thirty miles by the time we halted, at nightfall, at a place where another valley from the northward joined that of the Rio Chico. Our charqui had barely sufficed for an evening meal, so this day we satisfied our appetites with the supply of the tuberous roots of a plant which grows in great quantities in most parts of Patagonia.

The plant, which in its growth resembles very closely the balsam bog of the Falkland Islands, and might be easily taken for it but for the absence of the gum, which perhaps was attributable to the quality of the soil or the season of the year, is easily recognisable by its mass of tiny green leaflets, and presents the appearance of a small hillock of earth crowned with delicate moss. By digging down into the heap, one large and several small tuberous roots are found, which when roasted in the ashes prove sufficiently palatable to hungry men.

We went to sleep in the open air, rolled up in our guanaco mantles, but awoke to find that a heavy fall of snow had covered everything a foot deep, and totally hidden all trail of

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the Indians. In this dilemma, quite uncertain which of the two valleys to ascend, and feeling extremely cold, we first looked out for a place of shelter. This was afforded us by a little dell or recess in the side of the barranca, which was thickly overgrown with incense bushes. Betaking ourselves thither, we speedily had a blazing fire kindled, and while warming our chilled limbs held a council. It was decided that I should mount, and proceed to hunt for some food; and then, if the weather moderated, we could proceed. Arica was left in charge of the fire, with a strong caution from me to keep it up, and to make as much smoke as possible, by way of signal to the Indians. After a good deal of difficulty, my horse, which was only half broken, and had a playful way of rearing up and striking with his forefeet, was curbed with the leathern thong which forms the Indian bit. I then proceeded to scale the barranca bordering the river valley, and soon reached the desolate undulations of the higher Pampa. As a necessary precaution against losing my way, I was careful to take two or three bearings of conspicuous hills, visible in the northern limits of the valley; for the monotonous and dreary waste of the Pampa, strewn with boulders and shingle, alternated with tufts of grass, presents no track or landmark to guide the wanderer. It was not long before two or three herds of guanaco were sighted; but the dog, which had probably during the night foraged for himself, and found some half-eaten carcase, would not run, and a gallop of some twelve miles proved fruitless. Just as I was about giving up in despair, I observed a herd in a hollow, which I was able to approach unobserved. Knowing that our chance of food for the day depended on success, I warily approached, and then charged, and to my delight succeeded in entangling one with the bolas. He was soon despatched; and while I was busily cutting off a supply of meat, to my sudden surprise an Indian came galloping up. The new comer proved to be Tankelow, who was in search of me. He brought word that Orkeke had found the strayed

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horse, and had returned; and that the party were marching as fast as they could to overtake Casimiro. He had been detached, partly to hunt and partly to find us. In reply to my inquiries about Arica, he assured me that he was all right, and as there seemed no reason for disbelieving the statement we speedily rode back to the party, and rejoined them on the march, being received with shouts of laughter from the ladies; but as Arica was nowhere to be seen, I expressed my determination to ride back in search of him. This, however, they would not allow, but despatched a mounted Indian and spare horse to bring him in, and a good piece of meat for his refreshment. We then proceeded at a brisk rate, and by nightfall reached the camp. Orkeke at first seemed rather to resent my having started off alone, as if it argued a want of confidence in him; but his delight at having recovered his horse assisted him to recover his good humour. Mr. Clarke had sent me by him some powder, which he *said* he had lost, and some articles, such as linen and tobacco, and my presenting them all to him quite did away with any traces of ill-feeling.

The several detachments were all now reunited, and the party mustered altogether, besides the Chilians and myself, eighteen able-bodied Tehuelche or Patagonian men, with a proportionate number of women and children. The most important among the Indians were Orkeke, the actual cacique, and his brother Tankelow, who possessed the greater number of horses; Casimiro, whose leadership was still rather *in posse;* Camillo, Crimè, Cuastro, Cayuke, &c. One more must be mentioned by name, Wáki; a perfect Hercules in bodily frame, and a thoroughly good-natured fellow, with whom I became great friends. Of all these men, who were in the camp by the Rio Chico on August 15, but eight survived to reach the Rio Negro in the following May; the rest had, at one time or another, been killed or had died. The secret feuds which were before long to endanger the safety of us all, were as yet concealed, and all appeared

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to be good friends. The whole were housed in five toldos—by which Spanish name the Indian kan, or tents, strongly resembling those of our own gipsies, are known. They were pitched in a sheltered hollow, with their fronts facing the east, to avoid the bitter violence of the prevalent westerly winds.

Fitzroy has given an excellent description of the toldo; but to those readers who are unacquainted with it a brief sketch will not be unacceptable. A row of forked posts about three feet high is driven into the ground in a slightly slanting position, and a ridge pole laid across them; in front of these, at a distance of about seven feet, a second row, six feet high, with a ridge pole; and at the same distance from them a third row, eight feet high, each slanting a little, but not at the same angle. A covering made of from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins, smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and the great drag of the heavy covering straightens the poles; it is then secured by thongs to the front poles, while hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping-places, and the baggage piled round the sides of the tent excludes the cold blast which penetrates under the edge of the covering. The fire is kindled in the fore part, or 'mouth of the tent.' In very bad weather, or when encamped for the winter, an additional covering is secured to the front poles and brought down over an extra row of short posts, making all snug. It is a common arrangement for relatives or friends to combine their toldos, when, instead of bringing down the coverings to the ground at the side, they are made to overlap, and thus one tent roof will cover two or three distinct domestic interiors.

The furniture of the toldos consists of one or two bolsters and a horse hide or two to each sleeping compartment, one to act as a curtain and the other for bedding. The bolsters are made of old ponchos, or lechus, otherwise called mandils, woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, who are

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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sown up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women. The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

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But to convey a clear understanding of the relations between the tribes which will be mentioned in the ensuing pages, it is as well here briefly to distinguish them. In the various maps and accounts of Patagonia extant, numerous tribes, with different names, are marked and recorded. These accounts, so far as my observations enable me to judge, have arisen from the custom of parties of the tribe combining to travel or fight under the leadership of a particular chief, and being described by themselves, when met with, by his name. I have been enabled to recognise thus the Moluches, who were so called from Malechou, a hereditary chief of that name; and the celebrated chief Lenketrou united under the leadership men of several tribes, and is said to have commanded 1,500 men in his great raid on the Rio Negro settlements. There are now between the Rio Negro [196] and the Straits about 500 fighting men, giving at a rough estimate a population of about 3,000. The Tehuelches, or Patagonians proper, exclusive of the Foot Indians of Tierra del Fuego—who are distinct, though they may be of the same original stock—are divided into two great tribes, the Northern and Southern. They speak the same language, but [197] are distinguishable by difference of accent, and the Southern men appear to be, on an average, taller and finer men, and are more expert hunters with the bolas. The Northern range chiefly over the district between the Cordillera and the sea; from the Rio Negro on the north to the Chupat, occasionally descending as far as the Santa Cruz River. The Southern occupy the country south of the Santa Cruz, and migrate as far as Punta Arena. The two divisions, however, are much intermixed and frequently intermarry; always, notwithstanding, preserving their clannish division, and taking opposite sides in the frequent quarrels. Our party was composed in almost equal parts of both Northern and Southern, and one inmate of our toldo was a Southern named Hummums, a brother of Mrs. Orkeke. From the Rio Negro as far as the Chupat, another tribe, speaking a different language, is met

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with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penck,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees, once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Aries arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

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a huge puma crouched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, however, as Arias was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indios with the mast and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of march and method of hunting which constitute the daily routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a brief oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of halting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonition, by way of a wind up, with a boastful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's 'oration' —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men and boys lace and bring up the horses; and the women place on their backs the baggage of mats, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their belts on, or putting their babies

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into wickerwork cradles, or rolling up the skins that form the coverings of the tolderia, and placing them and the poles on the baggage horses; last of all the small breakers, which are carried on the march, are filled with water. The women escort by means of a sling round the horses' necks, and sit astride of their bolster-saddles; their babies—if they possess any—and their pet dogs are bolstered up, the babies being shrewd in the cradles behind them; then they take their baggage-horses in tow and start off in single file. The men, who generally wait until all are ready, then drive the spare horses for a short distance, and having handed them over to the charge of their wives or daughters, retire to a neighbouring knoll, where a fire is kindled, pipes are lighted, and the hunt commenced in the following manner. Two men start off and ride at a gallop round a certain area of country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are despatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a hamlet formed by the slowly proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanacos run from the advancing party, but are checked by the guirinnaos, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently closing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use. Pumas are very frequently found in the circles, and quickly despatched by a blow on the head from a ball. On one occasion I saw Wild completely crush, by a single blow, the skull of an unusually large one. The Indian law of division of the game prevents all disputes, and is as follows. The man who hails the ostrich leaves it for

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WAKI KILLING A PUMA.

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224 the other, who has been chasing with him, to carry or take charge of, and at the end of the hunt it is divided; the feathers and body from the head to the breast-bone and one leg belonging to the captor, the remainder to the assistant. In the case of guanaco, the first takes the best half in the
[262] same manner; the lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, and the fat and marrow bones are sometimes eaten raw. The Tehuelches also cut out the fat over the eyes, and the gristly fat between the thigh joints, which they eat with great gusto, as also the heart and blood of the ostrich. Owing to the entire absence of farinaceous food, fat becomes a necessary article of diet, and can be consumed in much larger quantities than in more civilised countries. That this is not merely owing to the inclemency of the climate is proved by the appetite for fat which the gauchos in the Argentine provinces acquire.
252 When the hunt is finished, and the birds cut up and divided, fires are kindled, and whilst stones are heating the ostrich is plucked, the wing feathers being carefully tied together with a piece of sinew. The bird is then laid on its back and drawn; the legs are carefully skinned down, and the bone taken out, leaving the skin; the carcase is then separated into two halves, and the backbone having been extracted from the lower half, and the meat sliced so as to admit the heated stones laid in between the sections, it is tied up like a bag, secured by the skin of the legs, with a small bone thrust through to keep all taut; this is placed on the live embers of the fire, a light blaze being kindled when it is nearly done to perfectly roast the outside meat. During the process of cooking it has to be turned frequently to ensure all parts being thoroughly cooked. When ready it is taken
264 off the fire, and the top part being cut off and the stones extracted, the broth and meat are found deliciously cooked. The party, generally consisting of twos or fours, sit round the dish and eat the meat, sopping it in the broth. The back part, which consists nearly altogether of fat (when the ostrich is in good condition), is then divided, pieces being given to

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each, and reserved as tid-bits for the women and children. When the head and breast half are to be cooked, the bone is not extracted, but the wings turned inside and the breast cavity filled with heated stones, and tied up with half of the skin of the legs, which have been divided, additional pieces of meat from the legs having been placed in the breast cavity. The fat of the breast is divided amongst the party at the fireside, the owner in all cases reserving none or a very small piece for himself, as the others who are cooking at the same fire are sure to give him plenty. The cacique generally receives the largest share, or if he is not present, the greatest friends of the owner. The wing feathers are carefully taken to the toldos and stored with others for future trade. The ostrich is most thoroughly eaten; the gizzard, which is large enough to fill both hands, being carefully cooked by the insertion of a hot stone and roasted; the eyes, too, are sucked, and the tripe devoured; but when the birds are thin they are simply skinned, and the carcase left to the pumas. After the meal, concluding the hunt, is finished, a pipe is handed round, saddles are re-adjusted, and the game placed on them, and the party adjourn to the toldos, which by this time have been pitched and arranged by the women.

Guanaco are not much killed, unless a long stay in a place is intended, or an Indian feels inclined for blood, or ostriches, which are always eaten in preference, are scarce. The meat of the guanaco is, however, excellent; the haunches are generally what is termed in Spanish 'charqueared,' which means that the meat is cut off in thin slices, and after a little salt has been sprinkled over it, is dried in the sun. When thoroughly dried it is roasted in the ashes, pounded between two stones, and mixed with ostrich or other grease; this preparation, like pemmican, is very useful for a man going a long journey, as it can be carried in a small compass, and a mere handful satisfies the appetite.

It would be tedious to describe every day's march, and the

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START FROM THE CAMP AT MOWAISH OR WINDOW HILL.

[facing p. 79]

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routine of hunting, as we made our way slowly up the valley of the Rio Chico, which was still frozen over. The weather was cold, and occasional showers of snow accompanied the strong piercing westerly winds which blew every day. The valley sometimes opened out into wide grass-covered plains, dotted with incense-bushes, then rose again in huge bare ridge and furrow-like undulations. Occasionally there occurred patches of swampy ground with frozen lagoons, and here and there open springs, the resort of numerous water-fowl. The hills on the northern side appeared bare and rugged, rising abruptly out of irregular forms, while the southern heights were lower, and presented more of the steep declivities known as barrancas, interrupted at intervals by high rugged hills of basalt, often assuming the appearance of ruined castles, closing in at the bends of the winding river. To one of these—a remarkable hill under which we were encamped on August 23, about 120 miles from Santa Cruz—I gave the name of Sierra Ventana, from a window-like opening through its peak; the Indians called it Môwaish. (See Illustration.) In many places the bases of these hills were formed entirely of a description of lava, and one of the Chilians informed me that whilst passing over a ridge, he had observed several large masses of pure iron: this, however, I was inclined to disbelieve, as although farther up the country iron ore exists in large quantities, I only observed in this part a species of ore similar to that common at Drobak, in Norway.

On one occasion, while marching, we observed smoke in our rear, which was thought to be caused either by a messenger in search of us announcing the arrival of the schooner, or else by a party of the Southern Indians who had some idea of marching north. However, no scout was sent back to discover the truth, so we remained in ignorance. On the 26th we halted, and encamped by the side of the river in a broad opening of the valley; here there was a lagoon, not completely frozen, in which grew a description of flag, of

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262 which the root, or rather lower stem, is eaten by the Indians, and is succulent and juicy, with a pleasant taste. The boys and girls soon brought a large supply into the toldos. The
881 day after our arrival in this place, the attainment of the age of puberty of one of the girls was celebrated according to custom. Early in the morning the father of the child informed the cacique of the event, the cacique thereupon officially communicated the intelligence to the acting doctor or medicine-man, and a considerable shouting was set up, while the doctor adorned himself with white paint and was bled in
881 the forehead and arms with a sharp bodkin. The women
346 immediately set to work to sew a number of 'mandils' together. When the patchwork was finished, it was taken with pomp and ceremony by a band of young men, who marched round the poles—already fixed to form a temporary toldo—singing, whilst the women joined in with the most dismal incantations and howlings. After marching round several times, the covering was drawn over the poles, and lances were stuck in front, adorned with bells, streamers, and brass plates that shook and rattled in the breeze, the whole thing when erected presenting a very gay appearance (its Indian name literally meaning 'The pretty house'). The
881 girl was then placed in an inner part of the tent, where nobody was admitted. After this everybody mounted, and some were selected to bring up the horses, out of which certain mares and fillies were chosen, and brought up in front of the showy toldo, where they were knocked on the head by a ball—thus saving the blood (which was secured in
[262] pots) to be cooked, being considered a great delicacy. It is a rule amongst the Indians that any one assisting to take off the hide of a slaughtered mare is entitled to a piece of meat, but the flesh was on this occasion distributed pretty equally all round. Whilst the meat was cooking, Casimiro, who was
881 ruler of the feast, sent a message for me to come to Crimè's
252 toldo, where I found him busy working at a saddle, in the construction of which he was, by the way, an adept. His

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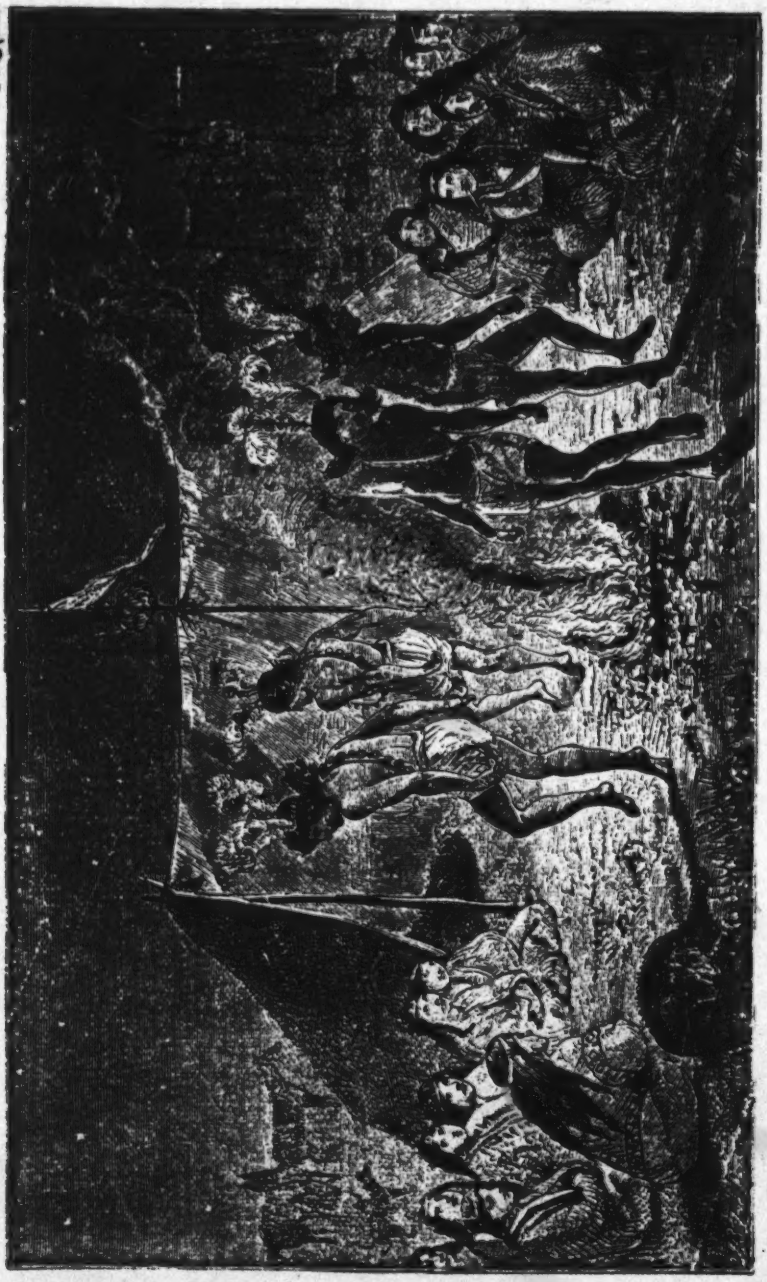

THE "PRETTY HOUSE" AND DANCE.

[facing p. 81]

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881 wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some
252 of the blood mixed with grease. When the mess was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagists—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat.
881 On this occasion everybody ate where they liked, in their
535 own toldos. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The
[534] orchestra consisted of a drum made by stretching a piece of hide over a bowl, also a sort of wind instrument formed of the thigh-bone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is placed to the mouth and played, or with a short bow having a horsehair string. When all was ready, some of the old
[533] hags all the time singing in their melodious way, the band struck up, and four Indians, muffled up in blankets, so that
[301] their eyes only were visible, and their heads adorned with ostrich plumes, marched into the ring, and commenced pacing slowly round the fire, keeping time to the music. After two or three promenades, the time gradually quickened, until they went at a sort of trot; and about the fifth round, dancing fast to the music, they threw away their mantles, and
[302] exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from
[301] the shoulder to the hip, which jingled in tune to their steps. The first four consisted of the chiefs Casimiro, Orkeke, Crimé, and Camillo, who, after dancing with great action (just avoiding stepping into the fire), and bowing their plumed

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881 heads grotesquely on either side to the beats of the drum,
535 retired for a short time to rest themselves, after which they appeared again and danced a different step. When that was over, four more appeared, and so on, until every one, including the boys, had had a fling. Sometimes, to give greater effect, the performers carried a bunch of rushes in one hand. About nine P.M., everybody having had enough, Casimiro gave the sign. The band stopped playing, and all retired to bed. The dancing was not ungraceful, but was rendered grotesque by the absurd motions of the head. It was strictly confined to the men, the women being only allowed to look on.

133 On the second day's march from the scene of my first Indian ball we crossed a rocky ridge abounding with a description of vesicular lava; the ridge ran out from the southern limits of the valley and terminated in precipitous cliffs, round the base of which wound the river. The surface of the ridge was fissured in many places with deep chasms like Alpine crevasses, on the brink of one of which my horse stopped just in time to escape a fall. The caravan had gone a more circuitous route to take advantage of the lowest and easiest crest. On the other side of the ridge the valley suddenly spread out to the extent of several miles, and on the western horizon a line of snowy peaks was visible, their summits capped with clouds: this was our first view of the Cordillera. The low ground was cut up by streams and small lakelets of water, formed by the overflow of a small fork of the river, which glistening in the afternoon sunshine presented a beautiful silvery appearance, very refreshing to the eye wearied with alternate gazing on withered
484 grass and black volcanic rocks. However beautiful to look at, this scene would clearly prove difficult travelling, so a halt was called, and our course debated on; ultimately it was resolved to cross the river and encamp on the northern bank, where the ground was higher and free from floods, so loads were carefully adjusted, and children transferred to the arms of the men, to give the women more freedom of action;

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baggage-horses were also taken in tow by the young men, 484
and Casimiro and another volunteering to lead the van and act as pilots, we proceeded to make our way to the river-bank, which rose by a gradual elevation from the lower inundated plain. After much floundering about in water-holes, and various spills, which caused great merriment, especially when Mrs. Orkeke and all her gear came down by the run, an iron kettle of which she was very proud clattering down so as to frighten several of the horses into what threatened to become a general stampede, the bank was safely reached; the river was swollen high, and its rapid current running six or seven miles an hour, was bringing down huge sharp-edged masses of ice. It seemed almost impossible for the women and baggage animals to cross. However, Orkeke, taking a long pole to sound with, led the way, and by watching their opportunity to dodge the floating ice, which cut the horses' and riders' legs cruelly, all got safely over. A wilder scene could hardly be imagined—dogs howling on the bank fearing to pass, women singing out to their various friends and relations, and here and there an adventurous Indian, who scorned to go by the ford with the rest, disappearing for a second in the river, horse and all, but ultimately emerging some distance down the stream. The water was bitterly cold, as may be imagined, and the piercing wind benumbed our dripping bodies; so on arriving at the north bank, where there were some small sandy hillocks, we kindled a large fire, and had a warm and a smoke whilst the women were employed pitching the toldos. It had been decided to remain here some days and then proceed to the vicinity of the Cordillera for the purpose of catching wild horses. But, as will be seen shortly, 'L'homme propose et Dieu dispose.' Looking 133
up towards the Cordillera from our encampment, the valley appeared to expand a few miles up into one immense plain, and the Indians informed me that before reaching the mountains there is a great drop or basin where the wild horses are found. This was probably, at the period of our visit, a vast

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133 sheet of water from the melting snows. Lake Viedma lies some miles to the southward from the head of the valley, and I should be inclined to think that the course of the Rio Chico, which undoubtedly flows from it, would be found to come from the south to north, and bend easterly at the head of the valley, where it unites the numerous streams as described by Viedma in his journey in 1580. I am also inclined to think that Viedma being taken twice across the Rio Chico mistook the river at the second crossing for another, which he has marked as the Chalia, a name, by the way, unknown to the Indians, save as applied to an unsavoury parasite only too common among them. The follow-
578 ing morning, September 2, we were sitting quietly round the fire discussing a breakfast of boiled ostrich prepared by the lady of the house, when suddenly the clash of knives was heard, and we saw two Indians, destitute of mantles, with naked swords in their hands, run across from Camillo's to Crimè's toldo. In a minute everything was in an uproar; arms were produced, guns and revolvers loaded, and some of
[714] the Indians equipped themselves in coats of mail, and others, with the assistance of the women, padded themselves about the chest and upper part of the body with thick blankets and corconillas or saddle-cloths. Knowing what was about to happen, the women, and with them all the Chilian deserters, except one, beat a retreat to a safe distance from the toldos. Having assumed my arms, and feeling thoroughly mystified as to the real cause of this excitement, I went to Camillo's toldo, where the scene explained itself. He was lying on his bed dead, with a frightful gash in his side, having been murdered by Cuastro, one of the Indian whom we had seen running to Crimè's tents. On issuing from the toldo Casimiro met me, and asked for a revolver, as he had no firearms, and I lent him one accordingly. The Indians showed by their changed countenance all the fury of fight; their very complexions seemed ghastly, and their eyes glared and rolled, seeming to see blood. The two opposing parties.

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the Southern Indians—friends of Crimè, who was a cousin of Cuastro—and Orkeke's and Casimiro's people, or the Northern party, were soon ranged in open line at some twenty yards distance from each other. Cuastro was conspicuous by his tunic or 'buff coat' of hide studded with silver, while his only weapon was a single sword or rapier. The fight commenced with an irregular discharge of guns and revolvers, which lasted a few minutes, till some of the Northern or Orkeke's Indians, led by Casimiro, closed up, and a hand-to-hand contest with swords and lances took place, resulting in the death of Cuastro and the severe wounding of two or three Southern Indians. The Northerns then drew off to reload, and were about to renew the action, when Tankelow proposed a truce, which was accepted on the understanding that both parties were to march at once in the same direction. The women and children were then recalled from the bushes whither they had retired, the horses brought up, and the dead buried. The Tehuelches' lance is entirely different to that of the Araucanos or Pampas, and is only used when fighting on foot; it consists of a heavy shaft eighteen feet in length, at the extremity of which a blade is fixed about eighteen inches long, constituting a most formidable weapon in the hands of an expert Indian. Cayuke, whom I have before mentioned, in this fight was armed with the lance, and ran Cuastro through the body, although protected by his mail and endeavouring to parry the point with a sword. This Cuastro was a brave man; when dying, with several bullets in his body, and several lance thrusts, he sprang up to his full height and called out, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me;' his wife then rushed up to him crying and sobbing, but he fell down dead at the same moment. Casimiro had a narrow escape; he parried a blow of a sword with what may be termed the slack part of his mantle, but if the blow had caught him on the head, as intended, it would have ended his career then and there. The casualties were a wound in Crimè's leg, and

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a lance thrust clean through the thigh of Hummums, a young Indian, who seemed to care very little about it. The fight originated out of a vendetta between Cuastro and Camillo, the latter having some years before caused the death of a member of the family of the former, who had on a previous occasion endeavoured to avenge it on Camillo, and he had only attached himself to our party, in company with Crimé, in order to obtain an opportunity of assassinating Camillo. This Cuastro had been suspected on good grounds of making away with Mendoza, the Argentine sent from Buenos Ayres in company with Casimiro, and who mysteriously disappeared; and he had certainly, when under the influence of rum, at Santa Cruz, murdered his own wife Juana, a daughter of Casimiro, so that brave as he was he had richly deserved the fate he met with.

After the obsequies of the dead had been hurriedly performed—a description of which is reserved for another place—the tents were struck, and all marched off, the men remaining armed, and each party travelling separately. Cayuke was sent back some miles to ascertain if there were any signs of the other Southern Indians, who were half expected to overtake us; but he returned some hours later with no intelligence. We marched a few miles up the valley, rather coasting the northern hills, and encamped by a most beautiful circular spring, the water bubbling up through pure white sand and forming a tiny brook, while little fishes darted across in the basin. The Indians still remained with arms ready to hand—were very silent and ate nothing. Several of the Northerns came into our toldo towards evening, and remained a long time conversing by the embers of the fire, and ever and anon one of the widows of the deceased would break out into a wail of lamentation, sobbing in the most dismal and melancholy manner, the lament at times being taken up by some of the older hags.

On the following day Crimé sent for me to dress his leg, imagining, of course, that I undertook surgery; so I washed

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the wound and bandaged it with cold water bandages, which 578
appeared to be successful, as in a few days it inconvenienced him but little. Thence proceeding to Casimiro's toldo—the smallest I ever saw—I got him to cover my saddle with a guanaco skin I had obtained on the road. The children appeared to be the only members of the party unaffected by the prevailing gloom. They had found a snow-bank in a nook, and amused themselves sliding down it on a bit of wood *à la Russe*. This evening things looked very black again. A consultation was held in Orkeke's toldo, and although it was carried on in a low tone, and I was little conversant with the Tehuelche tongue, I heard my name frequently mentioned in connection with a revolver, and also the Chilians. I was much puzzled at what was going on, but as Mrs. Orkeke brought me some supper in the most gracious and smiling manner, did not trouble myself more than to overhaul my arms quietly, and see they were ready for use. I subsequently found out that a plot had been set on foot amongst the Chilians to rise, rob, and murder the Indians, and escape with the horses. Some, however, my informant among the number, refused to join. The Indians, who are naturally quick-sighted, had conceived a suspicion that all was not right, and were debating whether it would not be better to kill the Chilians at once, before they became more troublesome; but Casimiro prevailed on them to let them remain until they did something to necessitate their destruction; and so they escaped for the present.

September 5th, at an early hour, we were awoke by 133
Orkeke's marching harangue; and after coasting the hills bordering the valley for a few miles, bade adieu to the valley of the Rio Chico, and struck into a gorge of the northern hills, leading into an uneven valley lying between low irregular hills of decomposed lava, which we followed, passing several small lagoons in the lower hollows, around which there was invariably a yellow description of clay. The hills were everywhere covered with scrub, and presented a wild,

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133 bleak appearance, the grey rocks only appearing now and then. After some hours' travelling through this dismal district in a north-west course, we emerged on a large plain at the western side, bounded by a range of hills 1,000 feet high, forming a spur of the Cordillera. The weather was stormy, and we could only catch occasional glimpses, through the driving clouds and snow-storms, of the loftier peaks of the more distant mountains. Our expedition in search of wild horses was, of course, after the recent trouble, abandoned; and forced marches, to escape the Southern Indians, in the event of their following from Santa Cruz, were the order of the day. Hunting, however, was resumed by the unwounded, and several ostriches were caught during the day. Towards evening the encampment was fixed near a lagoon, the environs of which were barren, and destitute of anything except a small low shrub which served as firewood. Although the wind was northerly, it was bitterly cold; and as I had for some days past adopted the native costume—keeping my 'store clothes' stowed away under charge of Mrs. Orkrke—I felt it exceedingly. The 6th, 7th, and 8th of September were occupied in making forced marches northward, accompanied by the usual hunting; and although both parties continued armed, and appeared to be rather suspicious of each other, things went on pretty smoothly. The country traversed on the 6th and 7th was a large arid plain, dotted with a few stunted shrubs, enclosed by the before-mentioned spur of the Cordillera on the western side, and on the east by a low
[35] range of sandy-looking hills. The whole of this plain was strewn with small pebbles of porphyry, quartz, silicia, and obsidian; also with small pieces of silicified wood. On the 8th we crossed the spur by a pass walled on either hand with rocks of vesicular lava. Here we halted for a quarter of an hour, and every one broke off pieces of stone suitable for making hand-balls for bolas. The descent on the western side was no easy matter, the declivity being strewn with large masses of rock and loose boulders, and the wind blew-

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ing bitterly cold, and with such force that some of the women's horses could hardly face it. Ultimately all managed to reach a spacious elevated pampa, on the western side of which, some fifteen leagues off, rose the Cordillera of the Andes. In the pass I observed several large pieces of obsidian, so clear and peculiarly round-shaped that I at first imagined that a demijohn had been carried thither by some previous party and broken. Of this the women gathered some pieces, to serve as scrapers for cleaning guanaco skins. We traversed the usual barren high pampa—interspersed with low shrubs, coarse grass, and here and there an immense bush of considerable size, which afforded a moment's shelter from the cutting wind—for some distance, till we at length reached a cliff, below which lay a grassy plain, watered by a small, rapid stream. About thirty miles in the background were visible the lofty mountains of the Cordillera. The inviting appearance of the pasture determined us to remain for a couple of days to rest the horses, after the unusually long exertion of the preceding days. The following day was occupied chiefly in making hand-balls for holes from the soft porous stone obtained in the rocky pass. Towards noon a frightful gale of wind sprung up, which blew down most of the tolderia; but ours, thanks to the strength of arm of Mrs. Gibbon, who had scarcely fixed the poles, remained firm, only one or two of the poles being broken. The river, here flowing in an eastward direction, was the first stream met with since leaving the valley of the Rio Chico. In the descent to it, the bank formation, although recognizable, was not so much marked as in many of the other rivers. After two days' rest we resumed our journey; and having traversed the grassy valley for, perhaps, a mile, ascended a slight ridge to a higher plain of the usual sterile nature, in which the first ostrich eggs met with were found. Our course was directed nearly north-west, to a range of hills 800 feet in height; on their summit was a plateau strewn with large stones and rocks.

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[95] We formed another hunt, in which numerous ostriches and several ponies were killed. From the western side of the plateau we overlooked a large plain, extending to the immediate vicinity of the mountains, but near the side of which there appeared to be a cutting or sheep descent, just like a railway embankment. As it had been announced in the cacique's address that we were to encamp near a spring on the eastern side, and I had killed an ostrich, which, after giving a sharp run of half a mile, had been turned by the cavalcade of women, I proceeded in company with Casimiro and another to have some dinner. We accordingly selected a bush, cooked and ate our bird, and at the conclusion of our meal mounted and proceeded to where we expected to find the encampment. But, arriving at the spot, we found nobody, and looking over the plain we caught a glimpse of a belated woman just vanishing down the cutting above mentioned. We accordingly followed, and an hour's gallop brought us up with the remainder. The sun had set, but the light of a young moon enabled us to make our way to the second bench. I may say the formation altogether much resembled that of the river Cabeyú; but the river which flowed in this valley was of small size, although, as we found, the banks were boggy and almost impracticable. The moon had by this time set, and after a considerable deal of confusion in the dark, all got across, and night being far advanced encamped about a mile to the northward. When daylight enabled us to examine the locality, we found ourselves in a valley walled in by lofty abrupt cliffs on both sides, while a stream—bordered by marshes, containing numerous snipe
[96] and teal—flowed swiftly down the centre of the glen. To the north the valley appeared to bend westwards, so having nothing to do, I strolled up to the turn and found that the high cliffs ceased, and were replaced by the ordinary sheep barrancas, covered from the top to the bottom with immense bushes. The valley nowhere exceeded a mile in width, and the gloom and oppressive effect of the prison-like walls of

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cliff rendered it by no means a desirable place of abode, but 33
the pasture skirting the marsh was green and luxuriantly
tender. While I was endeavouring to secure some ducks
and teal with the bolas, two of the Chilians came up searching for firewood. They bitterly bewailed their lot in having to work and slave for a parcel of savages, but finally forgot their grievances in a slumber under a bush. Not caring to be supposed to have been in their company, I returned to the camp, and examined the rocks, which were different to those previously observed, showing in many places granite, with schistose veins, and what appeared to be a species of grey marble. A stay was made in this place of some four days, and would have been longer, but that on the third day some of the party, chiefly boys, who had strolled away a short distance, balling small birds, came in with the news that Indians were coming from the south. A scout was immediately sent out, horses brought up, and arms got ready. Casimiro came to me for a supply of cartridges for the revolver, saying, 'Now we shall have to fight; for if those Southern Indians beat us, they will spare neither man, woman, nor child.' This was cheering news, seeing that the odds were likely to be about ten to one against our side. However, just as we were mounting, the scout returned with the news that he had found no traces of Indians; the supposed enemy being only a troop of guanaco coming down to water. Cayuko, on its being ascertained that there was really no danger, had one of his horses killed as a thank-offering; the meat of course being distributed for food amongst his friends. There is in 26
this place, which is called by the Indians 'Amakakon,' a large spherical boulder of marble, which it is the custom of the Indians to try their strength by lifting. Casimiro informed me that this stone had been there for many years, and the custom was very old. It was so large and heavy that I was just able to grasp it with both arms, and raise it to the level of my knees, but some of the Indians managed to lift it to their shoulders. The night subsequent to the false alarm,

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snow fell heavily, notwithstanding which on the following day the Indians, who did not appear to feel secure, marched again in a northerly direction. Before quitting this valley, I was fortunate enough to find an ostrich nest with four eggs in it, which we devoured later on, cooked in the ashes by the simple method of placing the egg upright, with a hole broken in the upper surface, through which a piece of stick is inserted to stir round the yolk and white, a little salt being thrown in, and the egg turned to ensure all sides being equally done; the result being an omelette in the shell of most appetising flavour, but a novice in this cookery is apt to burn his fingers in turning the egg. Towards night we entered a dark and gloomy gorge, winding amongst fantastic and confused cliffs and peaked hills, thrown together in utterly chaotic confusion, which appeared to form a barrier east and west. But it was impossible accurately to distinguish the line, so inextricably were the heights jumbled together. My powers of description are utterly inadequate to convey the idea of the formless irregularity of this region of rocky hills.

At a late hour we encamped in a glen, or corrie, apparently without a second outlet, and walled in by frowning cliffs, down the midst of which a torrent foamed in a rocky channel. All the next day our march continued through a barren desert of rocks, frequently intersected by deep ravines with precipitous cliffs, the faces of which in many places displayed beds of red and yellow ochre, visible at a great distance. From some of these the women, after a scramble, replenished their supplies of paint. The whole face of this district was torn and tossed, as if by tremendous explosive force; and, except in some deep-lying clay bottoms, where an occasional shallow lagoon was to be met with, the track was waterless; snow lay on the heights and in some places on the ground traversed by our march, in the course of which a number of the large ibises, called in Chili bandurria (Theristicus melanopis), were seen. The nature of the country rendered hunting laborious and

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useless. Tankelow, however, found an ostrich and nest, the eggs from which, about thirty in number, he, according to Indian custom, divided among those who came up before they were removed from the nest; among these lucky individuals was myself; for, seeing him make to the spot, and the male bird get up, and being moreover, well mounted and exceedingly hungry, I was among the first arrivals. Far away to the right of our track, extending thirty or forty miles eastward, lies a district called by the Indians 'The Devil's Country,' which, they assured me, is never entered, probably from the barren and impracticable nature of the surface, which seems, from description, to be even worse than the wilderness traversed by us. Beyond this district there is a practicable track, sometimes followed by the Indians, leading northward, probably used as a route to the Chupat; but from that line to the sea the country is so impassable that the Indians say it would require two years to proceed by the sea-coast from Santa Cruz to the Rio Negro. The existence of such tracks as these, and the desolate Travisias encountered near the coast, have probably caused Patagonia to be described as an arid, almost waterless country; but, in reality, after passing the coast barrier most of the interior abounds in lagoons, springs, and frequent streams; and, even in the Travisias, the numerous wild animals met with show that water exists.

Towards evening we left the snow behind us; and descending a lofty hill, which had bounded our view all day, came to a large swelling down, from which the prospect was far more encouraging. Rolling plains extended to the north and north-east, whilst the Cordillera rose like a wall on the western side. This hill is called by the Indians 'God's Hill;' and the tradition, as communicated by Casimiro, relates that from this spot the Great Spirit dispersed the animals which he had made in the caverns. But some of the animals must have remained behind, as, out on the lower slope of the downs, two pumas were chased and killed. An hour's ride

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133 over a sandy plain brought us to a valley with a stream flowing through beautifully green pastures. This was the spot chosen for our encamping, and some of the women were already busy planting the poles that form the skeleton of the toldos; so, turning my horse adrift, I started down to the stream, and after the luxury of a bath, lay down and smoked until the toldos were thoroughly arranged. The following day a short march was made, in a north-west direction, to a valley containing better pasture; here it was 224 intended to give the horses much-needed repose. Meanwhile, however, meat fell short, so a circle was organised: my horse was too tired; but Orkeke, seeing me standing [231] unprepared, said, 'Ask Ako (his pet dog, and adopted child, and in virtue of his office the owner of several horses) to lend you a horse.' As Ako had no objection I was soon mounted, and started for the chase in high spirits. On our previous journey we had remarked numerous tracks of what appeared to be ostrich near the ground where our present circle was to be formed (viz., in the direction of the Cordillera), and all expected to find plenty of game. The circle was formed, myself going as one pointsman; and, after arriving at the point, I watched anxiously for some time, but the only animal that appeared was a male guanaco, which as he did not see me crouched behind an incense-bush, until he came within shot, I successfully balled and killed. After waiting a little longer, and the Indians being moderately near at hand, I changed my position a few hundred yards, to a more likely spot; but no animals appeared, so I proceeded in search of Orkeke, whom I shortly discovered smoking on the top of a small eminence. After the pipe had been passed in silence, I asked him what he had killed. 'Nothing,' was the answer; 'let's wait and see; perhaps some other Indian has an ostrich.' A careful survey, however, failed to discover any one so lucky, although several had killed guanaco. So we retired to where my dead guanaco lay uncovered: at our approach two or three condors rose

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heavily up; and shortly about twenty or thirty more spread 224
their huge wings, sailed away, and perched on a neighbouring rock. As for the guanaco, in the short half hour of my absence it had been literally torn to pieces; so, after extracting and eating the marrow-bones, we returned to camp, on our way capturing two armadillos. During the past day or 132
two the temperature had considerably risen; the wind, though westerly, was mild and genial, and the Indians affirmed that farther north it would be so warm that I should require some covering for the head. We found on our return that 000
Arica during our absence had gone off somewhere on foot. As he had that morning asked and obtained some tobacco from me, it seemed probable that he had determined to attempt to make his way alone to reach civilisation at some point or other. During our stay in this valley Casimiro 202
requested me to write a letter for him to the commandante at the Rio Negro, inquiring whether the Argentine Government still allowed him his ration and pay as a lieut.-colonel in their service. I also wrote some letters to my friends, but without much hope of their being 'mailed;' though Casimiro assured me that when we joined the Northern Indians they would forward them to the Araucanos, whence they *might* go on by the people who went to Rio Negro to fetch the chief's allowance of cattle; remote, however, as were all these contingencies, still it was a pleasure to write. We 133
quitted the valley after three days' rest, during which Arica had not appeared, and he was concluded either to have fallen a prey to a puma, or to have gone off on his own account. We journeyed all day over a rough hilly country, encumbered with large stones and occasional patches of scrub of considerable height; ostriches abounded, and large quantities of eggs were found. During a long march of about thirty miles no water was seen until we reached the camp at sunset, situated in a cañon; but along the route an occasional patch of snow sufficed to quench our thirst. As I rode along in company 521
with an Indian named 'Tchang,' he began asking me ques-

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tions: first, 'Who is cacique of the English?' I explained to him that it was Her Gracious Majesty. 'Is she married?' 'She is a widow.' 'Has she any children, and how many? Has she lots of horses and mares and silver ornaments?' And so on until I had satisfied him; after which he rode along, repeating, 'A woman cacique! A woman cacique! Four sons and five daughters! Lots of horses, mares, sheep, and cattle!' On the 22nd of September we left the encampment in the cañon about sunrise, and, mounting the ridge on the north side, halted close to the grave of an Indian; the broad and high cairn of stones erected over it denoting him to have been a cacique of importance, which fact was communicated to me in a low whisper by Wáki. Here a fire was made, and a few stones added to the pile. Whilst the Indians were warming themselves the sun rose, and the view of the Cordillera, seen through the clear atmosphere, with the sun's first rays illuminating the snowy mountain summits with a roseate flush was magnificent. We pursued our route over sandy plains, crossed at intervals by shallow streams of water, and halted near some lagoons in a place called by the Indians 'Kinck.'

The following day we marched again, hunting as usual on the way. A fat ostrich at this time of the year was a rarity, but eggs abounded, and formed the main staple of food; and the armadillos were also getting into condition, and assisted to furnish a repast at the camp fire. On the 27th we arrived at a place named 'Gelgel,' situated on the banks of a rapid river, probably that debouching at Port Desire. This was the point of divergence from the northern route to Patagones for any party proceeding to hunt in the western plains. During our stay in Gelgel we hunted in the surrounding country, and on several occasions observed columns of smoke to the south, as if made by a party approaching. These at last appeared nearer, and as no distinct answer was made to our signal fires, scouts were sent out, but returned with no information, one, however, asserting that he had found the

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tracks of many horses, but his known character as an incorrigible liar made his statement valueless. Still everybody became at last convinced that the Northern Indians were at war with the Araucanos, and consequently preparations to fight were commenced. After a watchful night, all fires out, and silence strictly observed, all armed, and mounting their best horses, sallied out. After a while the cause of the whole disturbance turned out to be Arica, who had wandered for eleven days on foot, following our track, subsisting on birds' eggs, and narrowly escaping the pumas, though he had been more than once attacked by them in broad daylight, and had killed one with his knife, his story being vouched for by the boots he had contrived to manufacture out of his deceased enemy's skin. He looked worn and haggard, his feet were sore, and he told me that another night would have finished him. The Indians, who—owing to his desertion and subsequent pursuit of us—had been kept on the alert all night, without fire, and prohibited from conversing, were naturally indignant, and wanted to kill him. But Casimiro and Orkeke interceded for him, and he was brought back to the toldos behind another horseman. Casimiro, *apropos* of these signal fires, related to me a curious story, as follows. 'Many years ago, when I was quite young, I was travelling a few leagues to the northward, under my mother's charge. The party encamped near a large lagoon not far from the Sengel river, and were occupied in hunting in the neighbourhood. On several days in succession smoke was observed in different directions, which approached nearer and nearer each time. Being naturally supposed to be caused by the Indians, it was answered, and scouts were at last sent to ascertain the cause, as no messengers appeared. They returned, however, stating that they could discover nothing. At the end of four days an Indian, tall, gaunt, and emaciated, mounted on a very thin *mule*, arrived in the camp, and asked for a chief whose name was unknown. The stranger was taken, as is customary, to the chief's toldo, and his mule turned loose; but,

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strange to say, it never moved from the spot where it was unsaddled, and the Indian during the time he remained in the toldo neither ate nor drank. At the end of three days he mounted his mule, which appeared as fresh as when he arrived, and rode away to the northward. On the following day, whilst hunting, a sickness struck the Indians—some falling dead from their horses, while others, though able to return home, only survived a short time. As is usual when disease breaks out, the toldos were removed to some distance from each other, to escape infection, but many men, women, and children died.' Of the fact that a plague or sickness did cause the death of many Indians within a few days at some encampment in these plains, I received further and reliable confirmation, my informant, who was in the party, stating that the Pampa tribe was decimated.

In the cliffs above the river on the eastern side of our encampment I observed many balls of sandstone of various sizes. On breaking one in two, a piece of what seemed to be ironstone formed a nucleus, around which layers of sand appeared to have been aggregated. By what process these balls could have been formed was to me a mystery; but they proved very handy for bolas, only requiring to be slightly reduced in size. Hunting to the westward from the encampment, we came across several muddy, or rather clayey bogs, into one of which, when in full pursuit of an ostrich, I rode, and my horse sank deep, throwing his rider a complete summersault; and with much ado I first picked up myself, and then with greater difficulty extricated my horse from the tenacious morass.

After Arica's return, the Chilians manifested a restless spirit, and frequently asked me the direction of the Chupat settlement. I replied that it lay about 150 leagues to the E.N.E. from this point, as far as I could judge; but that it would be better for them to remain with the Indians, and do the women's work of providing wood and water, &c., than to start off into a wild and dreary pampa, where they

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would inevitably starve without a knowledge of the route or guides.

During our stay here I nearly fell a victim to a matrimonial entanglement. A fair young Indian, whose hair cut across the forehead denoted widowhood, moreover having several mares and considerable possessions, to whom I had perhaps paid some slight attention, proposed that I should set up toldo with her. This was quite out of my programme of the journey, but inasmuch as the alliance might prove useful, as well as agreeable, and feeling lonely in the absence of any particular friend, I half agreed; so a go-between was despatched to arrange the dowry, and it was settled that I should give a revolver in exchange for two horses to be provided by the fair one's friends. However, the evening before the happy day on which we were to have been united, the alarm came, and as she belonged to the Southern Indians, I thought better of giving up my arms; so I assigned as a reason for withdrawing from my bargain, that I did not wish to leave my friend Orkeke's toldo. I have no doubt that her people, desiring the help of my firearms, had suggested the match to secure me to support their side. The lady at first was rather disgusted, but soon got over it, and we remained on our former friendly terms.

In this encampment two disagreements occurred between Indians and their wives, which were the only matrimonial squabbles that came under my notice during my wanderings in their company. One occurred between Tankelow and his spouse in our toldo. It began by Tankelow's striking his daughter, which his wife angrily resented; from words they came to blows, and the squaw was getting rather the best of it, when Mrs. Orkeke interposed with a strong arm, and forcibly put a stop to the disturbance.

The following day Tankelow drove his horses off separately, but towards evening a reconciliation was effected. On the 3rd of October we left Gelgel-aik and marched west in the face of a bitterly cold wind. In the hunt not less than seven

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In the hunt not less than
pumas were killed, which were, as usual at this time, very fat, and were duly boiled in the iron pots, furnishing an excellent supper, the meat closely resembling boiled pork. During the day seven of the Chilians were missed, and on our arrival at the toldos, it transpired that they had determined to try and find their own way to the Chupat settlement; and as they had left in an underhand manner, which the Indians look upon as tantamount to a declaration of war, some of the people wished to pursue and kill them, but this proposition was overruled by Orkeke and Casimiro. The encampment was sheltered by a hill named 'Téle,' close to a large lagoon covered with waterfowl, into which flowed a beautiful spring issuing from the hill; along the margin of the clear pure water grew a profusion of a sort of green cress, and at sunset flights of flamingoes (Phœnicopterus tgnipallo) and rose-coloured spoonbills (Platalea ajaja) came to the lagoon to feed. One day's hunting was done in the surrounding plain, which to the west presents several of the remarkable drops, or basin-like formations described by Darwin as existing on the eastern side of the Cordillera. On October 5th we broke up the camp and marched in a northerly direction, until a stream of considerable size was arrived at; this some of us crossed at once, although it was deep and the banks rotten and unsound. The women and remainder of the party diverged to a ford, old Orkeke sending one of the Chilians to take care that his little dog (on whom he lavished his paternal affections) did not get wet. In half an hour's time the whole party—Ako included—had crossed in safety, and the camp was pitched on a peninsula between this river and another which joined it lower down. The united streams may or may not form a tributary of the Chupat, as the Indians disagreed on this point, some averring it to be so, others stating that the river flowed into a large lagoon. The weather had changed into drizzling rain, and the wet and sloppy state of the toldos was very disagreeable. It did not, however, much affect our clothing, as it is easy to

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dry a guanaco mantle by the fire, but care must be taken 291
only to expose the furred side to the heat, otherwise the
hide will become dried and apt to tear easily. Whilst in 133
this encampment look-outs were posted, and one came in
stating that he had seen smoke in a northerly direction.
Consequently on October 9, having rested our jaded horses,
which were rapidly improving in condition, from grazing on
the young green grass now springing abundantly in all the
valleys, we crossed a barren, clayey pampa, interspersed
with bogs and marshes at intervals, and on the 10th arrived
at a small range of hills, running east and west, under one of
which the toldos were pitched, near to another of those beau-
tiful circular springs which frequently occur in Patagonia;
from the centre of the smooth white sand which formed the
bottom, the water bubbled up like liquid crystal, and silvery
fishes could be seen darting about in the circular basin. The
Indians delight in laving their hands and feet in the springs,
and will sit there for a long time admiring the beauty of
these 'eyes of the desert.' As, on our arrival, the women
had not yet completed the domestic arrangements, after
throwing the spoils of the chase off our saddles, a party of us
ascended an adjacent hill to have a look round. The day
was magnificent, and the sun, just setting, bathed the whole
country in a flood of red tints. To the N.E. we observed
three distinct columns of smoke which the Indians averred to
be caused by the Chilian deserters, and were very bitter
against them, as they were supposed to have lost their way,
and to be desirous of returning again to the toldos. In this
place I found my compass would not act, owing, as I sup-
posed, to having been disabled; but as it subsequently behaved
properly, its temporary derangement must have been due to
some local attraction. To the northward, as well as I could
guess the bearings, ran a long range of hills, terminating in
a peculiarly peaked mountain, below which the Indians
pointed out the trees which fringed a river—according to
their statements a tributary of the Chupat. To the west

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133 extended rolling plains, which appeared to stretch away into the distance, interrupting the chain of the Cordillera, as though there were a depression or break in the mountains, no hills of large size being visible on the horizon. Whilst 777 lying down smoking on this hill, I picked up several pieces of opal and cacholong combined, and as I was idly forming them into different patterns on the ground, and had arranged a circle resembling a miniature Indian grave, one of my companions observing what I was doing, grew very angry, and said, 'That will bring ill luck,' evidently believing that I was mentally compassing the death of some one by witchcraft. As I had no wish to be killed, by way of prevention of any imaginary spells, I quickly gathered up the specimens, many of which were afterwards lost in the ensuing journey. The Indian name for this place is Yaiken-Kaimak, signifying that it is the hill whence they espy the signal smoke denoting the approach of the Indians from the north.

702 We remained five days in this encampment, a general uneasiness prevailing, and arms being kept ready to hand. In addition to the usual hunting, under the orders of the cacique, we were engaged in performing exercises on horseback; this mounted drill being intended as a preparation in case we should find the northern Tehuelches at war with the 000 Araucanos or Manzaneros Indians. The plains to the westward abounded with guanaco, some thousands being enclosed in the circle at one time. One day that I had not accompanied the hunting party, I was strolling across the camp, having volunteered to occupy the post of the vidette on an adjacent hill, when I observed a guanaco, very tired, coming towards me; so, hiding behind a bush, I waited till he unsuspiciously approached, and then rushing out, balled him with a pair of ostrich bolas. As he was so close to me, his forelegs were perfectly tied up, and I had not much difficulty in despatching him with a blow on the head from another set of bolas. By this time I had attained a tolerable dexterity in the use of the bolas, and it was my invariable custom when not otherwise

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employed to stroll about and practise. Besides their use, my practical training had enabled me soon to acquire the art of manufacturing them, and our many idle hours were employed in plaiting ostrich sinews, so that I contrived t fit up an extensive assortment, some of which I used to barter for tobacco. The weather during our stay here became worse, rain, sleet, and gales of wind prevailing; and the toldos, from the continuous rain and the marshy nature of the ground, became so wet and wretched as to be almost uninhabitable, so that we marched on the 16th over a level pampa—smoke to the eastward being observed and duly answered during the journey. We encamped at night on the north side of a small rapid stream, in a place called 'Pelwecken,' situated a league from the wooded river, the trees of which were visible from the encampment. I here saw a new game played by the Indians which resembled that known amongst schoolboys as 'knucklebones,' being played with small stones in lieu of the bones, and heavy stakes were lost and won on the chances. On Sunday, the 17th, the Indians started to hunt in the vicinity of the wooded river, and Casimiro proposed that I should accompany him to the woods to cut poles for the toldos, and timber for working saddles. Orkeke, however, for some reason or another, recommended me to stay quietly in the toldos; and as advice is sometimes almost the same as a command, I acquiesced, although longing to enjoy a close view of a tree again after so much wandering over the treeless pampas. As the day was warm and fine, I strolled down the river in search of the eggs of the upland goose (Chloephaga magellanica), yellow-billed goose (Cygnus coscoroba), and other water fowl, and returned about two P.M. with plenty of spoil. The women were superintending the cooking of some of these, when one of them rushed into the toldo and cried out that the Indians were returning and a fight had taken place. A glance at the coming horsemen was at once sufficient to convince us that she was right. They came galloping back by twos and threes, swords drawn,

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578 mantles hanging off their shoulders, and their faces glowing with fury. They at once proceeded to get their guns and revolvers to renew the fight. Orkeke, however, arrived and made a long speech, and ultimately quiet was restored. One man—a brother of Camillo—had been killed and left on the pampa. The sister of the deceased was frantic at his death, and, arming herself with a knife, attempted to avenge him; but she was soon stopped, disarmed and quieted. The deceased was armed with a six-shooter, and his assailant had only a sword; one shot missed him and the next barrel missed fire, whereupon he closed and ran his adversary through the body. Casimiro returned shortly after the remainder, and when he heard of the fight and the result, was for some time eager to renew it and avenge the slain man, who was a relation of his own, but at last yielded to Orkeke's arguments.

000 The following day the smoke to the east appeared pretty close, and, when we had marched on a little, two young men were despatched in its direction with private instructions from Orkeke, and we proceeded to the wooded river, where we luxuriated for a short time under the shade of a description of birch tree, and then forded the stream, which is of considerable width and very rapid. The Indians declared

136 that it was impossible for any man to swim across the river in the deeper portion below the ford, on account of some ferocious beasts which they termed water tigers—'Tigres de l'agua'—which would certainly attack and devour any one in the water. They described them as yellow quadrupeds, larger than puma. It is certain that two ostriches, which, being too poor for use, had been left on the bank, were found by us next day in the shallow water, torn and half-devoured, and the tracks of an animal resembling those of a large puma were plainly visible leading down to the water; but a puma invariably drags its prey to a bush; and, though jaguar will take the water readily, I have never known one devour its prey except on land, nor, as far as I know, are they found so far south. The animal may be a species of the

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large brown otter, with orange-coloured fur on the breast, found in the Parana; but the Indians' account is curious as bearing on the name of the lake—'Nahuel Huapi,' or Tigers' Island. It is possible that the aguarra found in the valley of the Rio Negro may also haunt these districts. They further told me that stags had been seen on the banks of the river, but none were heard of during our stay in the neighbourhood. A few miles below the ford the belt of trees ceases, and on the southern side there is a peculiar group of what seem to be square-shaped rocks, which at a distance have very much the appearance of a small town regularly built and walled. This is called by the Indians 'Sengel,' and was the scene of a great fight between the Tehuelches and Araucanos many years ago, relics of which in the shape of bones and skulls still whiten the plain. After crossing the river, the young men who had been sent back returned, bringing with them three horses belonging to the Chilians and one man of their party, who, incredible as it seems, had assisted the Indians to dismount and disable his companions. The particulars of the fate of the others were not divulged, though a story was current that some of them had managed to reach the Chupat. I asked no questions, but the blood-stained knife of one of the young men told its own story. This day all the Indians rode on in silence, the last two days' events having roused all their bad passions. I rode alone, feeling that there was danger in the air, and near our halting-place joined Orkeke and two others at a fireside for the purpose of cooking some ostrich eggs, which we were busily discussing when a messenger came to say that Casimiro was waiting to see me at a spot which he indicated. I mounted and rode off accordingly, but had not gone far before the two bravos who had been commissioned to do for the Chilians galloped up, one from either side, one brandishing his sword and the other swinging his bolas. I at once put spurs to my horse, and my mantle flying back discovered two revolvers belted round my waist underneath it. They checked their career

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and sang out, 'Stop! Where are you going?' But, without making any reply, I galloped on, being not further interfered with, and soon joined my old friend. He then informed me that, being utterly disgusted with the late proceedings and general anarchy, he had determined to push forward by himself to meet the Northern Indians, leaving his wife and children under the charge of Cayuke. He therefore wanted the letters which I had written for him, and my own, which he undertook to forward at the same time. So I rode back to the toldos for the letters, which I carried to Casimiro without any one attempting to stop my way.

Having returned to the fire under the bush, I dismounted, and whilst cooking another egg, gave Orkeke a piece of my mind; quietly hinting that I carried ten lives about me. He assured me it was all a mistake, and had happened without any orders from him, the young fellows only wishing to try my mettle by way of joke. I replied that jokes of that sort were sometimes dangerous, and the subject was mutually dropped.

We encamped by the side of a stream, into which many of us soon plunged to take a refreshing bath, always a favourite enjoyment with the Tehuelches, who are powerful swimmers, and dive well. While resting here and sporting in the water a better state of feeling arose, and the mutual suspicion and discord which had so long prevailed was gradually forgotten. Casimiro had left, taking one of the Chilians; and his spouse told me, amid a torrent of abuse of her better-half, that he had gone through fear, the other Indians having determined to kill him; and she added that he had the heart of a skunk, a vulture, and an armadillo. These combined would make a very nice mixture. That he was right in making his escape at this particular juncture was very evident, for the next day two young men were sent out, ostensibly as chasquis or messengers, to look for the Northern Indians, but in reality to try and overtake Casimiro and dispose of him; however, they returned without any tidings of the wily old chief.

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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable. 135 [823]

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind. 146 252 133 823

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the 526

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526 speed of our horses to while away the interval; and when
the women appeared, proceeded to the chase, over a pampa
formed by a bend in the range of hills. During the hunt
136 we found the carcase of a guanaco, which had been killed by
a puma, carefully covered up in grass and scrub. It was a
fat animal, such as the puma always singles out, although I
have read in some accounts that he follows the herds and
picks up the weakly ones. That this is not the case was
proved on various occasions, by finding the carcases left by
these cats, which were always those of animals in good con-
133 dition. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the encampment,
by the side of a small river, flowing in an easterly direction
from the hills. The women, with the exception of one or
two, were not present, and might be seen about two miles off,
[137] grubbing up a description of potato which grew in the neigh-
bouring hill side. The day was warm, and Orkeke invited
me to go to the top of one of the hills to see if any smoke or
signs of Indians were visible. We accordingly crossed the
stream, and while riding along the northern bank I observed
fish swimming lazily on the top of the water. After crossing
a marshy patch of ground, we ascended the hills, and dis-
mounting near a bank of blue earth, climbed on foot to the
summit, which was composed of a description of quartz, with
crystalline veins running through it. Scrambling up this
formation, we arrived at the top, whence we had a beautiful
view of the encampment and the green pasture bordering the
stream. To the northward the view was rather shut in by
hills rising to a considerable elevation. Just below us
lay a valley, in which several guanaco and ostriches were
taking their evening meal. We remained here for some
time smoking and enjoying the face of nature generally, but
could discern no smoke or signs of Indians. Orkeke remarked
that the pasture had a fresher appearance lower down the
course of the stream, and proposed that we should inspect
it. We accordingly descended from our elevated position,
mounted, and proceeded to the valley below; in our descent

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being lucky enough to kill a fat male ostrich, which was sit- 133
ting on a nest of twenty-four eggs. We investigated the grass, which was of good quality; and after an *al fresco* meal, in which we were joined by Tehang, returned to the toldos, where the women had just arrived with a considerable supply of potatoes. I again, on our way back, observed fish in the 136
stream, so, turning my horse adrift, proceeded to extract my hooks and line from the baggage under the charge of Mrs. Orkeke. After a little delay all was ready; a piece of meat supplied the place of fly as bait; and dropping it gently into the pool, I soon had a bite, and pulled out a fish about two pounds weight, of the perch class, similar to that called dorado in the River Plate. After half an hour's fishing I landed several others as large, and as it was nearly dark, returned to supper off fried fish and boiled potatoes.

I had no opportunity of seeing the plants which produced 137
these tubers, but they exactly resembled those I afterwards obtained in the northern country from a plant, the feathery fern-like leaf of which springs from a long slender stem. The following day we shifted camp down river, to the neigh- 138
bourhood of the green pasture, and found large quantities of the eggs of the upland geese, ducks, &c. In the neighbourhood one lonely tree grew by the side of the stream, although the banks were lined with driftwood, probably carried down by the wooded slopes of the Cordillera, ten miles farther west, during floods. This day, smoke having been distinctly seen to the northward, Hummums was despatched to ascertain whether it were a signal from the much-looked-for Northern Indians. Three days subsequently, about nine in 139
the evening, whilst I was lying dreaming of home, and had just—in dreamland—taken a glass of sherry, Orkeke woke me up with the intelligence that fires were to be seen to the north, which were no doubt caused by the 'chasqui' or messenger previously despatched. In about three hours' time—somewhere about midnight—Casimiro, Hummums, and another Indian rode into the camp, and our toldo was soon

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69 crowded to hear the news from our chiefs, who stated that the Northern Indians were in the wild cattle district, where they had killed several animals; they were also well provided with tobacco and other commodities from the Rio Negro, where they had been for trading purposes in August, and they would welcome our party, provided that they came in a friendly spirit. The following morning we had a great consultation in Orkeé's tolde, at which it was determined that all quarrels should be forgotten, and that we should march at once to effect a junction with the other Indians. This having been resolved on, all marched in an easterly direction to an encampment situated on the borders of the same stream, and under a range of hills called 'Applejack.' Here we remained three days; and smoke not previously accounted for having been observed in the east, two scouts were sent out to ascertain the cause, but returned without intelligence. We spent our time, as usual, in hunting, or bathing in the river; and on October 31 marched again, and had not gone very far, in a north-east direction, before Tankalow—who had started earlier than the rest, and constituted himself a corps d'observation—appeared, with a strange Indian of the Pampa tribe, who stated that his companions were on their way to join the Northern Indians. They had come from the neighbourhood of the Chupat colony, and were, so far as I could make out, mixed Pampas and Tehuelches. It was agreed that they should join us and the others at a place called 'Thomas,' to which we were at present marching. We continued our route after this slight interruption, and encamped for the night near the banks of a small stream. The weather had entirely changed, the wind blowing bitterly from the south-west, with squalls of sleet, hail, and snow; and but few of the party found it agreeable to take the evening bath. Casimiro was in high spirits, as many of the Northern Indians were relations of his, and he was to be invested with the supreme command—in prospect of which he had already received presents of horses, and was looking forward to the

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consultation of the chief, which, he assured me, would have to be conducted with great pomp. During our talk, Casimiro narrated all his adventures after quitting the toldos. He had travelled so fast, knowing that he would probably be pursued, that on the fifth day his horse broke down, as for two days previous he had seen smoke from some encampment to which he was by this time close, though he was uncertain whether it was that of his friends or not. He left his Chilian companion, and proceeded to an eminence to reconnoitre. During his absence the Chilian fell asleep; the grass caught fire and surrounded the sleeping man. The Indians—Hinchel's people—attracted by the smoke, came down and rescued him, all his clothes having been burned off and his body severely scorched. Having heard his story, Hinchel at once sent a party to search for Casimiro. When the latter saw the five mounted Indians approaching, wrapped in their ponchos, he was uncertain if they were Aranzanos or Tehuelches, and drew his revolver, prepared to pick them off in detail; but soon, to his great relief, he recognized in the leader a relation of his own. He also told me that when Humanoma, our chasqui, arrived, he was entertained by some friend of his own, to whom, in the evening, he boasted that he and his friends had killed all the Christians in their camp. This story was at once carried to Hinchel and Casimiro, who inquired if "Muster" had also been killed; to which the tale-bearer unhesitatingly replied that he had. Hinchel, who had previously heard all about the English visitor from Casimiro, was furious at what he considered a grave breach of hospitality, and issued orders forthwith to apprehend the chasqui, and to mount and make ready to avenge my supposed death by killing Orbeke and all his party. Humanoma, however, when interrogated as a prisoner, in great terror declared that "Muster" was safe, and that no one had any idea of killing him, and then the storm blew over. But this account, which was confirmed by the report of the chasqui, accidently overhead by myself,

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§77 prepared me to meet Hinchel with feelings of friendliness towards a chief who had evinced so keen a sense of the care to be taken of a stranger who had confided himself to Indian hospitality; and the impression of this chief's character then formed, was fully confirmed on further acquaintance with him.

§78 The two following days our route lay through a succession of rather barren valleys, bordered by ranges of high hills, everywhere strewn with rocks and boulders, and having a very gaunt and weird appearance. The valleys generally contained good pasture on either the northern or southern side of the streams which flowed down every one; but away from the vicinity of the water the soil was sandy, with low bushes scattered here and there.

On November 8, about two p.m., we arrived at a pass or gorge above the rendezvous at Henoo. The view of the valley below was very refreshing: green grassy plains stretched for some miles, with a beautiful silvery stream running down the centre. But, much to our disappointment, no signs of Indians were visible; so we descended, and after bathing in a pool, and waiting until the tables were pitched, lighted a big signal fire, which was shortly answered to the westward, and a messenger was immediately despatched who returned towards nightfall with the intelligence that the expected people would arrive next day: and we had to reconcile ourselves to another night of anxiety, being not at all certain as to the reception to be expected from the new comers.

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CHAPTER IV.

HENNOKAIK TO TECKEL.

Ceremonial of Welcome—Hinchel's Indians—Tehuelches and Araucanos—Jackechan and the Chupat Tribe—My Examination—Encampment at Henno—Peaceful Occupations—The Oldest Inhabitant—Chiriq—The Hidden Cities—Modern Legends—Mysteries of the Cordillera—Los Cesares—La Ciudad Encantada—Its Whereabouts—The Indian Cesares—The Guanaco—The Patagonian Ostrich—Neighbourhood of Chiriq—Horseracing—Indian Horses—Indian Dogs—Dog and Lover—Plaiting Sinews—Windy Hill—Surrounded by Fire—Young Guanaco—Arrival of Grog—News from Santa Cruz—Gisk—Romantic Scenery—A Pleasant Neighbourhood—Fairy Glen—Breaking a Horse—Female Curiosity—The Wild Cattle Country—The Forests of the Cordillera—The Watershed—Among the Mountains—Wild Flowers—A Bull Fight—The Bull Victorious—No Christmas Beef—Teckel—Change of Quarters.

AS we were whiling away the next forenoon in fishing and disporting ourselves generally in the water, smoke was described at various points to the westward, and about two P.M., the head of the heavy column of women, children, and innumerable horses came into view on the northern side of the valley. All instantly repaired to the toldos, accoutred ourselves, and got up the horses in preparation for the arrival of the visitors; the meeting of any number of Indians after a separation being recognised as an affair of considerable importance. Shortly after our horses were caught and saddled, and, indeed, before some of our party were ready, the men who had been hunting *en route* appeared, and the ceremonial of welcome was duly observed.

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576 Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and [537] down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Kone' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, [537] each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

621 These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel,
221 usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro
439 and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the
622 settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

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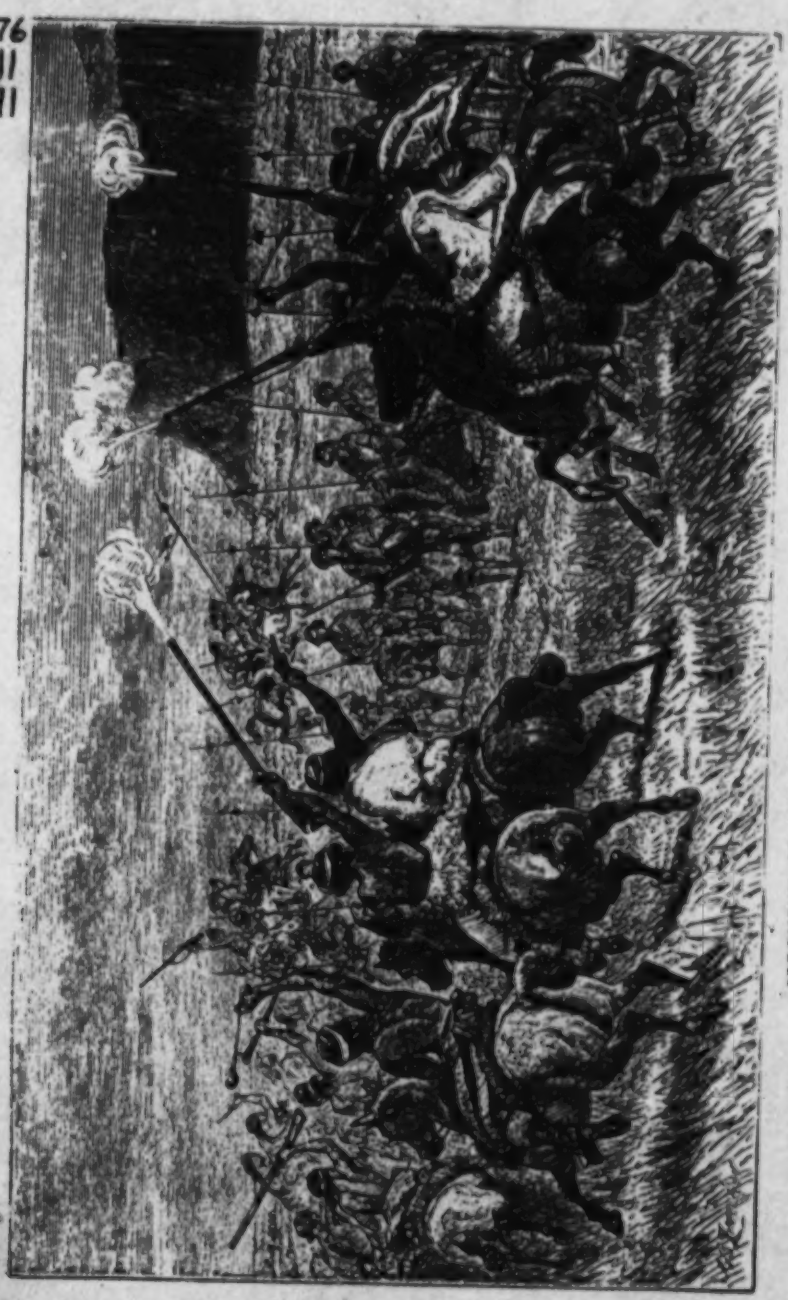

CEREMONY OF WELCOME (TEHUELCHES AND ARAUCANIANS).

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621 only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and
221 for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of
439 mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the
622 Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three
231 head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still
291 also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos,
411 chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we
574 were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the
[431] cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One,
727 however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards,
525 and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

622 Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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T 622 but he managed to converse, and he asked me if the Southern Tehuelches were not a queer lot, for he had heard that they killed men as readily as they would guanaco. From what casimiro had reported, I was already inclined to respect this cacique, who had expressed such readiness to protect or avenge a guest of the Indians, and closer acquaintance only strengthened my regard for him. He was a fine-looking man, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance, which was not belied by his disposition. He never, to my knowledge, exceeded sobriety, and was good-humoured and self-possessed; though if once roused to fight, his resolute and determined courage was well known. He was skilled at all sorts of handicraft, and was always busily employed. He was generous to a fault—ready to give away everything if asked for it, and often without the asking. His great weakness was an inveterate fondness for gambling, which, together with his lavish good-nature, eventually impoverished him greatly. At his request, I informed Casimiro and Orkeke T 622 that he desired to hold a parlemento. Accordingly, the 623 chiefs all proceeded to a place agreed upon between the two camps, where they took their seats in a circle on the grass. After various harangues from Hinchel and others, it was resolved that Casimiro should be elected chief in command of the Tehuelches; and that after the expiration of the young guanaco season, all present, together with those expected from the neighbourhood of the Chupat, should proceed to a place called Teckel, and thence march to Las Manzanas, to unite there with the Araucanian Indians, some of whom had already communicated with us, and had promised to forward T A my letters, *vid* Las Manzanas, to Rio Negro.

648 The relations between the Tehuelches or Tsonecas of Patagonia and the Araucanian Indians of Las Manzanas had been previously by no means of a pacific nature. It has been already mentioned that near the Sengel we passed the scene of a fierce battle between them. Tankelow bore still the scars of seven lance wounds received in a battle when he was

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left for dead on the field. On the same occasion Orkeke was taken prisoner, but, although mutilated, succeeded eventually in effecting his escape. Casimiro's father also became a prisoner in an unsuccessful assault on an Araucanian stronghold. After two or three years' captivity he succeeded, with two of his comrades, in escaping, and while hurrying to rejoin the Tehuelches in the vicinity of Geylum, met with a solitary Araucanian. He seeing a fire, approached unsuspicious of danger, and was welcomed and invited to smoke; they then seized him, stripped and bound him hand and foot, and left him lying on the pampa, a helpless prey to the condors and pumas. The two fugitives, having thus gratified their desire for vengeance, succeeded in rejoining their own people, and organised an attack on the Araucanos, in which Casimiro's father was killed. Some wonderful feats of valour were described to me as having been achieved by the Tehuelches; but in fact the Manzaneros proved themselves the superior warriors, and even at the time of our visit to them had Tehuelche slaves. The powerful cacique Lenquetrou succeeded in healing the old feuds, and united all the Indians under his leadership. He was treacherously killed by an Argentine officer at Bahia Blanca during the peace between the Indians and the Christians, and after his death the old quarrels broke out afresh. Casimiro's diplomacy, however, succeeded during the time of my visit in conciliating all parties, and the result appeared in the amicable arrangements concluded at the parlemento, and afterwards successfully carried out. Had it not been for this, my journey to Las Manzanas, and thence to the Rio Negro, would have been dangerous, if not altogether impossible.

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Two days after the arrival of the Northern party the Indians from the Chupat came in, and were duly welcomed by our united forces, the ceremonial on this occasion presenting a very animated scene. They number between seventy and eighty men, with women and children, occupying about twenty toldos. Most of them were young men of

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648 Pampa, or mixed Pampa and Tehuelche blood, but there were a few pure Tehuelches in their ranks, the chief being a Pampa named 'Jackechan,' or Juan. As I watched them drawn up, or careering round us during the welcome, they appeared to present a different type from that of my first friends, being generally shorter, though as muscular, and even apparently more broadly built, with complexions lighter, and their dress and persons smarter and cleaner. They were all well armed with lances and firearms, and were evidently kept well in hand by the chief. Their range of country lay between the same limits as that of Hinchel's people, but they habitually seemed to have kept more to the sea-coast, where many of them had been accustomed to visit the Welsh colony at the Chupat for trade, and in their opinion, as afterwards expressed to me, the honest Welsh colonists were much pleasanter and safer to deal with than 'the Christians' of the Rio Negro. They seemed to have been especially impressed with the size and excellence of the home-made loaves, one of which would be given in return for half a guanaco, and Jackechan often expatiated on the liberality of the colonist and the goodness of their bread. These men also felt strongly the kindness with which an Indian, if overtaken with rum, would be covered up or carried into an outhouse by the Chupat people; whereas at the Rio Negro the only attention paid to him would be to strip and plunder him completely. During the afternoon the chief, Jackechan, sent a request to the 'Englishman' to pay him a visit, so I repaired to his toldo, and was courteously received by him. He wore a beautifully-wrought silver chain, with a medallion of the Madonna suspended to it, of which he seemed pardonably proud. Having been invited to take a seat, and the pipe having been duly passed round, it became evident that I was to be tested as to my real claims to the character of an Englishman. Jackechan, during his visit to the Chupat, had become acquainted with Mr. Lewis Jones, the Director of the colony, and so had learned the name of the Queen of

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England, &c., and he proceeded to interrogate me accordingly. I found him to be a most intelligent Indian, speaking Spanish, Pampa, and Tehuelche fluently; and our acquaintance thus commenced ripened into a strong mutual friendship. My answers proving quite satisfactory, he was evidently much pleased, and ordered his wife to produce coffee, a little of which he had still remaining from his store procured at Chupat. While discussing this luxury, we had a long conversation on various topics, and he produced a photograph of Mr. Jones and some letters, one being an order for a ration of animals, mares and cattle, from the Argentine Government. He stated that he had not visited Patagones for some years, on account of a fight that had taken place, but would perhaps now accompany our party. Whilst conversing, his son, a boy of some twelve years of age, came in and startled me by his unlikeness to the other Indian boys, for his brown hair and eyes and fair complexion might easily have caused one to take him for an English boy. His mother was not present, as, for domestic reasons, Jackechan had parted with her; but I subsequently saw her, and she, although a handsome woman, had no European traits about her except that of having quarrelled with her husband. The following day was spent in a second parlemento—or, as the Indians call it, 'air'—and all agreed to place themselves under the orders of Casimiro, for the purpose of protecting Patagones in the possible event of an invasion by the Indians of Rouke, or 'Calficura,' from the country north of Rio Negro. All present saw the importance of protecting Patagones, as, if that town should be destroyed, there would be no market for their furs, &c.

Our encampment was situated in a large grassy valley watered by a stream flowing to the eastward, which was finally lost in a large marsh. The valley, which may have been about twelve miles in length and perhaps four in width at its broadest part, was confined by hills which, closing, narrowed it in at the eastern and western extremities. To

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133 the N.W. and N. the hills—which almost merited the name of mountains—were peculiarly rugged, more especially towards their summits. About N.N.E. by compass from our camp, there was a pass formed by a dip or break in the range leading north, and through the mouth of the pass we could see the smoke of the hunting parties of the Araucanian Indians, who were, however, many leagues distant. Throughout Patagonia smoke is always visible at a great distance, and the practised eyes of the Indians can distinguish it from the clouds, when ordinary persons would be unable to discern it unless pointed out to them. On the southern and eastern sides of the valley lay a range of hills, the rugged summits of which rose from lower slopes of more regular swell, and presenting more even and down-like surfaces than those on the western and northern sides. Immediately above our encampment the hill of Henno, from which the valley is named, rose from the plain. Near the summit of this hill Orkeke and myself, who for amusement had ridden up to it, one day came across the bleached skeleton of a man, perhaps one of two young Argentines who, as I was subsequently informed, had travelled thus far in company with the Indians, and had been for some—or no—reason killed by them near this spot. In the surrounding hills red porphyry frequently cropped out, and also veins of a red agate, unlike the flint agate so common in all the plains of Patagonia. The rocks near the summit of the hills were generally of igneous formation, and on the slopes of these hills frequent springs gushed out, easily discoverable from a distance by the vivid
361 green of the grass growing round them. As we gazed down from the height of Henno, the valley lay before us like a picture; our few toldos were situated in a group to the east, on the south side of the stream; about a quarter of a mile to the north the thirty or forty toldos of the Northern Indians were pitched, and opposite to them, on the north side of the stream, those of the party commanded by Jaikechan
517 or Juan. The scene was animated but peaceful: here might

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combination was universally approved of. Another day we went fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line, voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish, and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood. Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invitation I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlemento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by strips of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from 'foolish Indians.'

His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

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as to what there could possibly be in that place to write about, as although the Tehuelche mind can comprehend writing letters to friends or officials, it by no means understands keeping a journal; and 'some untutored Indian' might probably, if suspicious that 'i'faith he'll prent it,' instead of waiting to cut up the book, anticipate all reviewers by cutting up the intended author himself.

On the 18th of November the camp at Henno was broken up, and all marched a few leagues to the west, crossing successive rocky ridges running parallel to the Cordillera, and divided by well-watered valleys, and encamped near a valley watered by the same river, which between this place and Henno makes a considerable bend. This station was named 'Chiriq,' from a description of bush, with a leaf somewhat resembling that of the sloe, which grows abundantly on the banks of the stream. The wood of this shrub is soft and of little value, but burns well when dry. At this time neither flower nor fruit was visible, but it was described to me as bearing a berry resembling the currant. Since our departure from the wooded river Sengel, a description of cactus, or, as the Spaniards call it, tuna, bearing a tasteless fruit something like the ordinary prickly pear, had been met with occasionally, and found very troublesome, for as it grows close to the ground its spines are very apt to lame the horses if not carefully avoided in the chase. From Chiriq a large plain appeared to extend for some leagues to the westward, bounded north and south by a wooded range of hills, and extending apparently to the bases of the lofty snow-covered peaks of the Cordillera, which appeared to form a complete barrier.

During our stay here an incident occurred which led to the collection and comparison of the traditions concerning the hidden or enchanted city which still are current and believed among the Indians and Chilotes.

One day while hunting we were startled by a loud report, as of the discharge of a cannon, and looking to the west saw a black cloud of smoke hanging above the peaks of the Cor-

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dillera. My companion Jackechan told me that on several
538 previous visits to this station the Indians had observed similar columns of smoke in the same direction. On one occasion so convinced were they that it was caused by human agency, that a party set out to endeavour to penetrate the forests and reach the dwellings of the unknown residents, which the smoke was believed to point out. They proceeded some distance into the recesses of the mountain forests, but the extreme difficulties of travelling compelled them at last to abandon their purpose and retrace their steps. It is of course most probable that both the explosion and the smoke proceeded from some unknown active volcano in the range; but the Indians firmly believe in the existence either of an unknown tribe, or of an enchanted or hidden city. The Araucanians when met with farther north had a story current amongst them of having discovered a settlement of white people, who spoke an unknown tongue, in the recesses of the mountains in the same vicinity. The Chilotes and Chilians from the western side fondly cherish the belief in the existence of La Ciudad Encantada, and the mythical people Los Cesares, to the discovery of which, according to De Angelis—to whose research is due the collection of all the records on the subject—the attention of Buenos Ayres, Lima, and Chili was so long directed. A Chilote or Valdivian, name Juan Antonio, narrated to me that he knew a man who was acquainted with another who had heard from a third that the last-named deponent was one of a party who visited the coast opposite to Chiloe for the purpose of wood cutting. They ascended in their boat a river, which as described was probably the upper course of that which we afterwards struck in the Cordillera. Having reached the woods, they separated to cut timber. One of the number was missing at the evening camp-fire; his comrades, however, waited for him, but gave him up at last, and were already preparing to return, when he rejoined them, and recounted a strange adventure. Deep in the forest he had come upon a path, which he followed

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for some distance, till he heard the sound of a bell, and saw clearings, by which he knew himself to be near a town or settlement. He soon met some white men, who made him prisoner, and after questioning him as to the cause of his being there, blindfolded him, and led him away to an exceedingly rich city, where he was detained prisoner for several days. At last he was brought back, still blindfolded, and when the bandage was removed found himself near the place of his capture, whence he made his way back to his comrades. Juan Antonio, the narrator, and Mella, one of the Chilian deserters who was present, fully believed this story, which, however, bears a suspicious resemblance to one told a hundred years before; and both declared that it was all caused by witchcraft or enchantment. 538

Another curious story was related to me, the hero of which was a mischievous imp of twelve years old, who was afterwards attached to my service as page, and for impudence and uselessness might have been a page of the court of Louis Quatorze. He had been in company with Fayel's tribe of Indians and Valdivians in the neighbourhood of the Cordillera. One day the hopeful boy was missed, and although careful search was made, no traces of him were discoverable. Three months afterwards he turned up again, dressed in the same clothes and in remarkably good condition, his spirits and impudence undiminished. My friend Ventura Delgado, a white Valdivian, who was in the camp at the time of his absence and return, vouched from personal observation for so much of the story. When questioned as to his whereabouts and with whom had he been, he answered with confidence, 'With the man on the island in the lake.' There was no known lake nearer than Nahuel-huapi, thirty miles distant, though a chain of lakes must from old accounts exist within the Cordillera; and it certainly was strange how, if he had wandered in the forest for so long a period, subsisting on roots, strawberries, and the plant named falka, he should have preserved his well-fed condition; it was equally

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puzzling to imagine why if made a captive by strangers he should have been allowed to return.

Another curious fable was told by my guide J'aria, when we were travelling from Punta Arena, apropos of the wild animals in Patagonia, on which Lieut. Gallegos was enlarging. J'aria asked if I had ever heard of the Trauco, or Traueo, which the Chilotes aver inhabits the western forests of the Cordillera. Gallegos declared that there was no doubt of its existence, and described it as possessing the form of a wild man, covered with a full of coarse shaggy hair. This nondescript—a specimen of which would no doubt be invaluable to, though not met with on these coasts by Mr. Darwin—is said to descend from the impenetrable forests and attack the cattle on which it preys. This is possibly a pure invention, emanating from the aguardiente muddled brain of a Chilian, but it seems to have a certain relation to the vague stories of unknown wild tribes dwelling in the unexplored and wooded mountain regions. It is hard to convey the sense of mysterious space and undiscoverable dwelling-places impressed on the spectator by the vast solitudes of the mountains and forests of the Cordillera. The inexplicable sounds of crushing rocks, or explosions from unknown volcanoes, and the still stranger tones which resemble bells and voices, all suggest to the ignorant and superstitious native confirmation of the strange circumstantial stories handed down for several generations; and it is hard for any one, even with the assistance of educated reason, to resist the powerful spell of the legends told in sight of these mysterious mountains. My readers will perhaps laugh at the narration of these vagaries of imagination, or will inquire what is the legend of the Cassava, and of the enchanted city. If they have read the delightful pages of 'Westward Ho,' they will not be unacquainted with the shifting mirage of that rich city; which, from Mexico to the Magdalena, mocked the search of so many eager adventurers. The Gran Quivira of New Mexico, the fabled Inimaya the El Dorado

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of Guayana, and El Gran Paytiti of Brazil, the baseless fabrics of many a golden vision, are found repeated with change of place and circumstances in this city of Los Cesares. There is a curious combination of three distinct strands of legends in the chain which connects the marvellous stories of the Northern Indians and Chilotes with the accounts so circumstantially deposed to, and firmly believed by, the Spaniards of the last century. The first is the conquest of Los Cesares in 1589. Sebastian Cabot, from his settlement of Carcarañal on the Paraná, sent his pilot Cesar with 120 soldiers to explore the river, 60 being left to garrison the fort;* this expedition proceeded as far as the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay, which latter river they ascended to the Laguna Sta. Anna, on the way defeating the hostile Indians. They reached the boundaries of the Guaranis, with whom they made friendship and returned. They next set out to proceed overland to Peru, and crossed the Cordillera. After making their way against incredible difficulties, they reached a province, the inhabitants of which were rich in cattle, vicuñas, and gold and silver. The ruler of the province, 'a great lord,' at whose capital they at last arrived, received his Spanish visitors kindly, and entertained them with all honour, until at their own choice they were allowed to return enriched with presents of gold and precious stuffs. The Spaniards regained their fort on the Paraná only to find it a deserted ruin; the Indians having surprised and massacred the garrison. Cesar thereupon led his party to the settlements, and thence started on another expedition, in which he again crossed the Cordillera, and from a height beheld, as he imagined, the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic on either hand, probably mistaking some large lagoon for the distant Atlantic. He then made his way up the coast to Atacama, and thence to Cuzco, at which city he joined the conquerors just at the period of the capture of the ill-fated Inca Atahuallpa.

* Pte. S. Espíritu.

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[77] This marvellous traverse of all the country was spoken of
538 ever after as the conquest of Los Cesares, and the whole account was set forth by Rey Diaz Guzman in 1612, whose authority was one of the Conquistadores of Peru, named Arzon, who had learned all the particulars from Don Cesar himself in Cuzco. It does not seem, however, that more than this name, and perhaps the tradition of the rich Indian city, were preserved in the romantic rumours that began to obtain currency in the seventeenth century, and continued to gain credit till 1781, when the Fiscal of Chili, having been charged to make inquiry, summed up in an elaborate state paper all the evidence in favour of the existence of a rich and strong city, situated somewhere between 45° and 56° south, and urged the Spanish Government to authorise an expedition to discover and take possession of it. The city was described by various veracious (?) authorities as 'defended by walls, ditches, and ravelins, the only entrance being protected by a drawbridge, besides which cautious sentries were always stationed on an adjoining hill to detect intrusive strangers. The buildings were sumptuously constructed, the houses being of wrought stone with azotea roofs; and the churches were covered with glittering roofs of silver, and gorgeously furnished within. Of silver, too, were all utensils, knives, and even ploughshares made; and the inhabitants used golden stools and seats. They were light-complexioned, with blue eyes and thick beards, and spoke a language unintelligible to both Spaniards and Indians. They wore jackets of blue cloth, yellow capes, and blue wadmal drawers and loose silk trousers, with large boots and small three-cornered hats! They possessed numerous cattle, marked with brands similar to those of the Spanish colonists; but their principal article of cultivation was pepper, in which they traded with their neighbours, maintaining withal a complete system of exclusive isolation.' By one account the population was composed of the descendants of the crews of several ships which had been wrecked in the Straits of

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Magellan from 1553 to 1558, the survivors of which had made their way overland and founded a settlement. A wandering padre was said to have received the news of its existence from some Indians, accompanied by a knife as a token, which was recognized as having belonged to the captain of a stranded vessel. The padre set out to discover his countrymen, but lost his life on the road. Another more precise tradition declared that the surviving inhabitants of Osiras, after having maintained a heroic defence against the Araucanians, under the victorious chief Caupolican, in 1558, made good their escape with their families and entitled to a peninsula in a great lagoon thirty miles long and seven or eight wide, situate near Rebuscavi, or the volcano called Osorno, where they built a city strongly defended on the landward side by a fosse and drawbridge raised every night. This lagoon was by others said to be that of Payogue, with a rapid stream named Llanquem. An explorer named Rosas, in 1714, who started from Buenos Ayres, and whose route lay south-west from Tandil and the Volcan, gives most precise distances and landmarks to define the position of the Cesares. He mentions especially a river with a ford only passable during one period of the year, and a hill on which is found much magnetic iron ore. These landmarks, and the rest of his description, point to the locale of that remarkable rock formation mentioned in page 108, which, seen from a distance, might well cheat a traveller into the belief that he beheld a fortified town. Waki pointed it out to me, and said, jokingly, "Perhaps Christians live there." The "Indians of veracity," so frequently quoted in these accounts, who were, however, all bound to keep secret the access to the city, doubtless confused their recollections of different settlements visited in their migrations; and the Spaniards, prepared to receive any new wonder, wove into the marvellous tale all the stories told them, and regarded the joint fiction as undoubted fact. But two more remarkable phases of this legend, and then we return to practical Indian life. A military

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177 party, who set out in 1777 from Rio Bueno, and marched to
178 Lake Llanquehue, crossed the passes of the Cordillera, under
Osorno, and passed the night near the snow line. They
heard distant artillery, and beheld the head of a great
Laguna on the eastern side; they brought back the astounding
intelligence that two distinct towns existed, one peopled
by a race of Spanish origin, the Anca-Huinosa, at war with
the Tehuelches; and the other by Englishmen, or Moro-
Huinosa, who lived in amity with the Indians. And the
Fiscal of Chili, in his report, insisted strongly on the necessity
of rooting out those audacious islanders who had dared
to plant themselves in the dominions of 'our Lord the King.'
Just as the jealous fear of the encroaching English were thus
mixed up in the Spanish version of the mysterious Cesares,
so the Indians connected them with the traditionary glories
of the great Inca race, and spoke of the Indian Cesares; and
the potency of the fable was shown by a proclamation put
forth by the heroic and ill-starred Tupac Amaru, who headed
the unsuccessful rebellion against the tyrant Christians in
1781, styling himself 'Inca, Señor de los Cesares y Amazonas,
con dominio en el Gran Paytiti.' But success mocked
his grasp, and he perished by the hand of the executioner,
just as the rich and coveted city whose lordship he claimed
has eluded many an explorer who has sacrificed his life in
the hopeless search. But the patient reader is probably
weary of enchanted cities, and glad to return to the daily
routine of our Indian life, though it was at this time
179 butcherly enough. It was the all-important season of young
guanaco hunting; and though the chase afforded plenty of
riding, it could hardly be said to offer sport; but to the
Indians it was a matter of business, as their clothing and
stock of skins to trade with depended on the number of
young guanaco killed at this time. Some notes of the habits
180 of the guanaco and rhea, or ostrich, which furnish the Pata-
gonian Indians with food and clothing, may not be out of
place, though all critics are warned that they are not those

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of a naturalist, but simply the observations of a lover of 134
birds and beasts.

The guanaco, known to the Indians as 'Yen,' is from three to four feet in height, and from four to five in length, measured from the point of the muzzle to the tail. The coat is woolly, but decreases in thickness of wool, or rather becomes hairy, about the head and legs. Its colour is of a yellowish red, intermixed with white in various parts of the body; more especially under the abdomen, down the inside of the legs, and round the lips and cheeks: the white also extends up the inside of the neck and throat. The shoulder is slightly arched; the tail short, and when the animal is in motion slightly elevated. The guanaco abounds over a vast range of country, extending from Peru all down the regions east of the range of the Cordilleras of the Andes, over the vast plains from Mendoza to the Straits of Magellan, and even to Tierra del Fuego. As a rule, one male guanaco herds with a troop of about a hundred females, and in the event of their being disturbed he will take up his position on some neighbouring pinnacle of rock, and commence neighing something after the fashion of a horse, keeping himself between the danger and his wives. At the breeding season, however, the males go in flocks by themselves, as do the females. Although it is stated in Monsieur Gay's admirable book on the Zoology of Chili, that the females sometimes bear three fawns, yet this must be a rare case: while we were hunting and killing the young guanaco, the mothers invariably became separated, the young ones lagging behind so as to prevent any appropriation of them to their dams. However, during the time employed in killing the mothers, for the purpose of extracting the unborn young from the womb, I never saw or heard of more than one fœtus being found. The guanaco are excessively swift of foot, indeed almost unapproachable by horse or dog, as a few bank leaps take them away far beyond the speed of a horse. They frequently wait to allow a pursuer to approach close, and

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then bound off, and speedily distance him. Their means of defence consist chiefly in the savate, or use of the feet, more especially the fore ones, although they also bite at times, and with their two peculiar canine teeth could inflict a severe wound.* I have seen places where a puma and a guanaco have evidently had a severe struggle, always, however, resulting in the victory of the puma, as, on seeing these marks, we invariably searched for and found the body near, carefully covered over by the 'leon.' The flesh of the guanaco is excellent, something resembling mutton; the young guanaco being more like very tender veal. That their wool might be turned to account for mercantile purposes is undoubted, as it is of very fine texture, and is at the present time of value in Chili, where it is woven into ponchos which are highly prized. Up to the present time few have been domesticated, but they become very tame, and might at a future date be found useful as beasts of burden, as they are similar in most respects to the lama. There is one very remarkable point about the guanaco; at certain times of the year a sort of secretion, condensed into a hard substance like stone, is found in round pieces, varying from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, in the stomach. To these stones some of the Indians attribute medicinal virtues. The guanaco is of use to the Indians in every way. The skin of the adult is used to make the coverings of the toldos, and that of the unborn or young ones to make mantles for clothes; the sinews of the back furnish them with thread; the skin of the neck, which is particularly tough and durable, with lazos or thongs for bolas, bridles, &c., &c. The skin of the hock supplies them with shoes or coverings for the bolas; from the thigh bone they also cut out dice, or make a musical instrument. On attaining the age of about two months, the coat of the young guanaco begins to become woolly, and the skin is then useless for mantles, but makes sufficiently good saddle-cloths.

* The skull of a guanaco is well figured in Mr. Cunningham's work.

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saddle-cloths. The animal at this early age is very swift of foot, and will give a good chase. They attain their full size the second or third year after birth, and the adult male cannot be better described than as apostrophised by Lieut. Gallegos. As we watched a solitary guanaco standing on a hill above us, and every now and then uttering its shrill warning neigh, 'Ah,' said Gallegos, 'you are a queer animal; you have the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil.' The Rhea Darwinii, called by the Indians 'Mekyush,' and by the Spaniards Avestrus or Ostrich, which name is universally applied to it, is peculiar to Patagonia, few being met with north of Rio Negro, and none being found that I am aware of in any other part of the globe; with the exception, perhaps, of the more northern and plain-like parts of Tierra del Fuego, opposite the country extending from Cape Virgin to Oazy Harbour. It is a variety of the Rhea Americana, common in the Argentine provinces of Entre Rios and Santa Fé, also scattered over the Republic of the Banda Oriental, and extending, I believe, as far north as Rio Grande do Sul and the southern Brazilian province. They exist also in Chili, on the plains at the foot of the Cordilliera of the Andes. The chief difference between these two species is that the Patagonian Rhea Darwinii is smaller and of lighter colour than the American Rhea. The Patagonian ostriches are very swift of foot, and run with their wings closed, while the other species invariably spread theirs. The former birds also always run in a straight line, except when leaving the nest, when probably, to avoid being tracked, they run in a circuitous manner. Their plumage, that is to say the wing feathers, are an object of commerce, and fetch at present about a dollar a pound in Buenos Ayres. The marrow from the leg bones is also, I believe, of use for making pomade, and was formerly, if not at present, highly prized in Buenos Ayres. To the Indian this bird is invaluable in many ways. Besides furnishing their most favourite

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262 food, from the sinews of the leg thongs for bolas are con-
[281] structed; the neck is used as a pouch for salt or tobacco; the feathers are exchanged for tobacco and other necessaries; the grease from the breast and back is tried out and secured in bags formed of the skin (taken off during the spring season, when the females, like all the Patagonian animals except the puma, are thin); the meat is more nourishing and more relished by the Indians than that of any other animal in the country, and the eggs form a staple commodity of food during the months of September, October, and November. The male bird stands about two feet and a
136 half high, and is to be distinguished from the female by its being of a slightly darker colour, and of greater size and strength; nevertheless, it requires a practised eye to detect the difference at any distance. The male bird is also swifter. Their usual food consists of short grass and the seeds of various shrubs, but more especially of tender grass, which I have on several occasions watched them plucking, from a convenient rock which hid me from their sight. On being alarmed they immediately set off at a great speed; they possess great powers of eyesight. If met or obstructed by horsemen in their line of flight, they not unfrequently squat so closely that they can scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding rocks, as the greyish colour of their plumage so closely resembles the almost universal aspect of the Pampas of Patagonia. These birds, though not web-footed, can swim sufficiently well to pass a river. In the winter season
[223] it is not unfrequent for the Indians to drive them into the water, where, their legs getting numbed with cold, they are drifted to the shore by the current, and easily captured, being unable to move. In snowy weather they are also easily taken, as their eyes appear to be affected by the glare of the white snow, and their saturated plumage doubtless becomes heavier. They are polygamous, one male bird consorting with five or six hens, which lay their eggs in the same nest—a hole about two feet six inches in diameter,

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scooped out of the earth. They begin to lay in the early part of September, the number of eggs in each nest varying from twenty to as many as forty, or more. In the early part of the laying season extraneous eggs were found scattered in different parts of the plain, some of which were of diminutive size. Contrary to the usual rule amongst birds, the male sits on the eggs, and when the chickens are hatched assumes the charge of the brood. The young run immediately, or shortly after emerging from the shell, and are covered with a down of greyish black colour on the back, and whitish on the breast and neck. Their cry resembles the syllables pi, pi, pi, uttered in a sharp quick manner. The old male, when any dangers appear, feigns to be hurt, like other birds endeavouring to distract the attention of the hunter, in order that his brood may escape by hiding in the grass. After the male has sat for some time on the nest (I should place the period of incubation at about three weeks), he gets thin, and the grass closely surrounding the nest is found eaten quite bare. The females by this time are beginning to pick up flesh, which is a fortunate provision of nature for the Indians, who cannot subsist on lean meat. Whilst the females are thin they are killed and skinned, the meat being left, and the skins sewn into mantles for sale at the settlements. These birds at that period are much afflicted with vermin, which invade the toldos and guanaco mantles of the Indians, and cause them infinite annoyance. (A useful hint occurs to me for future travellers amongst the Patagonians—never allow the squaw of the establishment to place ostrich mantles under your sleeping hides.) The young Rhea does not attain its full plumage or size until the second year after its birth, and is never pursued by the Indians unless food is really scarce. The eggs are eaten in all stages, fresh or stale; the Indians not recognising much difference between the unhatched chicken and the unborn guanaco. The inveterate destroyers of these birds are, besides their human enemies, the puma and foxes, the former of which will sur-

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prise and kill the sitting bird, which he carefully hides, and then proceed to eat the eggs with great gusto. We not unfrequently found the eggs broken and scattered by these animals, whilst the bird was generally discovered hard by. The foxes, I think, content themselves with sucking the eggs; but I was assured that near Geylum, where wild cats are common, these latter will kill the bird on the nest, like their relatives the puma. Besides these there are the condors, eagles, and hawks, which no doubt commit extensive ravages on the young broods. With all these difficulties to contend with, the Rhea Darwinii exists in great numbers, and if not kept down to a certain extent by the Indians and other enemies would overrun the whole country. We were, while at Chiriq, busily engaged in the destruction of both guanaco and ostrich, the high rugged range of hills that bounded Chiriq on the eastern side literally swarming with guanaco; and as the females, heavy with young, could not keep up their speed for a long distance, one man not unfrequently captured and killed five and six, or even eight; extracting the young and taking its skin for mantles and the carcase for food, while the hide of the mother served, if needed, to repair the toldo. The marrow bones also were taken as a dainty, but the meat was left for the condors, puma, and foxes. We hunted almost every day, and traversed nearly all the surrounding country. The plains lying to the west afforded beautiful ground to ride over, covered with soft grass, but a few leagues from the Cordillera a sudden dip occurs, which forms a huge basin, lying about fifty feet below the level of the plain, like the bed of a lake, and extending to the mountains; the surface of this was chiefly covered with grass, but in some parts the yellow clay and beds of stone were visible. On the higher ground, before reaching this basin, numerous lagoons occurred, round one of which there was a large gull-rookery, and the inhabitants made themselves audible at a long distance. Here also I noticed many of the tero-tero, a spur-winged lapwing, com-

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men near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as [36]
low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our 224
hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The Northern Indians rode most recklessly, going at full speed 492
down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say, although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunting, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare horses and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race, make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to 526
that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of 525
Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy; if ornaments, bolas, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the winners removing them directly the race is decided. The horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting themselves after cantering side by side for a few yards. Owing to the great care taken in training the horses, very few false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long distances, four miles or a league being the average, although, of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The 231
Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses, and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed, the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

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231 racers and best horses, although if a white man approaches or attempts to catch them they show signs of fear and temper. Indeed, there appears to be a sort of instinctive mutual bond between the Indians and their horses. For
232 lameness the cure most prevalent is bleeding in the fetlock with an awl; sometimes the incision is made higher up the leg, and the awl forced nearly through the horse's leg; he is then tied up for a short time, and then let go, and the cure is generally certain. Of course before the bleeding he is tied up several hours without water. The cure for sore backs, which, though rare, sometimes occur owing to an ill-made
135 saddle, is a species of aluminous earth, applied to the wound
232 after it has been cleansed with a knife. This earth is only found in the southern parts of the country, and it is very difficult to obtain any of this much-prized medicine from the Indians. One deposit of it is found in a cliff near Lake Viedma, so high that it can only be got at by throwing stones at the face of the cliff, and so dislodging the earth.

231 A few lines will suffice to gratify any 'horsey-doggy' friends who may be curious as to the horse-flesh and dog-shows of the Indians. The horses in use amongst the Southern Indians are, as a rule, of a hardier race than those found amongst the Northern, Araucanian, and Pampas Indians. Their general size is about fifteen hands, or indeed perhaps less, but nevertheless they are of great speed and endurance; when one takes into consideration that the weight of their riders is frequently over fourteen stone, it appears extraordinary that they should be enabled to carry them in the way they do. The horses are, of course, all of Spanish origin, but time, climate, and the different nature of the country have altered them to a considerable degree from the original race. The horses found amongst the Northern Tehuelches are, as a rule, larger than those previously mentioned, with finer heads and smaller legs; they are also extremely swift, and being bred frequently from captured wild mares, are admirably adapted

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for hunting purposes. The horse, however, most valued is 231
the wild horse captured and tamed; these differ from the others in being, as a rule, of larger size and superior speed. This, I think, only applies to Northern Patagonia, as I have in other parts seen wild horses which in no way equalled those in captivity. The horses vary in colour, those captured from the wild herds generally being a dark bay, black, or brown. Near Port San Julian, I am informed that there are numbers of wild ponies, about the size and make of a shelty, which the children play with. The horses are entirely grass fed, and in consequence of the dry nature of the pasture in the winter season, and the subsequent hard treatment, they generally get very thin in the spring time of the year, but soon pick up condition when given a few days' rest, and allowed to feed on the fresh pasture. The dogs generally in use amongst the Patagonian Indians vary considerably both in size and species. First of all comes a sort of lurcher (smooth-haired), bred by the Indians from some obtained in the Rio Negro, the mothers being a description of mastiff, with a muzzle, however, much sharper than that of a mastiff proper; they are also very swift, and have longer and lower bodies. Our chief, Orkeke, kept his breed of this dog, which probably had been derived from the earlier Spanish *settlements, pure; and they were, for hunting purposes, the* best I saw, running both by scent and view.

Another description of dog observed had long woolly hair, and indeed much resembled an ordinary sheep dog. These were passably common amongst the Indians, but most of the dogs used in the chase—which are nearly all castrated—are 232
so mixed in race as to defy specification. I heard of a dog captured from some Fuegians, which was very swift, and answered perfectly to our description ° harrier. These Fuegians are probably those known as t 'Foot' Indians, who, by those who have descended on their coasts, have been observed to use dogs for hunting purposes.

Casimiro informed me that Quintahual's people formerly

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hunted on foot, with a large sort of dog, which, from his description, must have resembled a deer hound. The dogs are rarely fed, being allowed generally to satiate themselves in the chase. The hounds belonging to Orkeke, and one or two others, were exceptions to this rule, being fed with cooked meat when it was plentiful. The women keep pet lap-dogs of various descriptions, generally a sort of terrier, some of them much resembling the Scotch terrier. 'Ako,' for instance, was to all appearance a thoroughbred dog of that breed. These little lap-dogs are the torment of one's life in camp: at the least sound they rush out yelping, and set all the big dogs off; and in an Indian encampment at night, when there is anything stirring, a continual concert of bow-wows is kept up. The dogs are fierce towards strangers, but generally content themselves with surrounding them, showing their teeth and barking, unless set on. That they are ugly customers at night an amusing instance will prove. One morning a dog was found dead near its owner's toldo, which had evidently been knocked on the head with a bola, and finished with a knife; the owner made a great outcry, but no explanation could be had. It subsequently became known to me that a young gallant had sought admission to the toldo of his inamorata by the accustomed method of cautiously lifting the back tent cover from the ground, and dexterously crawling underneath; when half through, he felt his leg seized in a pair of powerful jaws. The lady was highly amused at the predicament of her lover, who, however, extricated himself by a mighty and well-directed kick with his foot in the muzzle of his assailant. When returning from his 'rendezvous' he met his active enemy, and vindictively knocked him on the head, and, to make sure work, cut his th[illegible]t; but his leg carried after all a deeper scar than his h[illegible] as a token of the love-adventure, and when the story was told, and, as may be supposed, excited roars of laughter, it recalled forcibly to my mind,

'He jests at scars who never felt a wound.'

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Our camp at Chiriq presented quite the appearance of a town of toldos, and fresh arrivals were still expected from the S.W.; but the Indians of the latter party, with whom we had not yet made acquaintance, sent a chasqui with an invitation to Crimé to join their party, and a message that they would ultimately meet us at Teckel. Accordingly, Crimé, who was now rich in horses and gear, having received many presents, bid us adieu, and set off with an imposing cavalcade. Poor fellow! he had better have remained with us, as the sequel will show.

The weather during the first weeks of our stay in Chiriq was warm and fine, but latterly the wind veered round to the west, and it changed to sleet and cold rain, and the normal Patagonian climate. The humour of the Indians seemed as variable, for old Orkeke grew exceedingly jealous. Jackechan often used to lend me a horse on the hunting excursions, and Orkeke one day asked me in a sullen manner whether I wished to change my toldo, and go with my friend. My reply that I had no wish to do so at present quieted him for the time, and he immediately offered me one of his best horses for the next day, which was a real treat. I am afraid I rather abused his generosity, as we had a great day chasing large herds of guanaco, and with a racer for a mount, one was induced to ride furiously. On the 20th of November it was decided to break up the camp and divide into two parties to hunt, it being considered that our united numbers were too great for successful hunting in one place. When all were packing up and preparing to start, a row nearly broke out between two of our old party: indeed it was with the greatest difficulty, and only through the intervention of Casimiro, Hinshal, and two or three more, that blood was not spilt. Of course, if the fight had commenced between these two, such is the excitability of the Indians that it would soon have become a general battle. This, and a heavy shower of rain coming, prevented our march, so the women unpacked, and the horses were let go again. Some few Indians

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started to hunt, but came back shortly almost empty-handed, fairly beaten by the driving sleet and snow. During our stay most of us had refitted all our gear, and were well provided with bolas; many were the necks of guanaco stripped to obtain the hide for them, and for making 'manêos' (straps for securing horses' legs), whips, cinctas (girths), lazos, &c., &c. The work that I preferred was plaiting ostrich sinews for thongs for the ostrich bolas. The ostrich sinews are abstracted by dislocating the lower joint of the leg, the first sinew is then pulled out by hand, and the other drawn out by main force, using the leg bone as a handle. This bone is then separated from the foot, and the sinews left adhering to the foot; they are slightly dried in the sun, after which the extracted bone is used to separate the fibres by drawing it sharply up the sinews. When sufficiently separated, they are cut off from the foot, split into equal sizes and lengths, and laid in a moist place to soften; when sufficiently soft, they are made into thongs, cooked brains being used to make them more pliable, and lie better in the plaits. These thongs are plaited in four plaits (round sinnet) well known to every sailor, but the ends are doubled in a peculiar manner, which requires practice to manage well. Before leaving Chiripa another disturbance was nearly taking place, caused by one of the Chilians quitting Tehang's toldo and joining that of a man commonly called Santa Cruz, an Indian well known at Patagones, and allowed a ration of maize from the Government. Tehang, immediately on hearing of his departure, put on his revolver and collared the Chilian's horse. To this Santa Cruz objected, but Tehang kept the horse, and, revolver in hand, defied anybody's claim to it. After this little incident the camp was broken up, and the two parties divided—Hinchel marching S.W. and our party to the N.W.

After a very cold and hungry march in the face of a bitterly piercing wind, we encamped on the shores of a lagoon of some extent, called 'Hochelkaik,' which signifies 'Windy-

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hill,' and certainly is worthy of its name; for during our stay 132
a succession of S.W. winds blew with great violence. After
our arrival a small boy cut his finger, and, according to 752
custom, a mare was killed. Some of the meat sent to our
toldo was thankfully received, as we were all half starved.
Having strolled through the camp and visited Cayuke's toldo, 600
I found that Casimiro had not arrived, having started, to my
great disgust, with the party travelling to the S.W., and
taken with him a specially good horse, which he had given
me in exchange for a revolver. I was, however, glad to find
that Jackechan, the Pampa chief, was there, and we had a
confabulation and smoke together. On the 23rd, the pre- 224
vious day having been too rough, the Indians started to
hunt the enclosing grassy basin before mentioned as existing
at the foot of the mountains. Immense herds of guanaco
were driven down, and being encircled by men and fires the
sport soon commenced. The Tehuelches had for some reasons
set light to the grass in every available part, and the wind
rising to a furious gale, the fires soon spread and joined in an
advancing line. Jackechan, myself, and several other Indians
were in the centre of the circle, each employed in skinning
the guanaco we had already killed, when suddenly we found
that we were encircled in flame and smoke, and that if we did
not want to be well scorched we had better look out for means
of exit. Leaving our game, we galloped at the spot where
the smoke appeared thinnest, but after riding three or four
minutes with our faces covered up, found an impassable
barrier of flame; so, half-maddened with the hot sand dashed
in our eyes by the gale, and nearly suffocated with smoke, we
galloped down the line of flame to a spot where, the grass
being stunted, we managed to get through without injury,
although our horses' legs were singed a little. We were very
thankful to breathe pure air, though the atmosphere was still
thick with smoke, and nothing could be distinguished of
valley or anything else. Jackechan, with unerring Indian
instinct, led the way to a stream of water, where we were

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224 able to drink and wash some of the hot sand out of our eyes. After a quarter of an hour's rest and a smoke, as the flames had passed on, we determined to ride back over the still smoking ground, and endeavour to discover the bodies of our guanaco. We accordingly emerged from the hollow where we had sheltered ourselves, and once more plunged into the thick of the driving smoke and heated sand: holding our mantles over our eyes, we penetrated the murky atmosphere till Jackechan discovered two of his animals; but as they were both roasted, or rather burned, and ourselves and horses were nearly suffocated, we beat a hasty retreat. I was very thankful when at length, ascending a steep declivity, we emerged at the top into the pure air. 'Ah!' said Jackechan, looking down on the plains still full of smoke, 'it has been a rough time, but "we are men, not women," though we were fools to remain to the last.' I fully agreed with him in this, as my eyes still smarted very painfully. How he found his way through the smoke was perfectly inexplicable to me: if I had been alone, my travels would have been concluded then and
232 there. Towards the evening of this eventful day the wind abated in violence, and during the night snow fell, and all the ensuing day there were passing squalls of white water or snow, and furious blasts of wind. About this time I came to the conclusion that summer was unknown in these regions, and that the Patagonian year consisted of two seasons—a hard winter and a bad spring. The Indians, however, declared that the climate had grown colder during the last
233 two years. On the 28th of November we broke up camp and marched to a valley situated under one spur of the wooded hills, previously mentioned as bounding the northern side of the valley—killing some young guanaco by the way. I was astonished on galloping up to two, to find they did not run away at first, although their mothers had already gone, and taken up a position on a rocky eminence some distance off. Whilst watching them, however, and meditating on the necessity and cruelty of killing them, the two little things

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started off; so, as my mantle was fast losing its beautiful appearance, I put compunction on one side, and shortly killed them with a blow on the head. On arriving at the fire where some of the Indians were collected eating ostriches, I was proceeding to take the skins off, when Tankelow, who presided, stopped me, saying that we would skin them in the toldos, where the blood would be a treat to the women and children. We accordingly reserved the luxury, and after a feed crossed a small stream and piece of marsh, beyond which lay the encampment, where the women soon verified Tankelow's words. Though the flesh of the young guanaco is rather tasteless and soft, the blood has a sweeter taste than that of the adult. The rennet, or milk, which is found curdled into a sort of cheese in the intestines, is also eaten with gusto. The most laborious part of young guanaco hunting consists in taking off the skin, which, after the necessary incisions have been made with a knife, has to be taken off by hand, the thumb being used to separate the hide from the body. The calves, when three days old, run at about the speed of a horse's hand-gallop, but sometimes give longer chases. The Indian plan is to kill them with a blow on the head from a bolt, and then pass on to another, and so on, afterwards returning to collect them in a heap and skin them. After the hide is taken off it is necessary to expose it to the air for a few minutes before folding it up, otherwise it is liable to get heated, and will tear easily in the subsequent processes. We hunted in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, or 'Bad Hill,' several times, with varying success, sometimes proceeding up into the wooded hills, where the timber in some places grew in clumps, as if planted by the hand of man; in others filled up the rocky dells, until the main forests were reached, which appeared to extend far into the Cordillera. Most of the trees were of a species of beech, on which were many small edible fungi, some of which we gathered for use; and traces of red deer were frequently seen, and a few were chased by the Indians, but owing to the

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[36] thickness of the wood they escaped. Some of the Indians
37 took the opportunity to cut fresh poles for the toldos. The
sight of woods and trees was so refreshing that I spent
several days consecutively among them, very often alone,
or with one companion. Nobody, except a sailor after
months on the sea, can imagine the pleasure of wandering
under trees to one who had passed so long a time in the
barren and monotonous plains. The weather, however, still
continued wet and inclement. On the 5th of December,
282 some of us wandering on the heights above, made out smoke
to the N.E., and Campos went off at speed on horseback to reconnoitre. He returned towards nightfall very drunk, and riding straight to our toldo, proclaimed that El Sombrero, the Indian left behind in Santa Cruz, had arrived at a place close to us, bringing grog in two small barrels, and letters for me: when he had delivered his news, he, with some difficulty, dismounted without coming on his head; then produced a bottle half full of rum from under his mantle, which he dispensed to the attendant company.

579 Our toldo was soon crowded, and it was proposed that on the following day we should march and meet the visitor, all being eager for a drink. Accordingly, on the morrow we started, in a storm of sleet and rain, and prepared to hunt as usual. While hunting, just after Jackerlum and myself had killed an ostrich, the former perceived a single toldo, which he knew must be El Sombrero, so we galloped towards it, accompanied by two other Indians, and were received with open arms by El Sombrero and his two wives,
579 Jackerlum being a very old friend. We were made to sit
273 down, and the olla, or boiling-pot, was brought out by the two wives, who acted as Hebes by producing the rum, with which our host filled the pot, and dispensed the liquor in a pannikin. One of the wives then produced my letters, which proved to be from Mr. Clarke and Don Luis F. R., the schooner having arrived on October 5, all safe. El Sombrero then gave me all the news varieties—how a fight had taken

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place at the settlement between Gonzalez and Antonio, in 574
which the latter had been killed or mortally wounded, and 273
the former had escaped to the Pampas, but had subsequently been captured and taken as a prisoner in the schooner to Buenos Ayres; and other news of trivial importance. Meanwhile the grog was fast disappearing, and the pot had to be replenished. This in turn was about half-emptied by the time the other Indians and women arrived, and Jokechen, very inebriated, was vowing eternal friendship to me, while Tchang was howling in my other ear a lovely Tehuelche ditty. As I had drunk in moderation, I thought it about time to clear, so, on the plea of looking after my horse, retired and re-read my letters, which any one may imagine, although not coming from my relations, were of great interest. After my departure no more liquor was given away, El Ricardo selling two bottles for a young horse or a [437]
silver-sheathed knife, so that he soon found himself a rich man. By midnight all the liquor was exhausted and many drunk, but no disturbances occurred worthy of mention, all arms having previously been stowed away safely. I was roused from my first sleep by a lady from a neighbouring table, who wished to endorse me, and, with feminine curiosity wanted to know the contents of my letters. She was I am sorry to say, in an advanced stage of intoxication, so after giving her a cuche, Orkoke, who had roused up and was dying of laughter, politely showed her the door. Most of the party went out hunting in the morning, the ride no doubt proving beneficial to those suffering from headache, though little game was killed; but the Ricardo, whom I had joined in a morning bowl of coffee, remained at home, as his horses were very much used up, one of his boys going on a friend's mount to procure meat. For four days after this 782
drinking bout we did nothing but slaughter and eat mares, somebody's child having been slightly hurt in some manner. Although I have read in various books that the Indians have a religious festival at which mares are slaughtered as a

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782 sacrifice to the Deity at a certain time of the year, I never saw anything of it. Whenever this sort of sacrificial feast took place, there was always a special occasion for it—either a death, or a child hurt, or some escape from danger, when the animals are killed as a thanksoffering. Rather tired of remaining so long in one place, on the 12th we marched due north across the plain, which was called 'Gick,' and encamped under a hill covered with trees, and the sides furrowed with small gullies, densely filled with vegetation
157 and shrubs of two or three species. Here there were plants of the description of potatoes before mentioned, but growing very deep in such unfavourable ground that few were extracted. On the hill sides a plant bearing a yellow flower grew in abundance, the leaf of which, the Chilians informed me, was an excellent remedy for wounds and bruises, and much used in Chili. Four days' hunting took place here, at
[illegible] the end of which Orkabo, who had heard some story that the Pampas had been stealing a march by hunting at night, and was rather disgusted at his continual ill-success, proposed that we should separate, and, in company with the fellow of Tchang, go westward to a plain below the higher mountains, which he stated to be abounding in guanaco. He also proposed a trip into the Cordillera in search of wild cattle. This plan was eagerly approved, as I anticipated persuading him, if possible, to penetrate to the Chilian shores of the Pacific. We accordingly set out on our two-mile, but had not gone far before a frightful storm of wind, sleet, and rain set in, which wetted us all completely. We huddled for shelter under a bush for some time, but as it continued there was nothing for it but to push on, and about three p.m. the weather cleared up: we then entered a glen with a wooded stream running down it, expanding higher up into an open plain. A short distance up the valley the intended camping-ground lay, so a small circle was made, in which some ostriches and guanaco were killed. We then adjourned across the river under the trees, and soon had a roaring fire blazing, by the side of

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which we dried ourselves and cooked our dinner. A more 200
romantic-looking spot than this I was never in. On the
other side of the stream was a mass of grey rocks, half hid
by shrubs, from amongst which here and there a dead tree
stood up. On one side the grass was beautifully green, and
the trees were growing in scattered round clumps a few
yards apart; doves were cooing in their branches, and young
ostriches were running about. Those, I am sorry to say,
were caught by the horsemen, who jumped down and secured
them: hunger had no scruples, and two furnished a good
meal for each wet and starving traveller! Despite our
ducking, we were soon all in high spirits, and some of us,
before going back to the toldos, proceeded to search for wild
potatoes, a few of which we brought back. The following 53
morning the sun rose bright, with a clear sky, as we con- 341
tinued our march in a westerly direction, arriving about
midday at a gorge amongst the wooded hills, where I hoped
that we were going to encamp; the women, however, di-
verged to the northward, and proceeded up a ravine or
cañon in the barranca of the high pampa, pitched the toldos
in a gloomy prison-like spot. Melancholy as it seemed to
me, it afforded abundant pasture for the horses, which
between the hills was scarce, so that they were inclined to
wander into the woods and be hard to find when wanted,
which undoubtedly was the reason of our taking the cañon in
preference to the wooded valley. This cañon, a little beyond 53
our camp, divided into two, in one of which was a laguna
frequented by avocets. The stream, which in spring poured
down the glen, presented only an occasional pool and a dry
bed, in which were numbers of rounded white stones of
chalky substance, supplying capital materials for bolas, easily
reduced to the suitable form: it also occurred to me that the
chips pounded to powder might have the curative effects of
chalk mixture, as diarrhœa had affected some of the party,
and the result of the medicinal experiment was satisfactory,
though it was impossible to prevail on the Indians to try the

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remedy. Whilst the women were plaiting tobbes, the men, eight in number, started to hunt again. Riding to the west, where the plain was still open, we came upon another of the large basins previously described, on the western side of which, beyond a lagoon stocked with waterfowl, flowed a broad winding stream fringed with trees. At a short distance from the other side of the stream open glades extended for the space of perhaps a mile to the verge of the interminable forests, rising high up on the lofty sides of mountains, some of whose summits were still partially snow-clad. To the south were two or three round detached hummocks, hardly deserving the name of hills, crowned with trees. In the foreground were immense herds of guanaco, and on the northern side frowned a high range of acid-looking hills, forming a great contrast to the deliciously-refreshing green aspect of the other points of view. Whilst waiting concealed behind a bush for the coming herd, which had been cunningly encircled by Tobang and another Indian, and were to be driven in our direction, we gazed long at the beautiful view before us, and Orbeke pointed out a mountain some distance to the north, underneath which, he said, was the entrance to the scene of our future campaign against the wild cattle. Towards evening we returned to the tobbes, pretty well loaded with skins. On another occasion, when hunting, we made a circle, finishing off in the wooded district near the banks of the river. On our return we hunted over a park-like country, with alternate open glades and woods. Here we killed a doe red deer and a large description of fox, apparently identical with the Falkland Island species (Lupus antarcticus). In the vicinity of the woods, the velvety sward was carpeted with the wild strawberry plants, which, however, were only in bloom. On this occasion our enjoyment was marred by one of the party getting a severe fall, which laid him up for a day or two. Before we reached the tobbes rain set in heavily, which during the night turned to snow, and the morning sun shone on a white landscape.

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During our stay the women went to the woods to cut fresh [13]
poles for the tolder, and the men brought back from the [57]
wooded country a description of fungus, which, when dried, [72]
forms an excellent tinder, of considerable value amongst the Indians, as there are only a few spots where it is to be obtained. After some days spent in this pleasant neighbourhood, as the supply of guanaco was falling, we marched over the barren range of hills, and passing a lagoon of considerable extent below the hills, encamped on the other side of them, by the side of a smaller one, in a place called 'Gogomenykak.'

During the hunt I had singled out a guanaco, and was in [53]
full chase across the upper pampa, which was covered with stunted bushes and tufts of grass, when the quarry suddenly disappeared, as if the earth had swallowed him. The next moment my horse halted in mid-gallop, with its fore feet on the edge of a precipitous descent which shelved away without any warning. Below was a long beautiful glen, with a pool of water glistening among the trees which filled it, but did not rear their topmost boughs above the level of the pampa. Here the guanaco had taken refuge, and as the descent was impracticable for a horse, I could only gaze longingly down into the fairy-like scene, and turn away to join the circle, remembering that it was only too easy to lose oneself by delay. Of this an instance occurred the same day, for one of the Chilians did not appear at the fireside when the hunting was completed. At first no head was bestowed on him, as it was natural to suppose that he had chased a herd of guanaco to some distance, and was detained taking off the skins; but when at sunset he was still missing, some dry grass was fired, for the purpose of directing him to our camp. The following morning he had not appeared when we started to hunt, myself going as pointsman with Ochoke. We galloped for some distance over the plain, and halted in a hollow, where we came on six young skunks outside their [56]
parental burrow, into which they quickly vanished on our

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[133] dismounting; but as their burrows do not penetrate far, Orkeke soon grubbed out a couple. As they were too small to kill for the value of their skins, and too much trouble to carry home as pets for the children, we set them free again, and I proceeded, leaving Orkeke to pursue his way slowly. A slight rise brought me in front of a rocky hill, on the other side of which was a river with wooded banks, across the valley of which river lay my route. I at first considered it to be the same as that seen in the previous encampment, but on reflection it was plainly another, this flowing north-east, whilst the other took a south-west course. Our hunt progressed very fairly. On closing the circle, one of the Chilians, who was running a guanaco with me, and not expert in the use of the bolas, entangled his horse and himself instead of the chase, which lost him his spoils, and caused much merriment amongst the remainder of the party; although I may as well state here that when a horse gets a ball round his legs or under his tail, it is not much of a joking matter for the rider. On our way back to camp, halting by a
[137] spring, we found large quantities of wild celery; nettles were also common—the real old English white-flowering one being prevalent. Although my bare legs got considerably stung, I forgot to swear in Tehuelche, and forgave the plant for old acquaintance sake. At the toldos we found the Chilian, who had arrived recently, having run a herd some distance and lost his way, but had been safely directed by our signal
[134] fires. In the afternoon some of the party were occupied in breaking their horses, while others were sitting at home lazily watching the performance. Conde's step-father, generally known as 'Paliki,' had a three-year-old iron-grey, with a white star, and a very fine animal, tied up ready to be mounted for the first time. Paliki entered our toldo to borrow my cincts, or girth, and chaffed me, asking if I would venture to 'domar' him. Orkeke seconded the proposal, and accordingly, having stripped off mantle and boots, I proceeded to take the lazo and reins and mount. The in-

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stant he felt the unwonted incumbrance he buck-jumped for several yards, finally jumping into the middle of the brook and nearly losing his footing. I spurred him out, and once on the bank he commenced to whirl round and round like a teetotum. At last I got his head straight, and after a few more buck-jumps he went off at a racing speed, urged by whip and spur. After a stretching gallop of three miles, I rode him quietly back, now and again turning him to accustom him to the bridle-thong, but not venturing to feel his mouth, and then brought him up to the toldo amidst the shouts of the spectators. Orkeke expressed great surprise, and wanted to know where I had learned to 'domar'; and the gratified owner insisted on presenting me with a piece of tobacco. This was most welcome, as my store was almost exhausted, though it had been replenished occasionally by the possessors of guns and revolvers in return for my services in putting the locks to rights; and the fear of being left tobaccoless—the agony of which all smokers will appreciate—was becoming unpleasantly strong. The following day we bade adieu to the lagoon, which, as usual, was covered with swans and other wild-fowl, which we never molested, husbanding our powder in the event of future disturbances with other Indians. We marched a few miles, and encamped near the river—indeed, on its very banks, under the shadows of the trees. Here we passed our time away hunting, bathing in the stream, smoking, and lying in the shade for three days. One of my horses being lame, I could not hunt every day, so frequently passed hours under the trees by the river, scrubbing my one remaining shirt for future use, and working hide, &c. As writing in the toldo was made almost impossible by the curiosity of the children, crowding round me and asking questions, I generally used to take my note-book to my retreat; here, however, I was often interrupted by the girls, who came on the pretence of bathing, and evinced great playful curiosity as to the contents of my book—for here, too, I used to peruse and re-

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our peruse my library, namely, half of the delightful 'Elsie Venner,' which Crimé had picked up on board some ship to serve as wadding for his guns, and sold to me for a little powder. To enable the reader to follow our somewhat devious course and the intricacies of these hills and frequent rivers, the sketch map at page 164 will be found useful; it does not pretend to be exact, but gives a very fair idea of the line of country traversed, and of our migrations between Hamno and Teckel.

On the 23rd, Indians having been seen to the north and guanaco hunting proving a failure, Orkeke, to my great delight, proposed a visit to the wild-cattle country. The camp was accordingly struck, and following more or less the valley of the river, which flowed after one turn nearly due east, we shortly came out into an open plain running up between the mountains, at the head of which we encamped by some tall beeches on the banks of the stream. The whole of the latter part of the plain traversed was literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom, the soil being of a dark peaty nature. Young ostriches were now numerous, and every hunt some were captured, and formed a welcome addition to our dinner. The children had several alive as pets, which they used to let loose and then catch with miniature bolas, generally ending in killing them. Our programme was to leave all the women, toldos, and other encumbrances in this spot, named 'Weakel,' or Chaykash—a regular station, and which Hinchal's party had occupied a few weeks previously—and proceed ourselves into the interior in search of cattle. The following morning at daylight horses were caught and saddled, and, after receiving the good wishes of the women, who adjured us to bring back plenty of fat beef, we started off just as the sun was rising behind the hills to the eastward. The air was most invigorating, and we trotted along for some distance up a slightly irregular and sandy slope, halting after an hour or two by the side of a deliciously clear brook, flowing east,

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where we smoked. We had previously passed guanaco and ostrich, but no notice was taken of them, the Indians having larger game in view. After passing this brook, the head-water of the river near which we had left the toldos, we skirted a large basin-like plain of beautiful green pasture, and after galloping for some time entered the forest, travelling along a path which only permitted us to proceed in Indian-file. The trees were in many places dead, not blackened by fire, but standing up like ghostly bleached and bare skeletons. It is a remarkable fact that all the forests on the eastern side are skirted by a belt of dead trees. At length, however, just as we came in sight of a curiously pointed rock which in the distance resembled the spire of a church, we entered the forest of live trees; the undergrowth was composed of currant, bay, and other bushes, whilst here and there were beds of yellow violets, and the inevitable strawberry plants everywhere. After crossing a stream, which, flowing from the north, afterwards took a westerly course, thus proving that we had passed the watershed, we proceeded, under cover of a huge rock, to reconnoitre the hunting ground. The scenery was beautiful: a valley, about a mile wide, stretched directly under us; on the southern verge a silver line marked the easterly river, and another on the northern the one debouching in the Pacific; whilst above, on both sides, rose high mountains covered with vegetation and almost impenetrable forests. On the western side of the valley a solitary bull was leisurely taking his breakfast, and above our look-out rock a huge condor lazily flapped his wings. These were the only specimens of animal life in view. Pursuing our way in perfect silence, as from the first entrance into the forests speaking had been prohibited, we followed the leader along the narrow cattle path, passing here and there the remains of a dead bull or cow that had met their fate by the Indian's lazo, and at length descended to the plain. It was about midday, and the day was warm, so we halted, changed horses, looked to our girths, got lazos ready

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for use, and then started on. As we were proceeding we observed two or three animals amongst the woods on the opposite side, but knowing that it would be useless to follow, pursued our course up the valley. Having crossed the western stream, we at once entered a thicket where the path was scarcely distinguishable from the cover, but our leader never faltered, and led the way through open glades alternating with thick woods, on every side of which were cattle marks, many being holes stamped out by the bulls, or wallowing places. The glades soon terminated in forests, which seemed to stretch unbroken on either side. We had expected before reaching this point to have found cattle in considerable numbers, but the warmth of the day had probably driven them into the thickets to seek shelter. We now commenced to ascend over a dangerous path, encumbered here and there with loose boulders and entangled in dense thickets, whilst we could hear and catch occasional glimpses of the river foaming down a ravine on our left, and presently arrived at the top of a ridge where the forests became more uniformly dense, and we could with great difficulty pursue our way. It was a mystery to me how Orkeke, who acted as guide, knew where we were, as on one occasion the slightly-marked paths diverged in different directions, and on another we literally found ourselves amongst fallen trees in a forest so dense that the light of day scarcely penetrated its shades. Our leader, however, never hesitated, but led us onwards in all confidence. Whilst brushing along, if I may be allowed the term, trying to keep the leader in sight, I heard something tapping on a tree, and looking up, saw close above
[36] me a most beautifully marked red-crested woodpecker. We at length commenced to descend, and, after passing many channels of rivulets issuing from springs, where a slip of the horse's foot on the wet and mossy stones would have occasioned something worse than broken bones, as they were situated on the edge of a deep ravine, finally emerged from the woods and found ourselves on a hill of some three hundred

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feet in height, when we looked down on a broad plain 133
in the form of a triangle, bounded by the river flowing 136
through the ravine on the north side, and on the southern 224
by another coming from the south, which two streams united
in one large river at the western apex, at a distance of about
perhaps a league. Above and around, on all sides excepting
to the west and the ravines through which the rivers flowed,
rose the unbroken wall of the lofty mountains of the
Cordillera, many of their peaks snow-clad. No sound was to
be heard except the rushing of the river in the ravine, and
no animal life to be seen except a condor or two floating
high above us in the clear sky. The scene was sublime, and
I viewed it in silence for some minutes, till the pipe, being
handed to me, dispelled all nascent poetic tendencies. The
Indians remained silent and looked disgusted, as a herd of
cattle had been expected to be viewed on the plain below.
We descended to the flats, and crossed the river, on the
banks of which 'Puja' or Pampa-grass grew in abundance,
as well as the bamboo-like canes from which Araucanian
Indians make their lance shafts, and a plant called by the
Chilians 'Talka,' the stalk of which, resembling rhubarb, is
refreshing and juicy. On the northern edges and slope of the
ravine behind us towered graceful pines sixty feet high, which,
though an impassable barrier of rock prevented close inspec-
tion, appeared to be a species of Araucaria; the bark was
imbricated and the stems rose bare of branches for two-thirds
of their height, like those figured by M. Gay. Many had been
carried down by landslips, and lay tossed and entangled on
the sides of the ravine. The increase of temperature after [134]
passing the watershed was sensibly great, amounting to from
seven to ten degrees, and the vegetation far more luxuriant,
the plants presenting many new forms unknown at the
eastern side. After leaving the plain and crossing the 133
shallow stream, we left our mantles, and girthed up near a 137
tree in a thicket festooned with a beautiful creeper, having 234
a bell-shaped flower of violet radiated with brown. The

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variety of flowers made an Eden of this lovely spot: climbing clusters of sweet-peas, vetches, and rich golden flowers resembling gorgeous marigolds, and many another blossom, filled the air with perfume and delighted the eye with their beauty. Proceeding still westward we entered a valley with alternate clumps of trees and green pastures, and after riding about a mile I espied from a ridge on one side of the valley two bulls on the other side, just clear of the thick woods bordering the ascent of the mountains. The word was passed in whispers to the cacique, and a halt being called under cover of some bushes, a plan of attack was arranged in the following manner. Two men were sent round to endeavour to drive the animals to a clearing where it would be possible to use the lazo, the remainder of the party proceeding down towards the open ground with lazos, ready to chase if the bulls should come that way. For a few minutes we remained stationary, picking the strawberries, which in this spot were ripe, although the plants previously met with were only in flower. At the end of five minutes spent in anxiously hoping that our plan would prove successful, a yell from the other side put us on the alert, and we had the gratification to see one of the animals coming straight towards our cover. Alas! just as we were preparing to dash out, he turned on the edge of the plain, and after charging furiously at his pursuers dashed into a thicket, where he stood at bay. We immediately closed round him, and dismounting, I advanced on foot to try and bring him down with the revolver; just as I had got within half a dozen paces of him, and behind a bush was quietly taking aim at his shoulder, the Indians, eager for beef, and safe on their horses at a considerable distance off, shouted, 'Nearer! nearer!' I accordingly stepped from my cover, but had hardly moved a pace forward when my spur caught in a root: at the same moment 'El Toro' charged. Entangled with the root, I could not jump on one side as he came on; so when within a yard I fired a shot in his face, hoping to

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134
133
137

A WILD BULL IN THE CORRALLERA.

[facing p. 159]

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224 turn him, and wheeled my body at the same instant to prevent his horns from catching me, as the sailors say, 'broadside on.' The shot did not stop him, so I was knocked down, and, galloping over me, he passed on with my handkerchief, which fell from my head, triumphantly borne on his horns, and stopped a few yards off under another bush. Having picked myself up and found my arms and legs all right, I gave him another shot, which, as my hand was rather unsteady, only took effect in the flank. My cartridges being exhausted, I returned to my horse, and found that, besides being considerably shaken, two of my ribs had been broken by the encounter.

The Indians closed round me, and evinced great anxiety to know whether I was much hurt. One more courageous than the rest, despite the warnings of the cacique, swore that he would try and lazo the brute, and accordingly approached the infuriated animal, who for a moment or two showed no signs of stirring: just, however, as the Indian was about to throw his lazo, it caught in a branch, and before he could extricate it the bull was on him. We saw the horse give two or three vicious kicks, as the bull gored him: at length he was lifted clean up, the fore legs alone remaining on the ground, and overthrown, the rider alighting on his head in a bush. We closed up and attracted the bull in another direction, then went to look for the corpse of our comrade, who, however, to our surprise, issued safe from the bush where he had lain quiet and unhurt, though the horse was killed. This little incident cast a gloom over our day's pleasure, and lost us our Christmas dinner, as Orkeke ordered a retreat to the spot where we had left our mantles, although we tried to persuade him to attack the beast again, or, at any rate, remain and eat some of the dead horse, and try our luck that day, but he was inflexible. He having regained our spare horses we prepared to return home, hoping to be able to pass through the forest before nightfall. On our way across the plain previously described, wild cattle were seen

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and one chased; but he, although hailed by Orkeke, contrived to slip the bolas, and escaping to cover stood to bay, where he was left master of the field. This bull would have been taken had the other Indians shewed any degree of alacrity when Orkeke hailed him; but they were dispirited by the previous failure. As evening was coming on I noticed a cormorant on the river: this and the increase of temperature led me to believe that had we penetrated a few miles further west we should have reached the shores of the Pacific. Pursuing our track homewards, after the second unsuccessful engagement, we managed to pass the thick forest before dark, and descending to the eastern valley saw numerous cows and bulls at intervals. A short time after dark we encamped for the night under the shelter of some trees near to the head-waters of the western river, and after a pipe—by way of supper—wrapping ourselves in our mantles were soon fast asleep. At daylight we mounted and continued our journey, arriving about two P.M. pretty considerably hungry, having eaten nothing barring strawberries and talka, and a few unripe currants, since our last evening in the toldos. The women were naturally disappointed at our ill-luck, but uttered no complaints or reproaches, and hastened to prepare some chaqui for our refreshment. Next day, all except myself and my companion in the overthrow, who complained of headache, went out hunting and returned at night with young guanaco, and an ostrich or two. Some of the women had seen cattle near the encampment, and Orkeke informed me that in former years they used to occupy the plains below us in large herds, but that the Indians had driven them into the interior by excessive hunting: he also stated that on one occasion he spent some months in this spot, and caught and tamed a considerable number. His accurate knowledge of the country made his statement credible, and he also shewed me a sort of corral that had been made to enclose the wild animals. For my own part, the snows of the Cordillera recalls the most hungry

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Christmas time of my life: to parody the 'Ancient Mariner,' it was 'Cattle, cattle everywhere, and never a bit of beef.' The following day was spent in the toldos, and some of the Indians were desirous, or pretended to be, of going once more in search of cattle. Orkoke would not hear of it, so on the 26th we marched, following the course of the river in a more or less north-east direction. The weather was beautiful, and after leaving the plain we rode along the winding valley, now and then starting a herd of guanaco or a solitary ostrich. Towards evening we encamped on [222] the banks of the river, and the women, after pitching the toldos, employed themselves in grubbing up potatoes. This day we saw smoke to the north, caused by the hunting-parties of the other Indians, and also some at a greater distance, which Orkoke said was that of the Araucanian Indians, whom it was expected that we should shortly meet with.

On the 27th we were preparing to march, and while the 361 women were engaged in lading the horses some of us were picking the berries of the 'Calafate' or barberry (Berberis [157] buxifolia), or looking for strawberries, when a boy, from a party of other Indians occupying the toldos near at hand, rode up as if despatched as a cheapi, and stated that his party had communicated with the Araucanians, amongst whom there had been a row in a drinking bout, resulting in the death of the cacique. This story was fully believed, and Orkoke was rather perplexed, as perhaps the new cacique might not be friendly disposed towards the Tehuelches. Without hunting, we rode quickly down to the next encampment, where the two strange toldos had already arrived. On [576] our near approach one of the Indians came to meet us, and whilst discussing a pipe, after the observance of the usual ceremonial prescribed by etiquette (as we had not seen the men before), we asked him about the row amongst the Araucanos, which turned out to be all a hoax on the part of the promising youth who had visited us. After a while we

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adjourned to the toldos, situated on the bend of the river near a ford or pass. We had now arrived at the camp agreed on as a general rendezvous at Henno, previous to the dispersion of the Indians. This valley is called Teckel, and is a favourite resting-place after the young guanaco season, both for the purpose of refreshing the horses and manufacturing the young guanaco skins into mantles, previous to proceeding to trade either at the Rio Negro or with the Indians of Las Manzanas. The encampment is usually situated on the ground occupied at this time, viz., on the west side of the river, about a mile from a large barren hill which shuts out the view of the Cordillera. On the east side the valley extends some three miles, and continues open to the north for perhaps six miles. It is all fertile, but the best grazing ground is at the north-east end. The banks of the river, which are destitute of trees, are in many places high, and formed under the surface earth of various stratified clays—blue, white, and red. In the bottom of the stream, which is singularly free from stones, thick beds of clay are of frequent occurrence, almost approaching to the tufa found in the Parana and other confluents of La Plata, and in some spots there are beds of black sand, probably auriferous; fish are procurable in any eddy or pool, and crayfish abound and form the most tempting bait for the others. Out of some of the finest clay I was enabled to manufacture a pipe by the simple process of shaping it in the hand and then baking it in the ashes, but it did not last long. Shortly after our arrival one of the small children, whilst playing with bolas formed out of the foot and sinews of an ostrich, hurt himself, and in consequence a slaughter of mares took place, which opportunely enabled us to dispense with hunting and rest our horses, which by this time stood in sore need of some bye days, though, as there was a good racecourse, we frequently indulged in a race just to keep the horses in exercise. After we had been about a week settled here, the women being all hard at work making up mantles—which will be described in

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the next chapter—the Indians began to arrive, and the hunting was resumed; only, however, when absolutely necessary. Some of the new arrivals proceeded to the wild cattle district, and managed to kill a bull, although—as before—an accident occurred. As my lazo was used to capture the bull, I came in for a share of the meat, which was divided amongst the people in our tolde; but it proved very tough, and rather nasty. Perhaps the palate, having been so long accustomed to guanaco, ostrich, or horse, could not relish meat of a coarser description; but the hide was invaluable for making nanoos and other horse-gear. On the 7th of January a messenger arrived from Casimiro requesting me to send him some information, and stating that he was distant some three marches, and wished to wait some time to refresh his horses, &c. After consulting with Orkeke and Jackechan, we sent back a messenger to say that, 'As game was scarce now in the vicinity of Teckel, and all were more or less desirous of pushing forward, he had better make haste and join us, otherwise we should continue our march towards Las Manzanas.' This message had the desired effect, as on the 11th he made his appearance, with several other toldos, a few only remaining in the rear with Crimé, who was reported to be unwell.

On Casimiro's arrival, as he now possessed a good tolde, I changed my quarters to his residence, as agreed on at the outset of the journey. I was sorry to leave Orkeke, and the old man was very much grieved, a present of a revolver only troubling him the more, as he informed me that he had nothing to offer in exchange; however, my assurance that I did not give him a present expecting an exchange, as is customary with Indians, appeared to console him. The usual constellation of the chiefs took place, in which all the preceding arrangements were agreed to, and we remained stationary in Teckel until January 20. As I had by this time become well acquainted with the mode of life and usages of the Tehuelches, and was looked upon as one of them-

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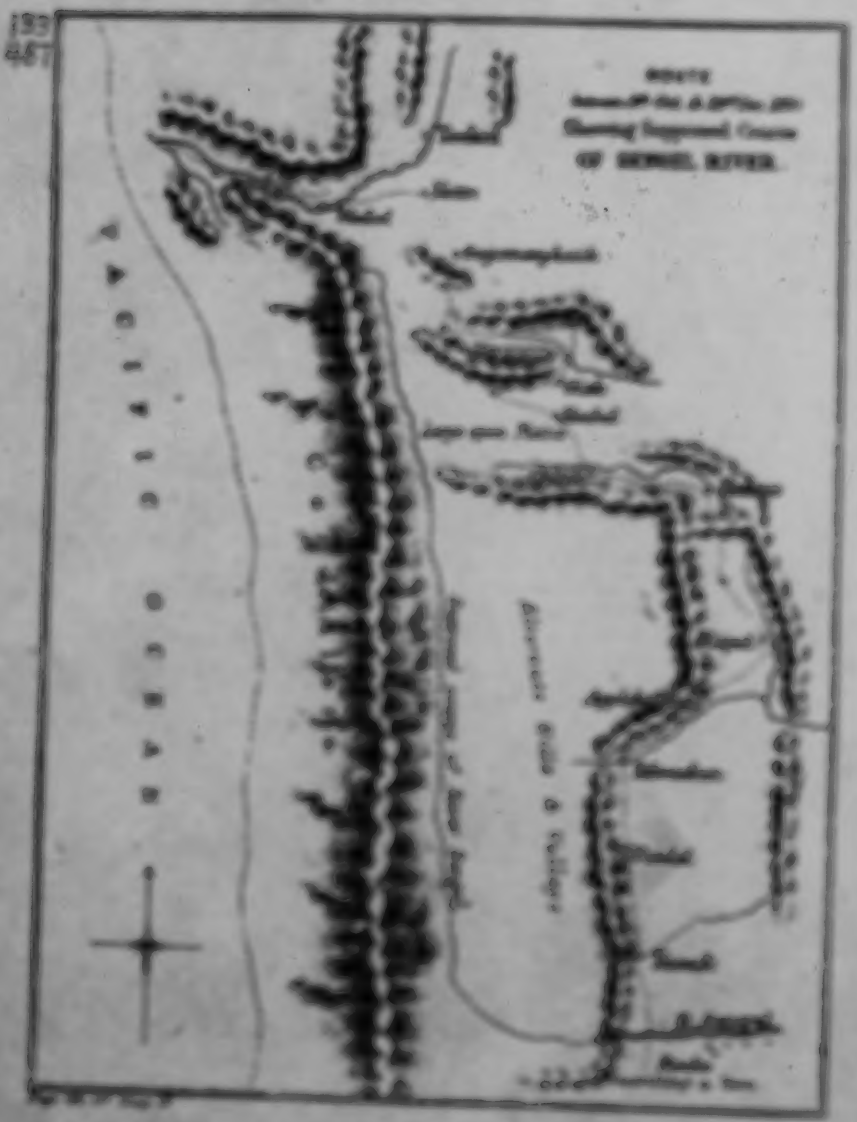
SMS Tebouelche SMS



[facing p 164]

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SMS Tehuelche SMS

selves—and in fact had acquired a position and influence among them—it may be as well to call a halt, and devote a chapter to a description of the manners and customs of the Tzoneca or Tehuelches, as Patagonians call themselves.

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CHAPTER V.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PATAGONIANS.

Patagonian Giants—A Long Walk—Strength and Good Humour—Heads of Hair—Tehuelche Coquettes—Dress of Men and Women—Ornaments and Cosmetics—Tobacco and Bath—Arms and Implements—Ancient Bolas and Arrows—Bolides and Bridles—Alimentation—Manufacture of Mantles—Women's Work—Diet and Cooking—Gambling—Card Playing—Game of Ball—Communion at Birth—Childhood—Marriage—Personal Ideas—Religion—Demons and Sorcerers—Witchcraft and Crosses—Medical Skill—Population and Tribes—Dialectics—Tehuelche Character—Natural Affections—Advice to Travellers.

M.2. THE first question asked about the Patagonians by various English friends has invariably had reference to their traditionary stature. Are they giants or not? Whether the ancestors of the Tehuelches—in whom alone, by the way, the name Patagonians properly applies—were taller than the present race is uncertain; though tales of gigantic skeletons found in Tehuelche graves are current in Punta Arenas and Santa Cruz. The average height of the Tehuelche male members of the party with which I travelled was rather over than under five feet ten inches.* Of course no other means of entertainment besides comparing my own height were available; but this result, noted at the time, coincides with that independently arrived at by Mr. Cunningham. Two others, who were measured carefully by Mr. Clarke, stood six feet four inches each. After joining the Northern

* Cf. Appendix B.

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162 Tehuelches, although the Southerners proved generally to be the tallest, I found no reason to alter this average, as any smaller men that were met with in their company were not pure Tehuelches, but half-bred Pampas. The extraordinary muscular development of the arms and chest is in all particularly striking, and as a rule they are well-proportioned throughout. This fact calls for especial mention, as others have stated that the development and strength of the legs is inferior to that of the arms. Even Mr. Cunningham alleges this to be the case, but I cannot at all agree with him. Besides the frequent opportunities afforded me of scrutinising the young men engaged in the game of ball, in which great strength and activity are displayed, or when enjoying the almost daily bath and swimming or diving, I judged of the muscular size of their legs by trying on their boots, which, in nearly all cases, were far too large for me, although the feet, on the other hand, were frequently smaller than mine. The height of their instepe is also worthy of remark, one example of which may suffice. Having negotiated an exchange of an excellent pair of high boots, manufactured by Messrs. Thomas, for some necessary article, with a Tehuelche, the bargain fell through because he was unable to get his foot into the boot, the high arched instep proving an insuperable obstacle to further progress.

163 An instance of the walking powers of the Tehuelches
167 came under my particular notice. On my first arrival at Santa Cruz, it will be remembered that the schooner was lying in the mouth of the river waiting for a fair wind. Two Tehuelches, named Tehang and Gotchkook, had embarked in order to proceed to the Rio Negro, but their patience becoming exhausted by the delay, they asked to be put ashore, and walked back to the settlement—a distance of over forty miles—in about twelve hours, without food. I saw them on their arrival, and they did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been 'a long walk.'

164 Their powers of abstaining from food are also very re-

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markable. When the disturbances and fighting were going on they rarely ate anything: also when travelling as 'chasquis,' or messengers, they will not unfrequently go for two and even three days without tasting food. In our expedition into the Cordillera we remained over forty-eight hours without food except wild fruit, and, although I at first suffered from hunger, my companions did not appear to be in any way inconvenienced. As a Chilian deserter remarked on one occasion, it was all very well for them to go on without eating; 'but we can't—we've not so much fat.' Their strength of arm is very great, and the distance to which they can throw the ostrich bola is truly astonishing: thus I have seen Crime and some others ball an ostrich over seventy yards distant. When cutting wood in the Cordillera with Hinchel, a Chilian deserter and myself had cut a tree through, and, having fastened a lazo to the top branch, were endeavouring to drag it down, but its branches became entangled in another tree, and we could not stir it. Hinchel, seeing our difficulty, came up, and with one well-directed, vigorous tug cleared it from the branches and brought it to the ground.

Mr. Clarke also informed me that when he was ill with fever, and had to be removed from the Almacen to the lower house on the island, on account of the noise made by the drunken Indians, Wáki mounted, and, taking him in his arms, rode down seemingly unencumbered by the burden. Their faces, of course, vary in expression, but are ordinarily bright and good-humoured, though when in the settlement they assume a sober, and even sullen, demeanour. Wáki and Cayuke, two friends of mine, are particularly present to my recollection as having always had a smile on their faces. Their ever-ready laughter displays universally good teeth, which they keep white and clean by chewing 'sauki,' a gum which exudes from the incense bush, and is carefully gathered by the women and children. It has a rather pleasant taste, and is a most excellent dentifrice, worthy to rival Odonto or Florilino, and it is used simply as

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each, and not, as Monsieur Guinnard* says, because their
[illegible] greediness is so great that they must chew something. Their
[illegible] eyes are bright and intelligent, and their noses—though, of
course, presenting different types—are as a rule aquiline
and well-formed, and devoid of the breadth of nostril proper
to the ordinary ideal of savage tribes. The peculiar pro-
minence over the eyebrows has been noticed by all observers,
and retreating foreheads, though observable, are exceptional.
The thick masses of hair, and the obvious risk, which would
deter the most zealous craniologist from endeavouring to
measure their heads, must be deemed sufficient excuse for
my not being able to state whether they are dolichokephalic
or brachykephalic; a point, however, which I confess did
not particularly attract my observation; but, for the partial
comfort of anthropologists, be it noted that both Chilians
and myself interchanged hats with some Tehuelches, es-
pecially Orkeke and Hinchel, without finding misfits. The
complexion of the men is reddish brown, that is to say when
cleansed from paint, and, like an old picture, restored to
their pristine tint, which is not quite so deep as to warrant
Fitzroy's comparison of it to the colour of a Devon cow.

[illegible] The scanty natural growth of beard, moustaches, and even
eyebrows, is carefully eradicated by means of a pair of silver
tweezers, and I was often urged to part with my beard, and
undergo this painful operation, but I naturally objected to
comply with the request. The men's heads are covered
with thick, flowing masses of long hair, of which they take
great care, making their wives, or other female relatives,
brush it out carefully at least once a day. Very few appeared
to have grey hair; though there were a few exceptions, one very
old man's hair being of a snowy whiteness, which contrasted
strangely with his tawny face. The women have, as far as
I could judge, an average height of about five feet six inches:
they are very strong in the arms, but seldom walk beyond
fetching the supplies of wood and water, all their journeys

* 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. [illegible]

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being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no[42]
great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and
very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days[43]
are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair inter-
woven with blue beads, the ends being garnished with silver[44]
pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to
the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the[45]
Indians I greatly admired Tribang's daughter for her 'head
of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished,
which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting
her by chance on the following morning returning to the tolde
with water, to my great disappointment I found that she
had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the
reverse of long. The young women are frequently good-[46]
looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised
with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very
coquettish, and so skilled in flirtation as if they had been[47]
taught in more civilized society. The fair widow who so
nearly hooked the Englishman could on occasions appeal as
prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties
over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkake's request I led the
way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly
deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land
on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Master, help me! my horse
is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as[48]
soon as might be expected, but when old they become most
hideous hobgoblins, and the most weird-like witches imagined
by Dore would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche
grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa,[49]
or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece
of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the ma-
terial, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously[50]
worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other
garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin
mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

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291 cut, will keep the wearer dry for a considerable time in the wettest weather. This is often dispensed with in the chase, but, if worn when riding, is secured at the waist by a belt of hide or leather if it can be obtained. When in camp the belt is not used, and the garment is worn loose, something after the fashion of the 'melodramatic assassin's' cloak. When sitting by the fireside, or even when walking about, the forked part of the mantle is generally kept over the [illegible] mouth—as the Tehuelches ever fear that the cold wind causes sore gums—a habit which assists in rendering their guttural and at all times rather unintelligible language more difficult of comprehension to the novice.

Their petro boots (fig. 5) or buskins are made from the skin of horse's hock, and occasionally from the leg of a large puma, drawn on up to the knee and fastened round the foot. It is thus worn for a day or two until the boot has taken the shape of the foot, when the leather is cut at the toes and sewn up to fit. When the sole is worn, or in very wet or snowy weather, hide overshoes are worn besides, and the footprints thus made are really large enough to convey the idea of giant's feet, and partly explain the term 'Patagon,' or large feet, applied to these Indians by the Spanish discoverers. The boots are rarely put on in camp, for economical reasons, though turning out barefoot in the frozen grass at daylight is unpleasant even to a Tehuelche. But the material of the boot would soon wear out if used for walking. In riding they are secured by garters, either gay coloured woven bands, or, which is *de rigueur* for chiefs, of hide, with massive silver buckles. Although the usual head-dress of the men is simply a coloured fillet to confine the hair, yet sometimes, and especially on state occasions, hats, if procurable, are indulged in. Old Orkeke frequently wore a felt wideawake, which was, on returning from hunting, carefully put up by his thoughtful spouse.

The women's dress consists of a mantle similar to that worn by the men, but secured at the throat by a large silver

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pin with a broad disc, or a nail, or thorn, according to the 291
wealth or poverty of the wearer; and under this is a loose
calico or stuff sacque, extending from the shoulders to the
ankle. When travelling the mantle is secured at the waist
by a broad belt ornamented with blue beads, and silver or
brass studs. The boots worn by the women are similar to
those described, with the exception that in their preparation
the hair is left on the hide, while it is carefully removed
from those of the men. The children are dressed in small
mantles, but are more frequently allowed to run about naked
up to the age of six or eight; their little boots are made
from the skin taken from the fore-legs of the guanaco, soft-
ened in the hand. The small children generally remon-
strated strongly and effectually against wearing this article of
clothing; and whatever the severity of the weather, preferred
running about barefoot. The cradles for the babies are 854
formed of strips of wicker-work interlaced with hide thongs,
fitted with a cover to keep sun and rain off, and made of a
convenient shape to rest on the saddle gear of the mother
when on the march. They are ornamented, if the parents
are wealthy, with little bells, brass or even silver plates.
The women are fond of ornaments, wearing huge earrings 301
of square shape, suspended to small rings passing through 306
the lobe of the ear; also silver or blue bead necklaces. The
men also wear these necklaces, and adorn their belts, pipes,
knives, sheaths, and horse-gear with silver. Those who can [192]
afford it also indulge in silver spurs and stirrups; most of
their ornaments, except the beads, are home made, being
beaten out of dollars obtained by commerce in the settle-
ments. Both sexes smear their faces, and occasionally 302
their bodies, with paint, the Indians alleging as the reason
for using this cosmetic, that it is a protection against the
effect of the winds; and I found from personal experience
that it proved a complete preservative from excoriation or
chapped skin. It proved equally effective against the sun,
which in Hemmo peeled my face completely until I resumed

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paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a noble savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is composed of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gelatine being carefully skimmed off and secured. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair enslaver, and confess that the process was rather painful.

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanli- 515
ness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking 411
the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called '*chumé*,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called '*yschiko*,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Ganchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are gene- 411
rally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are 439
employed, procured in the settlements, which require no 177
covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late 325
years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an erect 224

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line, as the necks of guanaco and ostrich are always aimed at; entangling the hind legs of the quadruped being useless, though cattle and horses are always balled round the hind legs. A shot at a bird or beast bounding or running across is almost sure to miss; of course misses are frequent, as fifty to seventy yards is often the distance of a shot delivered from a horse's back at full gallop and the balls whirr through the air with their peculiar sound, only perhaps to fall into a tangled bush. Then it is that the advantage of the bright material becomes evident, for the horseman does not stop, but gallops on and throws another shot, returning afterwards to pick up the dropped weapons, frequently very hard to find on the pebble-strewn, grass-grown, or shrub-covered surface. I generally threw down a handkerchief or some such thing, easily seen, to mark the spot; but the metal bolas are so much preferred on account of being easily seen, that a pair are worth a horse. In addition to the bolas, a lazo is used when hunting cattle or horses, and sometimes for the pumas, although the ordinary method is to kill them by first stunning them with a blow on the head. The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun or revolver, sword or dagger, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and altogether different to the light lance of Araucanian and Pampa horsemen, and the bola perdida or single ball, so called because once thrown it is not picked up again: this weapon is quickly constructed; a sharp-pointed stone is taken, covered with hide except the point, which is left out, and thong of raw hide about a yard long is attached, with a knot made in the end to prevent it slipping from the hand whilst whirling it round previous to throwing it at an enemy. Before the introduction of firearms, the bola perdida was the original weapon of the Tehuelches, and is even still in present day a most deadly missile in their hands. (See fig. 11.)

I am aware that Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan's voyage, describes the ancestors of these Indians as using

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bows and arrows, but I am inclined to think that this must have applied either to a tribe of Fuegians or a party of Pampas living in the valley of the Rio Negro. It is certain that no ancient flint arrow-heads are met with south of the Rio Negro, where they abound; also that there is but little, if any, wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses the Indian migrations were confined to a smaller area; besides, although no arrow-heads are found in the interior of Patagonia proper, ancient holas are not unfrequently met with. These are highly valued by the Indians, and differ from those in present use by having grooves cut round them, and by their larger size and greater weight. The introduction and diffusion of firearms has almost superseded the use of defensive armour; but chain mail, and hide armour studded thickly with silver, are still —as instances before given show—possessed and employed: and before going into battle the warriors are often padded like cuirassiers, cuirassiers or middle-circles, and ponchos being employed to form a covering, the folds of which will turn a sword cut or lance thrust.

441

713

During our long sojourn at Teckel, as hunting was avoided as much as possible, in order to rest the horses, the men occupied themselves in Indian arts and manufactures, some account of which may be deemed interesting.

441

As the horse is the mainstay of the Indian, let the saddle-gear take precedence. (See figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.)

442

The saddles are constructed in the following manner. A piece of timber is split in two, and reduced, by means of a small hand-adze, to the requisite size and thickness to form the side boards or flaps, skilfully adapted to the shape of the horse's back; in these boards holes are bored at each end, and the saddle-trees, which are chosen from angular limbs of trees, like knees for boat-building, and reduced to the requisite size, are lashed on by hide. Over this frame generous hide, divested of its woolly coat and carefully cut to the

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proper shape, is sewn with sinew, serving, as it dries, to bind the whole securely together. Casimiro was the most skilful workman of the party, and made a saddle for me which, although through having to start in a hurry it was not smoothed down or covered with hide, I used for about five weeks without any chafing of the horse's back. Underneath the saddle a thick mandil, or poncho, is placed; and over the saddle a coreonilla, or housing, of puma or yearling guanaco skin, or, which is always preferred if obtainable, a black sheepskin. The Araucanians weave coreonillas of most beautiful texture and brilliant blue colour, which are sold for as much as £5 in the settlements. The girths are made of thirteen or fourteen ties of twisted hide from the neck of the guanaco, and fitted with two rings connected by a leather thong. The stirrups are suspended by strips of hide from the holes bored in the foremost saddle-trees. They are generally made of a piece of hard wood fixed into a raw hide thong, or sometimes of wood bent into a triangular shape. The swells, of course, sport silver stirrups, but they are frequently not used at all. The saddle is also taken off when the hunting circle is being closed and the horses ridden bare-backed, but it is replaced to carry the meat back to the toldos. Sometimes it occurs that an Indian loses his saddle at play, when he is perforce obliged to ride bare-backed, and it never appears to inconvenience them. The bridles are made of either plaited or twisted hide. The bits used vary, but the more general is a simple bar of either wood or iron, covered at either end with two flaps of stout hide, from which two thongs extend under the horse's jaw, forming an effectual curb, the reins being also secured to the hide-flaps. The bar is frequently omitted, and a simple thong is placed in the horse's mouth and rove through the pieces of hide, which is secured to the bridle and tied under the jaw. I used this simple bit the whole of the journey, and never had reason to find fault with it. The spurs are made of two pieces of hard wood, with nails filed to a sharp

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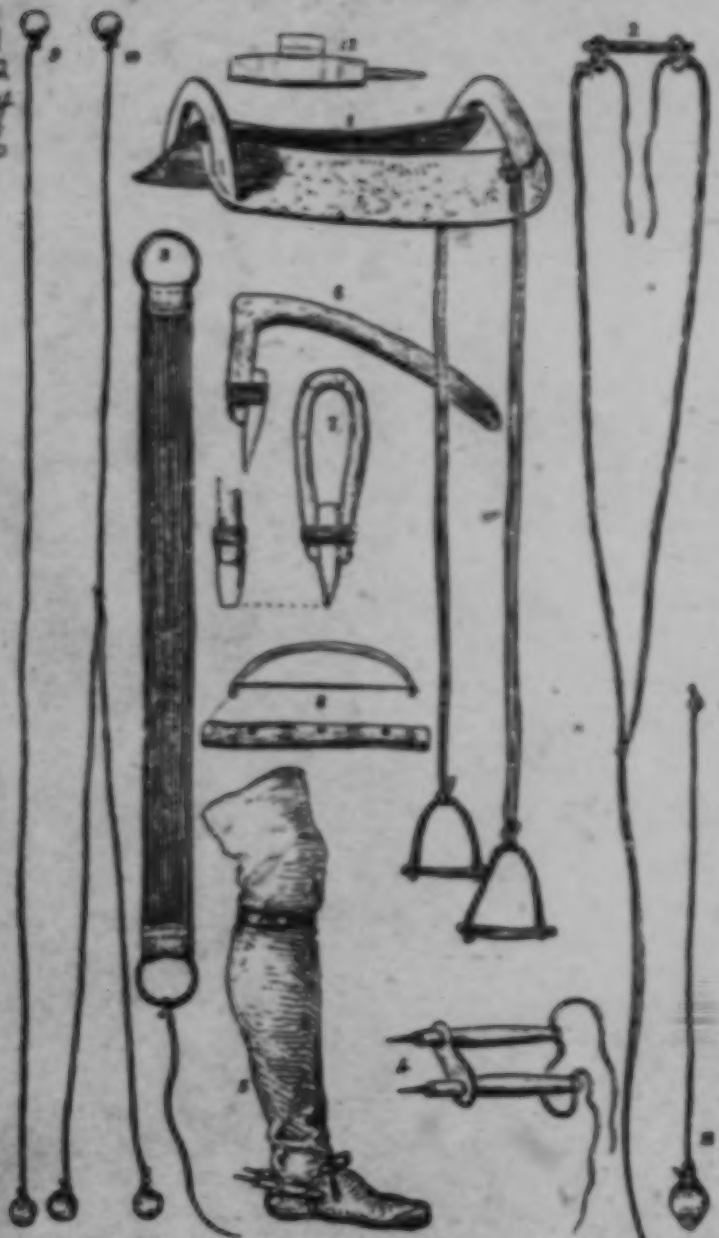

1. Saddle. 2. Bridle. 3. Girth. 4. Spurs. 5. Boot. 6. Adze. 7. Scraper
8. Musical instrument. 9. Gaucho hair. 10. Gaucho hair. 11. Bola perdida. 12. Pipe.

12

[facing p 176]

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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Head-stalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

[411] Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'maneas,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'salvages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoe-horn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cupe,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The awls and hammers for working silver are generally stone implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of a file, known by the expressive name of 'Khiburikkh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The woman's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red colore, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

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209 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
231 women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
442 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufactures his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[247] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half profits, and the latter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
241 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, ostrich, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[249] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[256] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[224] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[281] together for the coverings of the tolderia, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

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torne; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented 462
with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles,
cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the
grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and
do all the "chores," as the Americans say. As may be seen,
they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they 461
occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to
squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating 557
their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch
the dogs with small lasos, and the girls construct miniature
toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off un-
checked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when
about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter
games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appro-
priated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been pre- 534
viously described. In Tuckel, besides the native orchestra
(fig. 6) and harmonies, to which one had become accustomed,
we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which
Jackschen's brother frequently enlivened our evenings.
Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle 533
calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the
Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared
to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are
not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of
all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly
the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of
the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be
regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried 173
on various occasions to obtain information about their an-
cestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked
them how their people travelled before horses came into the
country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever
the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the 262

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cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they do not devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dumpers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeke and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salines that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salines are scarce, they have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being gluttonous gormandizers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

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ever I met him invariably said the few English words I had 274
taught him, 'Load and light the pipe—smoke.' The general
manner of smoking is as follows. The smoker lights his
pipe, and then lies prone on the ground, and after puffing a
portion of smoke to each cardinal point and muttering a
prayer, he swallows several mouthfuls of tobacco smoke,
which produces intoxication and partial insensibility, lasting
perhaps for the space of two minutes. During this time his
companions carefully avoid disturbing him in any way.
When it has passed off, he gets up, takes a drink of water,
and resumes his conversation or occupation. I have some-
times observed this intoxication accompanied by convulsions,
but only in rare cases. The tobacco used for smoking (for
they never chew) is generally obtained from the settlements,
but failing this a herb substitute is procured from the Arau-
canians. This is never smoked pure, being invariably mixed
with either wood chopped up small or 'yerba' (Paraguay
tea) stalks, if obtainable. The mixture with dung mentioned
by M. Guinnard is unknown among the Tehuelches.

The women sometimes are smokers, but the custom is not
universal, being generally confined to the old ladies. Most
of the men smoke, but there are exceptions. I was very
much astonished, however, by seeing El Sourdo on more
than one occasion give his pipe to his boy—a precocious
three-year-old—who whiffed his 'baccy' with apparently
great satisfaction to himself and his fond father.

The chief amusements amongst the Indians (for hunting 525
is a matter of business and not pleasure) consist in horse-
racing, ball-playing, gambling with dice, made by them-
selves with mathematical exactness from bones, and thrown
from the hand, or with small stones, and playing a game of
ball. The horse-racing has been already described. The
cards used are sometimes the Spanish pack, obtained in the
settlements, but very frequently constructed by the Indians
themselves of hide. These, like the ordinary Spanish cards,
are marked with the Spanish numerals up to seven; but the

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T28 court cards are entirely different, having, instead of figures or pictures, monograms of native origin, the original significance of which, if any, was undiscoverable. The ace, however, is marked somewhat similarly to our own. The usual games played are 'Pantuoja,' 'Primero,' 'Siete,' and 'Tuik,' or five, a sort of 'beggar my neighbour.' The players sit down in a circle, with a poncho or saddle-cloth to represent the board of green cloth; their markers consist of pieces of sticks or grass, and their system of marking is complicated. I generally—if I did indulge in the luxury of a gamble—played in partnership with another who took charge of the marking, but my invariable good luck rendered me unwilling to respond to the invitation to take a hand. When stakes are lost, whether a horse, troop of mares, saddle, lazo, or what not, the winner simply sends a friend for them, or goes himself and takes them; all debts of honour being scrupulously paid at once. Frequently large stakes are lost and won. On one occasion I had negotiated the purchase of a horse from an Indian possessed of a goodly troop, and having given earnest, had started hunting on the animal to test his staying powers. My friend the owner, who remained in camp playing, came to me on my return, and implored me to consider the bargain as nil, as during my absence he had lost nearly all his horses, and some of the articles of his wife's dowry. I of course gave up the bargain, duly receiving back the earnest, and he subsequently won back his horses and riches. The game played with small stones is similar to that in vogue among schoolboys, and known by the name of 'knucklebones.' It is generally played by the boys, but their elders will not unfrequently join. The women play at cards, and also at this game, amongst themselves, staking their mandils, hides, and saddle-gear on the results. Mrs. Orkeks was very fond of play, and on one occasion I have reason to believe that she lost some of her husband's tobacco, and laid the blame on one of the Chilians, who she averred had stolen it. The man

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nearly lost his life in consequence, and his tears and abject supplications showed the terror he was in, but happily he on this occasion escaped. Strange to say, I was in no way suspected, although I knew where the tobacco was kept, which I doubt if the deserter did.

The game of ball is confined to the young men, and is thus played as follows. A line is laid on the ground so as to form a ring about four yards in diameter; the players, generally eight in number, step into the circle naked, with the exception of the waistcloth. A ball composed of hide stuffed with feathers, about the size of or larger than a lawn-ball, is used by each party, who throw it up from under the thigh, and strike it with the head at the adversaries', each hit counting a point. Great dexterity and activity are shown by the young men, and although I never joined in any of their regular matches, I frequently watched the parties occupied in the game, in which their splendid muscular development was brought out conspicuously. Besides these amusements, the Indians, when ammunition is plentiful, occasionally fire at a mark; but as their bullets are frequently harnessed round with stones, the practice is at times erratic, and the guns are also sometimes more dangerous to the marksmen than the mark.

The daily routine of occupations and amusements is varied 252. sometimes by a fight, and more pleasantly by some one or other of the ceremonials which mark—as in all nations—the principal epochs of Tehuan life, from the cradle to the grave. On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares and horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately given to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after blacking himself with bodkins in the temple, fore-arm, or leg, gives the order for the erection of a small tent, or pretty house as the Indians call it, and mares are slaughtered, and a feast and dance follow, such as described in Chapter III., page 80, as having taken place in the valley of the Rio Chico. The new

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[illegible] child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum. The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

[illegible] To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted, which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child, nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but tick-names are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

[illegible] The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as described in page 60. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

[illegible] The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and smears black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

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them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 98). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

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thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive faculty for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

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756 between his knees, and performing a short ceremony of incantation, shouts in his ear, exhorting the devil to come out. Mr. Clarke, when travelling with the Indians south of Santa Cruz, was treated in this fashion when suffering from feverish headache, and said that at the time it relieved him.

775 788 Beside this Gualichu, there are many others which are supposed to inhabit subterranean dwellings, underneath certain woods and rivers and peculiarly-shaped rocks. I was very much surprised at seeing the Indians salute these objects by placing the hand to the head and muttering an incantation; and for a long time held to the belief that they were only expressing admiration for the Creator's handiwork; but subsequently I learned that they sought thus to conciliate the spirits of these places, reputed to be the spirits of deceased members of the faculty. These devils' powers, however, are confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

781 776 On one occasion, a horse about to run a match was taken up to a neighbouring hill before daylight by the owner, and some secret ceremony was performed by the wizard. Previous to the race the owner (Wáki) came to me and advised me to put my stakes on his horse, as he had been made safe to win by mysterious incantations which had secured the favour of the local Gualichu; and, strange to say, the horse, which by his appearance was much inferior to the other, did win, thereby establishing a reputation for the wizard and the Gualichu.

776 I remember on one occasion when riding with Hinchel we came in sight of a peculiarly-pointed rock, which he saluted. I did the same, at which he appeared much pleased; and on our subsequently arriving at a salina, where we found good salt, much needed at the time, he explained to me that the spirit of the place had led us in that direction. In the meeting of Indians the devils are supposed to be driven away by the horsemen chasing at full speed round and round, and firing off their guns.

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The office of wizard is not hereditary; indeed those I met 756
with were unmarried. A boy or a girl, if what we should 791
call odd, as in the case of Cayuke's daughter, an old-fashioned and eccentric girl of thirteen, is considered to be marked out as a wizard; but the functions, so [illegible] directing ceremonies, are sometimes performed by an [illegible]inary member of the party. The stock in trade of the regular wizard consists [778]
of a few fetishes, or charms, carried in a bag, carefully concealed from public gaze, and exhibited to his colleagues alone. In addition to these, they seem to possess a real knowledge of simples, although this is not confined to them. Their professional operations are never accompanied by epileptic seizures and real or simulated convulsions. They, of course, are expected to prognosticate the success or failure of undertakings, and the issue of sickness, and foretell the future generally; and their position in this respect is a dangerous one, as a failure of their predictions is frequently punished with death; but, to make up for this risk, they are universally received with honour and hospitably entertained, and are usually enriched by the accumulation of presents. The power of witchcraft is by no means believed to be con- 754
fined to them; any person may be suspected of this crime, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for people when dying to lay their death to the charge of some person by name. All the missionaries' instructions did not prevent Casimiro, after the death of either his mother or one of his wives, from sending an agent to kill a woman who, as the deceased averred, had bewitched her. Certain signs and 787
omens are superstitiously regarded; one particularly dreaded 825
is the cry of the nightjar, common on the slopes of the Cordillera, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness or death to some of the inmates. They hold this bird in great veneration, and object to its being injured in any manner. Another animal supposed to be possessed of magical powers is a flat toad-like lizard, which is believed to lame horses by mysterious agency, and is killed whenever met with.

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600 met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco
753 exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner
164 of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife.
776 Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects
[777] are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I ex-
823 plained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally
777 satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.
757 With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and some-
278 times employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

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in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a potro boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg.

Inquirers into the Tsoneca language are referred to the vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work, which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by him.

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia does not exceed 1,500 men, women, and children, according to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when the union of all the various parties, combined during my journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given, are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders. Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the nomad parties, combined by custom or often by chance. The population is steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of extirpation of this race.

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head cacique, such as Calfieura, or any other, though they may agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politically united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas of 'one man being as good as another.' Cuastro's dying

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words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gownok,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yank,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is observed between them; one chief being prohibited by custom from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches coêto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, were he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

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Schmid—has usually been assigned to them. They certainly do not deserve the epithets of ferocious savages, brigands of the desert, &c. They are kindly, good-tempered, impulsive children of nature, taking great likes or dislikes, becoming firm friends or equally confirmed enemies. They are very naturally suspicious of strangers, but especially those of Spanish origin, or, as they term them, Cristianos. Now, considering the treatment—treacherous cruelty and knavish robbery—experienced by them at the hands of the invaders and colonists alternately, is this to be wondered at.

In the southern part of the country, their frequent intercourse with sealers on the coast has rendered them favourably disposed towards Englishmen. This remark, of course, does not extend to the northern Tehuelches, who have not the same opportunities.

In my dealings with them I always treated with fairness and consideration, and my few belongings—although borrowed at times, according to their mutual way of acting towards one another—were taken the greatest care of; thus an Indian would frequently ask to look at my arms, and, after examining them, would carefully return them to me. During my whole stay amongst them I only lost two articles: the first, a flint and steel, was, I have reason to believe, stolen by one of the Chilians; the second was a pair of ostrich balls, which were abstracted from the toldo. The Indians, although honest enough as regards each other, will, nevertheless, not scruple to steal from any one not belonging to their party. Thus, when they enter the colonies for trade, they will pick up a stray horse in the most natural manner; and in Santa Cruz, Graviel and others constantly pilfered iron nails and small articles. With regard to their truthfulness, my experience was as follows. In minor affairs they nearly always lie, and will invent stories for sheer amusement; thus, Mrs. Orkeke came to me whilst in Teckel with the news that Casimiro's wife was dead. My remark was, 'And a good riddance too!' which was received with a burst of laughter,

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[522] and the information that she was as alive as ever, only her eyes were bad. I could cite many other similar instances of romancing on the part of the Indians. Old Orkeke I never caught out in a direct lie, and he always, when informing me about any subject, added, 'I do not lie.' In anything of importance, however, such as guaranteeing the safety of a person, they were very truthful, as long as faith was kept with them. After a time, when they ascertained that I invariably avoided deviating in any way from the truth, they left off lying to me even in minor matters. This will serve to show that they are not of the treacherous nature assigned to them by some ignorant writers. Nor are they habitually cruel, even to slaves or captives. The Chilian deserters were always well housed and fed, and lent horses to ride; and nothing but their incurably bad dispositions and constant plots brought on them a fate which, in truth, could hardly be thought ill-deserved, whereas the few good ones of the party rose into high favour.

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152 For my own part, I felt far safer among the Tehuelches, as long as they had no drink or no fights, than I subsequently did in the Rio Negro. Of course when they are drunk their passions become unbridled; they remember old feuds, and at times will fight for mere fighting's sake. It is not necessary, however, to go so far as Patagonia to observe this. The
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152 finest trait, perhaps, in their character is their love for their wives and children; matrimonial disputes are rare, and wife-beating unknown; and the intense grief with which the loss of a wife is mourned is certainly not 'civilised,' for the widower will destroy all his stock and burn all his possessions: thus Paliki, before the death of his wife, was a wealthy Indian; but when I knew him he was poor and reckless, having destroyed all his property, and taken to gambling and drinking in despair at his loss. Casimiro even declared that his son Sam —whom I certainly should not have suspected of disinterested affection for any human being—had ruined himself, and become careless of his life, after his wife's death.

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The children are indulged in every way, ride the best 155
horses, and are not corrected for any misbehaviour. I was 152
always astonished that the youths and young men did not grow up more headstrong and wilful, as a result of want of training. People who have no children of their own sometimes adopt a little dog, on which they lavish their affections, and bestow horses and other valuables, which are destroyed in case of the owner's death.

It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the 153
missionaries should have been so unsuccessful in their efforts to teach these children of nature to read and write, for they are naturally very intelligent (though of course there are exceptions). As a proof of their quickness in imitations, with very little trouble I taught Hinchel's son to write his father's name and those of two other Indians in a very short time. I also used to draw ships on a board with a piece of charcoal for the children's amusement, and they readily copied them. Hinchel himself, wishing to explain a part of the course of the Rio Negro, drew out a rough chart on the board, showing the bends of the river, which I afterwards found to be perfectly correct.

Whilst in their native wilds, I observed little immorality 273
amongst the Indians; in the settlements, however, when debased by intoxication, they are, no doubt, depraved and loose in their ideas. But it must be recorded th[illegible]n the entry of the Indians into the settlements of the [illegible] Negro, at a subsequent period, most of the young women and girls were left with the toldos in Valchita, outside the Tr[illegible]sia, to be out of the way of temptations. There are many Tehuelche youths now growing up who have the greatest abhorrence of liquor; and I hope that in time this abstinence will spread further among them, for they possess no intoxicants of their own, and the rum is an import from the Christians, the ill effects of which they are well able to discern.

One word of advice to the future traveller may conclude 554
this imperfect sketch. Never show distrust of the Indians;

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554 be as free with your goods and chattels as they are to each other. Don't ever want anything done for you; always catch and saddle your own horse. Don't give yourself airs of superiority, as they do not understand it—unless you can prove yourself better in some distinct way. Always be first, as you are not likely to be encumbered by a wife or gear, in crossing rivers, or any other difficulties; they will learn by degrees to respect you; in a word, as you treat them so they will treat you.

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CHAPTER VI.

TECKEL TO GEYLUM.

Casimiro's Household — Carge-kaik — Quintuhual's Son — Woolkein — Partridges — Meeting with the Araucanians — The Cacique Quintuhual — Engel-kaik — Araucanian Belles — Communication with Chupat Colony — Diplaik — Calfcura's Declaration of War — Tehuelches learn Fishing — My Indian Relatives — Woodland Rambles — An Indian Paradise — The Upper Chupat — Cushamon — Losing Horses — Official Functions — Message from Las Manzanas — Blessing the Liquor — Casimiro Intoxicated — Foyel's Encampment — Great Parlemento — Foyel's Ideas — Gatchen-kaik — Arrival at Geylum.

ON January 21 the word was given to march, and all the united forces of the Tehuelches, numbering 200 men, with the usual allowance of women and children, prepared to advance to join the Araucanos. Ten toldos, forming Crimè's party, lingered behind, in consequence of the continued sickness of this caciquillo, who, however, sent word that he would follow in our rear. 621

All the horses were in excellent condition, and it was with great delight that I saw the immense cavalcade set out. Our family party in Casimiro's toldo included, besides the chief and his wife, sons, and little daughter Chingook, an old brother-in-law, Kai, nicknamed Chileno, and his wife and son Macho; and an old deaf and dumb woman of most repulsive aspect. The only good feature in Casimiro's character was his charity. He was always ready to afford an asylum to any destitute or infirm people, and his toldo was never without some such object of his pity. My honourable 592 [736]

[Pr. 199]

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position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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our toldo in due form amidst a curious crowd, all eager to look at him, while he preserved a grave and stolid demeanour. After the usual ceremonious formalities, he sat down, and by means of an interpreter stated himself to be a son of Quintahual, a chief residing at present about four marches to the north. His father had with much pleasure received the courteous message sent by Casimiro, and it would give him equal gratification to welcome the Tehuelches; but he signified a desire first to meet Casimiro alone. This the latter monarch did not appear to see in the same light—if I may be allowed the expression—as it seemed to forbode no good intentions; but he replied evasively, and thus the colloquy terminated.

This Indian was about the middle height, dressed in coloured ponchos, with a silk handkerchief round his head. His features were regular, with restless sparkling black eyes, and complexion about the same as that of the Gauchos of the Rio de la Plata. He wore his hair cut short, and his general cleanly appearance afforded a strong contrast to the flowing locks and paint-bedaubed bodies of the Tehuelches.

Giving up my sleeping-place to him, we soon made him at home, and, after he had had some dinner, we proceeded in company to watch the dancers, who were vigorously stepping out round the fire in front of the mandil tent. Here we were joined by Jackechan, whose knowledge of the Araucanian language enabled us to maintain a conversation. Presently, by particular request, I joined Golwin (White) and two others in the dance, coming out in full costume of ostrich feathers and girdle of bells, and properly painted, to the great delight of the Indians. My performance elicited general applause; and at last all retired for the night, myself taking my saddle-gear and sleeping under a bush near the toldo.

After a delicious breakfast of fried fish, cooked most skilfully by Meña, we prepared to march again, the chasqui bidding us farewell for the present, and by nine A.M. the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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whole cavalcade of women and children were in motion, and the circle formed for the hunt.

Several shallow streams, fringed with dwarf beeches, were crossed, flowing into lagoons or into the Teckel River, the course of which lay north-east of our line, and the cavalcade of women struck the valley occasionally in the march. Of the hills dividing these streams, the southern side consisted of gradual slopes covered with coarse grass, while the northern counterslopes were precipitous, and covered with loose rocks and stones. Orkeke, in the previous marches, had often informed me that the Araucanos' country was very stony, and that there were a great many armadilloes, but little other game; and this day guanaco were rarely seen, but ostriches were numerous and armadillo abounded.

After crossing several ridges and glens, we at length traversed a hillocky plain, of the usual scrub-covered aspect, and strewn with flint, agate, and other pebbles, and encamped for the night in a place called 'Woolkain,' situated by the side of a water-course which was now nearly dry, the water only remaining in the deep holes. We had left the cañon or valley of the river Teckel a few miles east, from which point it appeared to give a sharp turn in an easterly direction.

To the west the mountains of the Cordillera were visible about twenty miles distant, while on the south were the rocky abrupt hills already passed over, and on the north a range of rather peaked hills running west, and appearing to slope at their western extremity towards the plains beneath the Cordillera. Next morning, before the rime was off the pasture, we were again *en route*, and after a rocky descent of perhaps fifty feet reached a second plain, everywhere strewn with stones, which rendered galloping very difficult; nevertheless a large herd of guanaco were enclosed, and numbers killed, while ostrich, on the contrary, appeared to be very scarce. To my great surprise, whilst running some guanaco, two large partridges got up from close to my horse's feet,

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Araucanians SG4

and flying a short distance settled again. Partridges had T 134
been described to me in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz,
but I had never seen one, and these were the first met with T
in the country. Towards three in the afternoon we emerged 133
from the stony district to a plain covered with sand and
scrub, and after refreshing ourselves at a rivulet, travelled
westward, with the Cordillera in full front, till we turned a
high cliff which jutted out from the grassy slopes in which
the hills fell gradually down to the plains, and beyond it,
turning again northward, entered a level plain, at the far
extremity of which we observed with great contentment the
answering smoke from the toldos of the Araucanian Indians.
On the north-west edge of this valley the high bustling cliff
obscured the view of the wooded mountains, which, however,
showed out between the hills shutting in the valley we had
traversed up to this point. On the eastern side rose a range
of hills, barren and desolate, with here and there a single
guanaco in solitary majesty, cropping the stunted grass. In T
front of us, directly to the north, lay a large lagoon, in which [94]
numerous swans and flamingoes were wading and swimming
about. Beyond it were visible the toldos of the Araucanians,
ten in number. A T

We halted near the head of the lagoon, under shelter of 643
some thick bushes, to collect our forces, don our best ponchos
and silver ornaments, and change our horses, and then pro-
ceeded slowly to within about a quarter of a mile of the
toldos. To our great surprise nobody appeared to receive
us; but at length a woman arrived with the intelligence that
all the men were away hunting, but had been sent for, and
would arrive shortly.

Our women meanwhile erected the toldos on a green
sward, carpeted with strawberry plants, near to a small
stream which divided our camp from that of the Araucanos.
All dismounted and rested after the long journey of fully
forty miles from the previous station; and in about half an
hour the Araucanos appeared, galloping like demons. Their

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Araucanians 564

A T 648 women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, A shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was [291] particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More A noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty- [142] seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, "Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks A volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

233 However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for A food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

224 Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travel- A ling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their 482 custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

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Araucanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

A 482 [251] A 231

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

A T 648 A 622

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

A 202 A [822 721]

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Foyel.

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A 434 604 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimé arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Eagel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintulmal, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintulmal wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lecho,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the raiva, a great

T 208 AT HOME WITH THE PATAGONIANS.
A After a good dinner we adjourned to see the ruins, a great
[illegible] match being on between the two tribes. The course was
[illegible] about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the
Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily;
and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in
the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won
from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and leches.
In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent
and flames.

T
[illegible] Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and
[illegible] the women used to start early in the morning and come back
[illegible] towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were
the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet
potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was
boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep
the steam in.

[illegible] We made a stay of eight days in Rogel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimo, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chopet, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 8th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two tobbes marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our tolde, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chilano. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Chocoque, and the much-praised

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Manzanas, where the Indians anticipated finding plenty of fruit and plenty of drink. After leaving Esgel, the character of the country changed. We were no longer traversing pampas, with their dreary monotony, but journeyed through level valleys of two or three miles in extent, watered by rivulets fringed with stunted trees, and abounding with game. The general line of the dividing hills—which were round downs and occasionally broken and waterworn cliffs—was from east to west, seeming as if they were thrown off as spurs from the Cordillera, from which, however, their western bases were divided by a valley often narrowing to a glen, down which flowed a stream in a northward course. Towards evening a halt was made at the side of a stream where there was sufficient pasture for the horses, and it was an amusing sight to watch the long line of women winding down the hills in the distance, like a flock of ants; the Araucanians driving their cattle and mares separate from our party, and their sheep bringing up the rear by slow marches under charge of some lads.

Early the following morning the camp was struck, and after crossing a hill directly above the encampment, which was covered with rank high grass, we descended the northward slope to a wild, barren-looking plain, at the northern side of which, near to a low range of hills, some trees and a silver line marked the course of a river flowing from the Cordillera, the mountains of which rose to a height of 2,000 or 3,000 feet, wooded nearly to the summits, and their crest glittering with occasional patches of snow that had defied the power of the summer sun. Traversing this plain, which was dotted with barberry and other bushes, and varied here and there by small hummocky ridges, we closed the hunting circle by the banks of the stream, a few miles distant from the Cordillera. Here, in different parties, the usual fires were lit, and the hunting meal discussed, after which we proceeded to the toldos. The Araucanians had pitched theirs on the southern bank of the river, amongst some

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Araucanians 564

T 133 clumps of trees; whilst those of the Tehuelches were situated on the northern bank, the river dividing the two villages. Westward from our encampment the barren plain was succeeded by a wide level of grass, reaching to the base of the mountains, some two miles distant; but higher up the course of the river, which trended to the north, the plain appeared to resume its barren and stony aspect, with here and there a dry lagoon, until the slope of the mountains was reached, and detached belts of trees formed the commencement of the forest. On the southern side of the river the pasture was not very abundant; nevertheless there was sufficient for the horses, cattle, and sheep of our allies to graze upon.

A 527 After the usual stable drill most of us bathed in the stream, which, although nowhere of great depth, had pools at intervals suited for bathing; but the water was icy cold. The day following our arrival at this camp, which was named Diplaik, a birthday feast took place in the Araucanian toldos, to which most of us were invited, the usual tent being erected and a dance held in the evening, and the feast and dance were kept up for two days and nights, at the end of which a messenger arrived from Foyel to say that Calfi-cura, the chief of the Indians encamped at the Salinas north of the Rio Negro, near Bahia Blanca, was going to make war on Buenos Ayres, the reason assigned being the murder of one of his relations by the Christians; he therefore desired the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join with him in the inroad. His literal message was as follows: 'My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against these Christians, who tire me out with their falseness.'

A T 648

A parlemento was called, and the chiefs deliberated for some time, but in the end determined to have nothing to do with the affair; so a message was sent to the effect that he might do as he pleased, but that they wished to maintain peace.

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Araucanians SG4

A T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

A T 525 231

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

A T 222 137

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

A T [252]

T 262 226 177

T [227]

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T 262 226 177 Tehuelches would before this touch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

T 133 On the 12th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Crimè, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two T [34] wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos A 608 already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuhual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Esgel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my Tehuelche friends.

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 73.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T 137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

A 567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintuhual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his

T A 525 desertion.

During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A

T A 586 wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

On the 16th of February we left Lilly-haik, and bid [133]
adieu to the pleasant river and the sylvan delights of this Paradise, as it seemed to us, with its flowery shades. As we ascended the northern declivity of the high ground bounding the valley, I halted to take a farewell look; and nowhere has a more beautiful scene presented itself to my gaze. The valley narrowed as it curved to the west, and at its head, through a gigantic cleft, the perpendicular walls of which rose several hundred feet, the waters of the river issued from their mountain cradle. So deep was the gloom of this gorge, that it was impenetrable to even Indian eyes, and the river seemed to flow into the sunlight out of unknown darkness. Above, on either hand, the precipitous cliffs sloped upwards into high mountains clothed with a rich mantle of the dark green, cedar-like foliage of the beech forests; and between [137]
their summits might be discerned the dazzling peaks of far-distant loftier mountains crowned with perpetual snow.

Turning our backs upon this lovely scene, we crossed a remarkable succession of barren and stony terraces or benches of curiously irregular formation, the terraces running in different directions, and presenting no parallel lines to indicate any uniform action of water; the irregular slopes and level surfaces resembling a complication of gigantic steps. We at length descended to a plain bordering a river, which all the Indians agreed in declaring to be the main branch of the Chupat. The banks on the southern side were remarkable for being fringed with a species of pampas grass, while on the northern side grew a few trees, near which the toldos were pitched.

The river was about forty yards in width, and easily fordable in most places, although there were deep reaches where a horse had to swim. The foremost party of the hunters crossed first, and some, either not knowing or careless of the fords, enjoyed a bathe, swimming alongside their horses. By eventide all our party, women and baggage, had arrived. A few days' halt was occasioned in this place,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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named Chupatcush, by the continued illness of the cacique Crimè. We hunted in all the surrounding country, which presented no very remarkable features. Down river, or to speak more correctly to the eastward, after passing a range of hills of the usual description, covered with short tufty grass, interspersed with shrubs, through which the river forces its way in a succession of narrow gorges, a large plain opened out, which extended for perhaps nine miles on each side, scantily covered with grass, excepting towards the banks of the river, where the pasture was luxuriant.

A subsequent comparison of the observations made by Welsh settlers as to its lower course with my own, aided by Indian accounts, enables me to state that the Chupat river is characterised throughout its course by the narrow gorge-like cuttings alternating with similar wide plains, all of which are suitable for cultivation. Besides the Sengel, which is doubtless one of its main feeders, other streams occurring in our journey had also been described as tributaries of the Chupat, and by their direction of course it would appear that their waters, if they reach the sea, must flow into this river; but it seems to me difficult to understand how, if the Chupat receives the drainage of so large an area of country, its stream near the mouth, as described both by Indians and settlers, can be of such small dimensions. It is, therefore, probable that some, if not most, of the lesser rivers lose themselves in lagoons or swamps in the central districts, and the reader must be pleased to remember that the courses of these rivers, as indicated on the map, are not in all cases laid down from my own observation, but partly from Indian description and partly from an already existing map, probably compiled from similar data.

To the westward plains occur at intervals apparently until the river debouches from the ravines of the high mountains of the Andes, about twelve miles from the encampment. At this point the stream flows from the northward, and the Indians informed me has its source in a large lake, most

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

probably Nahuel-huapi. The pasture in the immediate vicinity of the camp was scanty, having apparently been recently burned, but the soil was of a rich alluvial description. In the chase the most remarkable thing observed was the abundance of armadilloes, one hunter frequently bringing in two or three. Fish also were abundant in the river, and averaged a larger size than those previously caught. 133 [136]

On February 18th smoke was observed to the northward, not far distant, and towards evening a chasqui arrived, bringing with him a couple of bottles of liquor for Quintuhual, as well as news that things were going on well amongst Foyel's people; and on the 21st we again marched over a high plateau broken by numerous irregular ravines which appeared to have been swept by an inundation. High isolated cliffs stood up as though the waters had washed round them and swept away the intervening soil, leaving their water-worn faces marked with the indelible record of the floods, as plainly as the torn and blasted rocks in the southern districts bore the traces of volcanic fires. At last a more unbroken plain terminated suddenly in a shelving descent of 300 to 400 feet, the wall of a chasm covered with grass and shrubs interspersed with scattered boulders, down which we made our way, encamping near the base, where a beautiful spring gushed from the side. The bottom of the cañon, which was nearly half a mile in width, contained a watercourse, the bed of which was dry at this season, except a few pools of stagnant water unsuitable for drinking.

It was intended to despatch messengers from this place, which was called Cushamon, to Foyel, and also Cheoeque, the chief of Las Manzanas, warning him of our near approach; and accordingly, after our arrival in camp, I wrote a letter to the said chieftain at the dictation of Casimiro, which in well-rounded periods and with much complimentary verbiage explained the fact and reasons of our having united all the Indians and inviting their co-operation. 202

The following morning, after the letter had been read and

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262 explained to the assembled caciques, the two messengers (sons of caciques) appeared with two horses each, and after receiving some verbal injunctions, started on their journey, amidst the howlings of a few old women and a blast from the 000 cornet. The remainder of us, who had mounted, to add to the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, went out hunting, some following the ravine in an easterly direction, which, penetrating high pampas, opened into a plain containing a lagoon fed by the waters of the brook, whilst others encircled the high pampas above. Hinchel, whom I accompanied on 136 this occasion, pointed out to me several small holes with little mounds of earth and rubbish at the mouth, which he asserted to be the abodes of snakes, but no occupants were visible outside. He described the snakes as dark in colour, about two feet six inches long, and perfectly harmless, [262] adding that they would be good to eat, which facts were subsequently corroborated by Casimiro.

231 One of the troubles of pampa life is occasionally losing one's horses, as was my case in this place, and I spent one entire day in search before I recovered them, as they had strayed in company with a troop of mares far up the valley, which here divided into two branches, opening into watered grassy plains extending to the Cordillera. As there were horse tracks up both valleys, according to the usual law of contrariety I took the wrong one at first and had a long gallop for nothing. At any time it is troublesome to have to look through about two thousand horses all unmarked, and many of the same colour, and perhaps resembling those belonging to the perplexed searcher. An Indian, however, [151] with his natural quickness of sight, will distinguish his own horses at a great distance amongst a hundred others. It has been already said that in this roving life all must look after their own horses, for Indians do not understand another person doing it for them, unless he be a son or relation, and in all cases when preparing for the march every one is expected to find and bring up his own.

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Araucanians 564

T A 648

During our stay (until the 28th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chasquis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Telck, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Foyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaitu, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The caciques having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Casimiro, the chasquis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Casimiro. After this function, with my deportment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a mount, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 3, and travelling always north-

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T A [526]

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Starting thence on March 3, and travelling always north-

648 wards over the barren upper pampas with scarcely a shrub on them, the wall-like Cordillera rising on the west, and ranges of hills bounding the view to the east, about two P.M. we arrived at a marshy plain: there, as we were halting to make a fire, a cloud of smoke rose suddenly from the opposite side, indicating the near approach of the chasqui sent to Las Manzanas. Half a dozen of us were immediately despatched to verify the supposition, and, leaving our dinner for a future occasion, raced across the valley at full speed, the Indians firmly believing that the messengers would bring liquor with them, and every one being ambitious of the first drink. We at length made them out, and perceiving us in return they halted and dismounted by a small hillock, where we shortly joined them, Casimiro following sedately, as became so grand a personage. The Indians were disappointed as to the advent of liquor, the messengers having brought [137] nothing with them except a few apples, some of which, distributed to us, proved to be very juicy and refreshing, equalling any European apple. The only answer to our letter was a verbal message to the effect that we should be welcome at Las Manzanas, and that Cheoeque would collect a force to meet us, all his people being at present busy in [137] the mountains gathering the harvest of apples and piñones; he also stated that he had received late news from Patagones, one Mariano Linares, brother of the head chief of the tame Indians in that settlement, being at present a visitor at Las Manzanas. Casimiro was rather irritated at not receiving a written answer, but on my pointing out that it was just possible Cheoeque did not own a secretary in his suite, the chief was somewhat pacified, although his dignity was rather hurt, and he recurred again and again to the subject.

784 On our way to the toldos,—which, during the intervals of our hearing the news, roasting apples, &c., had been pitched, —Casimiro pointed out to me the scene of a former fight in which a chief and several Indians had been killed. It was a very desirable place for encampment, but owing to these

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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T A 439 drink, as the first free allowance was stopped, and in a short time many were in an advanced stage of intoxication, amongst whom was our head chief. The terms of barter were a mantle or unbroken colt for two bottles of villainous Valdivian rum, which was, as the Tehuelches agreed, a very exorbitant price; but inasmuch as the dealers left it free for them either to go without or pay up, the liquor was soon finished and the merchants possessed of some eighteen new mantles and a good number of mares and colts. The artful T [577] Tehuelches, however, during the ensuing night, stole back a portion of the mantles, an dhumbugged the Araucanians about the horses, professing not to be able to catch them. T A 579 Everything went on quietly until about three P.M., when a fight took place, but the combatants were disarmed. From this up to eight P.M., Quintuhual, Orkeke, and many of the people who had kept sober, were occupied in quelling disturbances, Casimiro being as bad as any, and sending for his gun wherewith to shoot some imagined enemy, which I fortunately intercepted, and after plugging up the nipples hid it behind the toldo. There was little sleep to be obtained till nearly morning, when the inebriated ones laid down anywhere and everywhere to sleep off their potations. The following morning Casimiro awoke with a bad headache and bad temper, and commenced talking about something that had been said to him the previous day, on which I informed him that he must have no shame left in him to get so intoxicated, and that no Indians could respect a chief who was the first to set an evil example by wishing to create a disturbance, while Quintuhual had remained sober, taking care of his people as became a chief, and that he (Casimiro) should have done the same. This raised the ire of the ancient monarch, who answered in a most impolite manner, so much so, that to avoid a row I left him to his bad head and quitted the toldo till he should be in a better frame of mind. Shortly after this little episode we broke up the camp and marched a few miles to the north.

000 Having been detained by a missing horse, I did not start with

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the hunting party, but overtook the people who had arrived with the grog, returning with their remaining mantles, horses, colts, &c., and loudly abusing the Tehuelches for a set of thieving rascals. One of this party was a Valdivian boy who spoke fluent Spanish, and invited me to accompany him to Los Llanos, whither he now intended returning. He stated that in seven or eight days he hoped to reach his destination, and that from thence to the port of Valdivia was but a day and a half's journey. On arriving at the next encampment I bade adieu to these people, who continued their march farther to the north, not liking to trust their property again in the neighbourhood of our camp.

Only halting for the night, we resumed our journey shortly after daylight, mounting a rather steep ascent to a high plateau strewn with sharp stones and crossed by ridges of rocks at intervals.

Ostriches and guanaco were numerous, and although chasing them almost involved the certainty of laming one's horse, many were killed. In this hunt a male guanaco came racing towards me from the Indians on the western side of the circle, and on my galloping to intercept him, he turned and descended a ridge of rocks. I was about to throw the bolas, being within distance, when he suddenly tripped, and, falling on his head, lay stunned at the bottom of the cliff, where I soon despatched him with my knife.

These barren pampas terminated suddenly in a line of cliffs, gradually but steeply shelving in some places, and in others presenting a perpendicular descent of 200 feet; at the base lay a large plain watered by a brook, and enclosed on the southern, eastern, and partially on the western sides by these cliffs, while the northern and north-western boundary was formed by hills rising in gentle slopes. In about the centre of this plain, close to the brook side, were to be distinguished the toldos of Foyel, to which the women were wending their way, having descended by a ravine to the east, while some distance to the north-east on the upper plains were to be distin-

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guished the hunting fires of the proprietors of the toldos. In due course of time we arrived, but as the hunting party did not return till late, we saw nothing of Foyel's people that evening, though letters were exchanged between the chiefs, felicitating each other on the meeting, and appointing next day for the ceremony of welcome.

The following morning, however, day broke with a furious south-west gale, with passing squalls of snow and sleet, and so bitterly cold and miserable that Foyel sent a note to state that, 'as the day was rather frozen,' perhaps it would be better to postpone the ceremony till finer weather, inasmuch as after it a parlemento would have to be held to consider matters in general. Casimiro answered, through me, that he was of the same opinion, but would do himself the honour of paying a personal visit. Presently we sallied out in the storm, taking the presents and the necessary number of women to cry, and proceeded to Foyel's toldo, where we handed over the gifts, the women melodiously howling during the operation. A short parley then ensued between the two caciques, neither of whom, be it remembered, could understand the language of the other. After this ceremonial was concluded, which took place outside the toldo during a blinding snowstorm, we returned to our home, and shortly after the day cleared up a little, and Foyel's people were visible bringing up cattle and sheep from distant parts of the valley, to which they had been driven to seek shelter from the storm. Some headed in our direction, and were driven close to the toldo, over which the Buenos Ayrean colours proudly waved to designate the dwelling of the chief. Foyel then arrived, and had an interview with Casimiro, presenting him with cattle which were lanced by some of the Valdivian Indians, and a light-haired man dressed in Christian clothes, but with rather a wild appearance. My first idea was that he was either Scotch or English, but as he approached me whilst despatching one of the cows, I asked him in Spanish where he came from, and whether he was not English; he

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answered that he was from Chili, but had lived nearly all his life in Valdivia working cattle, and had for the last two years been in company with the Valdivians catching cattle in the Cordillera, and making his head-quarters at Foyel's camp. His name was Ventura Delgado, and he had visited Patagones the previous year in company with the secretary, Antonio Guaitu, who took an application for rations for Foyel. As we were both busy, we arranged to meet and have a talk later in the day. A good deal of eating took place in the forenoon, and to escape the crowd, and also the persecution of having continually to write some nonsensical message from Casimiro to Foyel, who about every half hour used to interchange written messages, although the toldos were not above two hundred yards apart, I quitted the chief's quarters for a stroll. While roaming about the camp looking for the toldo in which my new Valdivian acquaintance put up, I was called into another, where Casimiro's aunt, one of our domestic circle, and my 'companion of the pipe,' was sitting by the fire drinking grog, in which she invited me to assist her; nothing loth, I sat down, and we had two or three cheerers together, after which the owner of the toldo, a brother-in-law of Foyel's, a Pampa Indian, arrived. He spoke fluent Spanish, having formerly been for a considerable time near the settlements, and was an intellectual, fine-looking man; he was very civil, and escorted me to Foyel's toldo, where I spent the afternoon in company with Antonio Guaitu and Ventura Delgado, the Valdivian.

On March 8, the day being fine and suitable for the ceremony of welcome, Casimiro gave orders at an early hour for all to mount and hold themselves in readiness to go through the necessary evolutions. About an hour after the orders had been given, most of the Patagonians were mounted and ready, so all proceeded to the part of the valley where the united Araucanian Indians, under Quintuhual and Foyel, were already formed in line, lances in hand, waiting for our motley crowd, who gave considerable trouble to the chiefs,

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owing to their loose ideas of formation: the caciques and adjutant no sooner had got one part of the line into something like order, than the people at the other extremity would break up into knots and converse or smoke. Foyel sent several messages to Casimiro to keep his line properly formed, and at length the Tehuelches were arrayed in something like order and the ceremony commenced. After it was concluded, a great parlemento was held, which lasted until the afternoon; all the previous resolutions were confirmed, viz., that Casimiro should be recognised the chief of the South, his jurisdiction extending over all Indians south of the Rio Limay; that with his people he should guarantee the safety of Patagonia, and hold in check the Pampa Indians of Las Salinas, under the chief Calfcurra, in the improbable event of his endeavouring to cross the Rio Limay for the purpose of making raids into the settlements; finally, that we should, all united, march to Las Manzanas to visit Chocoque, and propose to him to guarantee with his forces the safety of the north bank of the river, which would effectually bridle Calfcurra and secure Patagonia. After the parlemento I proceeded to visit Foyel, and was received by him with every expression of friendship and regard. During the course of our interview he asked me to show him my compass, the fame of which had gone before it. I at once took it off my neck, where I was in the habit of carrying it, and endeavoured to explain its uses to him. Unlike the other Indians, although at first regarding it rather with superstitious awe, Foyel soon understood its uses, though he also hinted that it might not only be useful for finding the way at night, but perhaps would bring luck at play as well. I accordingly begged him to accept it, which, after a little demur, he did with evident delight, wrapping it carefully up and giving it in charge of his daughter.

He then commenced a conversation on the subject of Indians and their relations with white people. He stated that he was in favour of friendly intercourse both with the

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Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gaichen-

[illegible] *AT HOME WITH THE PATAGONIANS.*

[illegible] *In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-*
[illegible] kaik or Rocky Hills, Crimé's illness caused us to remain encamped until March 21, during the greater part of which time I and several others were suffering from neuralgia and
[illegible] ulcerations in the mouth, caused I think, by the bad water we had to drink, perhaps also by the want of salt, which had become a very scarce commodity.

[illegible] Friendly rivalry was kept up between the tribes in play, hunting, and other sports, in which fortune varied from one side to the other. Every other day I visited poor Crimé, whose groans might be heard at night accompanied by the chant of some old hag. The sick man always asked me how long he would live. I at first tried to persuade him that he would get well, but after a time, as he was really fast sinking, gave him to understand that he might live a month if he was lucky. I offered to open his leg and endeavour to cure him, but this he would not allow, stating that if he died under the operation it would go hard with the doctor, which was indeed true, so I gave up my intentions of performing a surgical operation.

[illegible] Before we broke up the camp, a Valdivian and other Indians arrived from Chocoque's, but brought little news, stating that the Manzaneros were still dispersed amongst the valleys of the Cordillera engaged in gathering the yearly harvest of apples and pifones: of these we had already received plenty from Foyel's people, who kept up a constant communication with their relations near the Rio Limay.

[illegible] On the 21st all left the valley and travelled a few leagues through a diversified country. On the line of march cliffs, which stood out in the glens in irregular, picturesque manner, were of yellow and red sandstone, but to the westward black basaltic heights could be seen abutting on the plains, while in hunting over the higher ground masses of ironstone and igneous rock were met with scattered over the surface. We remained for the night in a valley called Changi, and, proceeding next day, arrived about noon at a large plain shut in by sandstone cliffs on the eastern side, at the northern

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side of which towered a peculiar pointed rock, perhaps 300 feet in height, standing out alone on the sloping descent; viewed from the western side, it appeared like a natural column composed of stratified yellow and red and black layers of sand, and on the summit a condor had his eyry.

The plain extended for several miles to the west, where it was again closed in by cliffs, differing from those to the eastward in being composed of basalt. In this plain, called Geylum, situated, according to Indian accounts, a few leagues to the eastward of Lake Nahuel-huapi, and distant sixty miles from the Rio Limay, and seventy-five miles from Las Manzanas, it was determined to spend the time required for sending chasquis to give notice of our near approach, prior to all marching in company for Chocoque's head-quarters.

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CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lenketrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Cheoeque—A Mounted Parlemento—Apples and Piñones—Graviel's Madness—Las Manzanas—Cheoeque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolutions of Peace—A Grand Banquet—Power of Cheoeque—Araucanian Customs—Farewell Presents—Invitation to Return—Orkeke's Generosity—Return to Geylum—Outbreak of an Epidemic—My Pretty Page—Departure from Geylum.

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THE day after our arrival at Geylum, Manzaneros or Araucanians arrived from the north with cider of their own manufacture stored in sheep skins, apples, and piñones, to trade; and a scene of debauchery ensued, as usual. At night an attempt, nearly successful, was made to rob our toldo: one of the women, however, was awake, and heard the thief endeavouring to get into the back of the sleeping places where some newly-finished mantles were stored; she gave the alarm to two of the men, and they endeavoured to catch the would-be intruder, who, hearing the alarm raised, started off at speed, not without receiving a cut from a knife which marked him deeply on his shoulder; and, what was worse, being recognised as he ran off.

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Foyel invited me to drink at his expense, but I merely stayed in his toldo long enough for the observance of

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

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The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

T [673]

A 648

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Cheoeque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Cheoeque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of those Indians.

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civilised appearance of those Indians. We passed several very hungry and disagreeable days in Geylum previous to starting; there was little game in the surrounding country, and the weather was cold and wet, with occasional snow. For two whole days Casimiro, Meña, and myself, who were usually messmates, had nothing to eat but an armadillo and a few fish which I caught in a pool of the stream. Near the Column Rock, whilst hunting, we discovered a 'cache,' belonging to Foyel's Indians, which contained something wrapped and lashed up in hides: although the temptation was great to overhaul its contents, the package was left unopened, and a quiet warning conveyed to Foyel that others were not likely to be so scrupulous. This confirmed what Casimiro had said as to these Indians providently leaving bags of fat and provisions in various places to which they expected to return at no very distant period.

On the day fixed in the council, held subsequent to the return of the chasquis, we all started, fully equipped, on our journey to Las Manzanas, mustering 250 men of the united Indians, without toldos or baggage, and in light marching order with a few spare horses. A few horses were loaded with coverings for toldos, mantles, &c., which the women hoped to sell to advantage to the Araucanians, and a few of the women accompanied the expedition to conduct their barter, while a guard of perhaps forty men remained behind to provide food for the women and children who were to await our return.

We crossed the gradually sloping irregular plains covered with stunted bushes, but scarcely deserving the name of high pampas, which bordered the northern side of the valley of Geylum, and after passing between two parallel walls of rocks, forming a sort of natural street, we emerged into a succession of grassy plains, separated by barren rocky hills covered with scrub, on attaining the summits of which the wooded Cordillera on the western side rose into view some few leagues distant. About eleven A.M., after we had been

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some four hours on our march, we met two men, bringing 133
with them a pack-horse with a couple of skins of grog for Foyel's people. They were soon surrounded by Tehuelches, who proposed to drink there and then, and were much inclined to help themselves; but a messenger from Foyel's people in the rear arriving, they were permitted to pass unmolested on their way to Geylum, and we proceeded on our journey and formed a circle to hunt. The country became more impracticable for riding as we left the lower plains and mounted some hills broken by deep gorges and bristling in every part with rocks sparkling with unusually large plates of mica, which glistened like glass in the sunshine; these hills were terminated by steep cliffs, over which the ostriches were 224
driven, a party having previously descended to look out for them below. It was a curious sight to see the ostriches dropping down heights varying from ten to fifty feet, often two or three together, with outspread wings. They appeared generally to be stunned for a minute or two on reaching the bottom, and by the time they were on their legs found themselves hampered by a ball from the unerring hand of some stalwart Tehuelche, and running a yard or two fell with broken legs.

Descending from these cliffs we mounted a range of hills 133
more than 2,000 feet high, by means of a tolerably practicable track for travelling, and on arriving at the summit halted for the remainder of the cavalcade. From this point a most magnificent view presented itself; right below us, looking quite close, but really some thirty miles distant, lay a dark line as of a deep cutting, marking the valley of the Rio Limay, which on the west side was terminated by high wooded mountains with steep precipitous sides. Away to the N.W. was a very high snowclad mountain, on which the rays of the setting sun were shedding a rose-coloured light. Between this and the line of the river rose wooded ranges of hills, the real apple groves we had heard so much about; below these again was a low peaked eminence, at the foot of

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133 which, invisible to our eyes, lay our destination, viz., the toldos of Cheoeque. For weeks Las Manzanas and Cheoeque had been almost the sole topic of conversation, and the general excitement, which had been intense at starting, now cul-
782 minated at the sight of our distant bourne. As we halted the Indians all raised their hands to their foreheads, saluting the distant river, and inviting the Spirit of the locality to be propitious to our undertaking, as to the issue of which there was great uncertainty. The night before Casimiro had
787 pointed out the redness of the setting sun, and declared it to be an omen of war; but without paying attention to the omen, which indeed was not perceptible to my eyes, the unprecedented visit of 250 Tehuelches ostensibly for peace might very possibly be otherwise understood by Cheoeque: indeed, it afterwards appeared that he, in reality, was by no means assured of our pacific intentions.

122 When all were collected and prepared to descend the mountain, it transpired that Casimiro, who had been missing since the hunt commenced, had, in company with several other Tehuelches and Foyel's Indians, returned to drink. This was very annoying, and all present united in abusing him for setting such an example when about to enter a part of the country whither we were going on sufferance, amongst a not remarkably friendly-disposed set of people. We halted
372 after nightfall in a valley at the side of a small rapid stream, the banks of which, for a short distance, were covered with high tussocks of broad-leaved pampa grass, amidst the shelter of which we bivouacked, although the night was cold and frosty. Firewood was plentiful, supplied by drift-wood brought down by winter or spring floods, so with blazing fires and under the lee of the pampa grass we slept warmly enough. It was necessary, however, to keep a sharp look-out on the horses, as pasturage was scanty. Before daylight, after a
133 slight consultation, Guenalto was given chief command, and we again started; after following a winding valley for a short distance and scrambling up a steep slope, we continued

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to ascend a hill of considerable height, and attained a more open country, the western side of which was bounded by the Cordillera. In one of the valleys bordering the mountains we came suddenly upon the Valdivians, driving their cattle *en route* to return to their own country, Cheoeque having sent orders to the Picunches occupying the country near, the only known passes through the Cordillera, to allow them to traverse their district unmolested; notwithstanding this precaution, they were by no means certain that the Picunches would not ease them of the trouble of taking care of their animals on their arrival in the neighbourhood of the passes. Clearing this open country, we again ascended a slight rise, at the top of which grew a single apple tree in solitary majesty, but it had been stripped long since of its fruit. Descending this one-tree ridge, we entered a cañon, and after half an hour's ride a sudden turn brought the valley of the Rio Limay into view immediately below. Having passed through the cañon, we halted on a slight eminence immediately underneath the barranca bordering the southern side of the valley of the river. From this cliff to the river bank, varying from about a mile to half a mile in width, extended a grassy plain cut up here and there by streams, and wooded at intervals. About a league to the west the barranca blended with the declivities of high precipitous mountains, and the river appeared to force its way from the south between steep precipices before trending into the valley. On the northern side the valley, though dotted here and there with clumps of trees, was more open, and the distance to the barranca greater than that on the southern side. Immediately opposite our post was situated the tolderia of some of Inacayal's Indians, and grazing on the surrounding pastures cattle, sheep, and numerous horses were visible. The river appeared to be of very considerable width, but very rapid through the whole course of this open valley. A mile west of the opening of the cañon three small islands were described, which Hinchel pointed out as the pass, or ford if it deserves

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133

CROSSING THE RIVER LIMAY.

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133 the name. We accordingly proceeded in that direction, and taking off all unnecessary gear, strapping our mantles close up, or wearing them like plaids over our shoulders, descended through the trees and soon plunged into the river.

133 The first part of the ford was deep, but the water then
492 shallowed on nearing the shore, and the velocity of the noisy stream greatly increased. Still we arrived easily enough at the first island, but to pass from that to the smaller one appeared at first to rather daunt even the Tehuelches. The current was running like a millrace, and the waters foamed over the uneven bottom with a rush and roar that rendered all warnings inaudible. It was evident that only strong horses could cross at all; but one or two bolder spirits dashed in, and although unacquainted with the pass, reached the second island some distance down the river in safety, so the remainder shortly followed, the women crossing behind the men; here and there were places in the ford which necessitated swimming, and in others were huge boulders, over which the water
648 swirled in large waves. At last we all reached the bank in safety, and were met by some of Inacayal's Indians. Being among the lucky first arrivals, I came in for some apples and other food that some of these people of Incayal's had thoughtfully brought with them from the toldos.

When all were mustered and had resumed their clothes, we started for the toldos, where we were received by Inacayal, and as it was needful to await those who had remained behind drinking, we bivouacked by the bank of the river, and shortly some cattle and mares were brought up and slaughtered to satisfy the cravings of our hunger. After bathing in the river, I was sitting by the fireside watching our dinner cooking, when I received a message to say that I was required in one of the toldos. In that indicated I found an old Indian, a brother of Quintuhual, who spoke fluent Spanish; he invited me to sit down, and then narrated that an Englishman named Cox had formerly descended the river from Lake Nahuel-huapi in a boat, but in trying to descend

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648 under cover of night, had been wrecked in the rapids at the bend, about a mile above the ford which we had recently crossed: he then took refuge among these Indians, by whom he was hospitably received, and subsequently returned to Valdivia across the mountains, being unable to proceed to Patagones. The old Indian entertained a most friendly feeling for Mr. Cox, whom he had known well, as he had remained several days in his toldo.

After talking some time about this, food was served, and he then proceeded to ask my opinion as to the treatment the Indians experienced from what he called the Spaniards, stating that the Chilians were encroaching on one side and the Argentines on the other, by which means the Indians must eventually be driven off the face of the earth, or else fight for their existence.

000 After some more conversation I returned to our fireside, accompanied by a half-bred nephew of Inacayal, who had left Patagones some eight months previously, having been 'wanted' by the Juez de Paz on account of his having deserted from the army, and having further, in a quarrel, either killed or wounded a Frenchman. He was anxious to induce me to use my influence with Casimiro to allow him to join us, which I did not do for the best of reasons, viz., that he appeared to be a great scoundrel, but I volunteered to take a message to some of his friends in Patagones.

[202] About midnight, bugle calls on the opposite side of the river indicated the approach of the rest of the party, who arrived next day, but Casimiro was in the bad temper customary with him after a debauch, and steadily refused to proceed and take advantage of the fine weather; so another day was spent in loitering about by the side of the river and eating a great deal of beef.

My first cousins, who were also nephews of the old man who had formerly been acquainted with Mr. Cox, started in company with him to procure some apples and piñones, promising me plenty when they returned. Meanwhile I made

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000 acquaintance with a Pampa Indian named Gravino, who must have originally been a Christian captive; he himself stated that his mother formerly resided near the settlements, and described her as a Pampa Indian; on her death, he, being about fifteen years of age, left the settlements to join the Indians of her tribe, and had got but three days on his journey when he met the united party of Tehuelches, Pampas, and Araucanos, or, as he called them, Chilenos, under the cacique Lenketrou, proceeding to make a raid on the settlements; he had nothing for it but to turn back, and much against his will proceed to rob people under whose protection he had formerly been. In the foray, he, with another youth of about his own age, succeeded in driving off a troop of mixed horses and mares, but being dreadfully tired he laid down to sleep in a retired place, having secured his riding horse by means of a lazo attached to his own ancle. At night he was awoke by a stampede of all the horses; and his own taking fright at the same time dragged him some yards, until disengaged by his companion, who cut the lazo: they then tried to secure their animals, but found that the Araucanians had taken off all the best, so he did not make much by the invasion. He had since been employed as a 'manso' or tame Indian in the service of the Argentine Government, but disliking the work had returned to the Pampas and married a relation of Inacayal's. He was a fine-looking young fellow, neatly dressed in ponchos made, as he informed me, by his wife.

133 On the following day, amidst a storm of wind and rain, we started for Las Manzanas. After ascending the northern barrancas of the river valley, we traversed a level plain where a hunting circle was made for form sake, as the ostriches were very scarce, and I only saw one killed; and passing below, or rather to the N.E. of the hill before mentioned, descended into a valley watered by a small stream; this we followed for some distance, until we arrived at a point where another valley opened into it, the two

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united forming one of considerable width. Here, under the shelter of some trees, we halted and lit fires to warm ourselves, for the drenching rain had by this time thoroughly forced its way through our mantles. Whilst conversing and making as merry as possible under the circumstances, a messenger dashed up, splashed with blood, and with the effects of drink or furious excitement visible in his face. All crowded round to hear the news, and he shortly informed us that the party who had started to obtain apples on the previous day had met another party of Indians with liquor. A drinking bout ensued, and a quarrel occurred in which a man was killed; but the rest went on drinking, leaving the body outside, where the dogs made a meal of it. This so exasperated one of his comrades that he galloped off to Cheoeque, to whose tribe the party belonged, and the chief at once sent twenty-five horsemen to surround my cousins and demand payment for the death. This they refused to give, so a fight took place, in which four out of the five brothers and another were left for dead, with lance thrusts all over them, the youngest escaping on his own or somebody else's horse, after dropping four of the enemy who tried to intercept him, with a revolver brought by me from Santa Cruz. This was bad news for us, as we were bound to protect these people, who belonged to our united Indians. A consultation took place, in the middle of which Inacayal dashed up with a party all well armed with lances, in addition to their other arms. Foyel's people came next, eager for the fray; the Tehuelches, however, having an eye to business, in the way of bartering the mantles they had brought with them for trade, overruled the warlike ideas of these people, saying 'it was better to wait a little.' Meanwhile guns were loaded and arms got ready, and a party were being told off to proceed to the scene of the *mêlée* and pick up the wounded, when a messenger arrived from Cheoeque with proposals of a peace. I and the rest of the relations of those who had been killed, as we then supposed,

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T A 648

were placed under a guard of Tehuelches for a short time until the party started to find the wounded men. We then all proceeded a short distance down the valley, and bivouacked in the pampa grass about a mile and a half from, but out of sight of, the toldos of Cheoeque. Messengers passed two or three times between the latter's residence and our bivouac, and ultimately a very old woman came over and made a long oration on the benefits of peace. This was all very well, but as both parties were evidently suspicious of each other, a watch was kept in the event of a surprise; and as we thought it probable that the negotiations would fall through, we spent the night shivering round the fires and making bolas perdidas. I assured Quintuhual and Casimiro that there would be no fight, at which the latter grew very irate, saying he knew better, that the whole business was a trap to obtain the gear and firearms of our party, also stating that I did not understand these Indians, in which I differed from him. Later in the evening news came that, although fearfully cut about, none of 'my cousins' were dead; the opposite party, however, had fared worse, losing three killed outright. For six men to fight against twenty-five seems long odds, but I believe that Quintuhual's and Foyel's people are the bravest Indians to be met with in the southern part of America, fully deserving the proud title of 'the Warrior Indians.'

T A

648 A 541

The following morning at daylight all mounted their best horses, and forming into column of six, proceeded, with the lancers of the warriors at our head, towards the toldos situated in a valley running at right angles to the one we had rested in on the previous night. On arriving in sight of Cheoeque's ancestral halls, we observed the Araucanians or Manzaneros forming into line and manœuvring about half a mile distant; we approached to within 800 yards, and then forming into open line to display our whole force (my proposal of hiding a reserve behind an eminence having been overruled), awaited the course of events. Thus we remained

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about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

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T A 648 farther north; also to consider Calfícura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Cheoeque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, A which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

567 In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt A our colloquy.

439 We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of 137 Cheoeque's toldos, where animals were lazoed and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering piñones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The piñones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for T a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been A cheated by the Picunche thieves.

439 Towards evening Cheoeque sent over to say that, as it

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was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825

T [158]

A 341

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Cheoeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

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smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had such an air of civilisation about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturbance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Chocoque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Chocoque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had remained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Picunches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

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carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyal's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

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The jealousy existing between Foyel and Chenaque, which had broken out in the disturbance so nearly fatal to my cousins, had existed ever since the migration of this chief and Quintubeal to the south, and all the Araucanos of their following kept themselves on this occasion as much as possible aloof, and abstained from sharing in the jovialities, while the Tehuelches, who were unconcerned in the matter, enjoyed themselves freely.

The next day Foyel and Quintubeal marched off their followers in regular array, and proceeded homewards followed by many of the Tehuelches, the great races which it had been settled to hold being abandoned in consequence of the uneasy state of feeling and the consequent fears of a quarrel: the fight in that case would have been an obstinate one, as Chenaque's forces would not have been much too strong for their opponents, although outnumbering them. We had been surprised on arriving not to find more Indians ready to receive us, as we only counted ninety lances, but it transpired that some were concealed in the woods by the side of the river, who did not appear; besides these, seventy or a hundred men had gone to Patagones to obtain their chief's ration of cattle, but 200 more, friends and relations of Foyel, who were on their march to the rendezvous at Las Manzanas, had turned back on hearing of the attack made by Chenaque's party on their friends, my cousins. Whether they remained away in order to be neutral or to come to the support of their kinsmen did not appear, but Foyel had frequently boasted that 200 of Chenaque's followers would espouse his quarrel. The Pinuches were the original cause of the feud. This tribe, asserted by Antonio Guaita, who gave them the name of Chelin, to be a branch of the Araucanians, are under Chenaque's dominion, though governed by local caciques. As already mentioned, they live near the passes of the Cordillera and plunder all travellers. They had not respected Foyel's messenger bringing him stores from Valdivia, and at last forcibly assumed two sheepskins of rum, on which

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[illegible] occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent
[illegible] Chocoque a defiant message to the effect that if any more
robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals;
that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had
[illegible] forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was sub-
[illegible] sequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by
right under the rule of Chocoque, preferred to throw off his
allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason
[illegible] alleged by him was that although Chocoque received large
rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he
never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs.
[illegible] How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the
Picunches and their subjection to Chocoque, the Valdivians
had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct,
which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far
as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested,
although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather,
as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which
during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.
[illegible] Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would
have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous
windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their
animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio
Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians
stated that it flowed to the westward. *Apropos* of this
[illegible] route, an enterprising German had some short time pre-
[illegible] viously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he
was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and
drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return
journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near
the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his
[illegible] way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing
to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the
route thither and visit the Picunches, and indeed Casimiro
and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it
was abandoned, owing to the intense of the season and

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other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calfcura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

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had been forwarded to us already. Many speeches were made, and Linares and Casimiro pointed out that it was to the cacique's interest not to interfere, as he would inevitably lose the valuable supplies of horses and cattle given him by the Buenos Ayrean Government, and that it was more profitable to receive the annual rations than plunder and break up the Rio Negro settlements. Finally, it was unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to Calfícura, desiring *him* to confine *his* hostilities to Bahia Blanca, and that Cheoeque should protect the north bank of the Rio Negro and guard Patagones on that side, while Casimiro guaranteed the southern, which arrangement was duly adhered to on both sides. Accordingly Calfícura revenged his real or supposed injuries on the 'Cristianos' by two destructive inroads into Bahia Blanca, carrying off plunder and captives. But letters from the Rio Negro have informed me that peace had been restored, and an exchange or ransom of prisoners effected. This will be more fully dwelt upon, but it is mentioned here in order to show that the Indians are fully aware of the advantages of peace, though they are undoubtedly—the Araucanians especially—jealous of the encroachments of foreigners, and the traditions of their past history have caused them to hold the very name of Spaniard or 'Cristiano' in abhorrence. It is also difficult for the superior caciques in all cases to restrain the petty caciquillos from small depredations; but a fair and well-arranged system of 'rations' will prevent them from making forays, and it is much to be regretted that the well-intentioned and liberal plans of the Buenos Ayrean Government for the protection of the frontiers are too often thwarted by the unscrupulous agents who enrich themselves by appropriating the supplies intended for the Indians. Some may consider the method of keeping the chiefs quiet by pensions undignified; but it is certainly a more humane and economical policy than continual wars of reprisals, which in the end would lead to the extermination either of the Indians or

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

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622 554 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the [556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 554 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their 131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the 241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities 221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the 273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My 197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described

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by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witnessing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

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823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[623] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives. the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

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as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Cheoeque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Cheoeque, and of Linares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Cheoeque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.

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431 We proceeded to Inacayal's toldo at his personal request, where we remained until evening was drawing on, when cattle were brought up, caught and slain, and divided amongst the chiefs. Whilst busy shaving a piece of hide wherewith to make some gear, I received a message from Orkeke, whose fire was situated at perhaps a hundred paces from ours, that he wished to see me when disengaged, and after supper I strolled down, and found the veteran sitting loading his pipe. After a smoke, he invited me to accompany him to inspect his newly-acquired troop of horses, and show him which I considered to be the best. I picked out a young white animal that had belonged to Cheoeque's own stud. 'Very well,' he replied, 'take him; he is yours; I never made you any return for the revolver you gave me in Teckel.' Although I did not require the horse, it would have been insulting to refuse it, so I walked off with my racer in tow. This little incident is mentioned to correct the notion entertained by some that the greed of gain is a predominant feature in the Indian character.

133 The following morning we bid adieu to Inacayal and his people, and turned our horses' heads for the pass of the river Limay, which was if possible more swollen and rapid than on the previous occasion; but we all crossed in safety, although Casimiro's and my horse fell once, fortunately where the water was shallow. Everybody, however, got thoroughly wet, and a continual downfall of rain coming on, prevented all chance of drying our mantles. We marched back by a route lying to the westward of that we had before followed, passing under and amongst the high wooded mountains, on the heights of which every now and then we could perceive a condor sitting in majestic solitude, looking down on us like a priest from a pulpit.

000 About four P.M. the rain cleared off, and we bivouaced in a grassy valley, with incense and other bushes growing on the sides. Here, owing to the sickness of Graviel and another of our party, we passed a miserable time, not even

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being able to get dry; and in addition to our previous discomfort, towards evening a frost set in, and when I woke up about midnight to look round for the horses my mantle was like a board.

I kindled a fire, as the weather was now clear, and soon all the party were huddled round it to warm their half-frozen limbs before lying down again.

The next morning at daylight, thoroughly chilled and hungry, two of us started to fetch the horses, some of the new ones having, as we expected, found their way back to within a few miles of the Rio Limay. However, by the time the sun had risen to sufficient height to give some warmth, we had caught up the others of our party, and not sparing our horses, by two o'clock had passed through the street of rocks and come in sight of the toldos, where we shortly arrived.

Before sunset all the Tehculches had returned to the bosoms of their families, and all were glad to sleep under the shelter of a toldo once more, after having passed twelve days and nights in stormy weather without any covering save our mantles.

The 14th of April, the morning after our return, a complaint was made by Foyel's people that the Tehuelche Indians left behind, thinking it useless to proceed to the plains, some miles distant, to hunt for the supply of the toldos whilst cattle and sheep were grazing in the immediate vicinity, had helped themselves in the obscurity of the night. Meña corroborated the fact; and although he had been away hunting with the greatest assiduity, he had met with but little success, and complained bitterly of the hungry times they had endured.

Soon after our arrival Kai Chileno was seized with illness, and in a few days several of the more aged and children sickened with headache and fever, showing all the symptoms of severe influenza. Alarmed lest the sickness should spread, on the 16th of April most of the Tehuelches struck

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164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the con-
A tinued illness of Graviel and the others. Towards evening
155 of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualichu, and then
A retired.
173 We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Meña, who was an intelligent youth, arguing that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked
A an armed man.
431 We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylum, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

000 It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylum with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzaneros, he and Quintuhual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party *en route* previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if

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possible and pay another visit to the toldo, where I had been made to feel myself at home.

Her father asked me to procure him a grinding organ, as Casimiro had informed him that he had seen music made by turning a handle. I promised to get one if I could, and after a cordial farewell returned to our toldo, as we intended going away at daylight on the 17th.

Accordingly we prepared for a start; and a boy came over from the other toldos to join us. He was a Tehuelche, whose father had been killed on suspicion of witchcraft, and being a remote connexion of Casimiro's, had claimed his protection, which of course was granted, and he (Casimiro) had agreed to take him with us, informing him that he was to act as my page, look after my horses, &c., and make himself generally useful. This was a very fine idea, but one glance at the face and figure of this illustrious youth was sufficient to show me that I should probably spend my time in looking after him, and a more mischievous imp I never saw. When told that he might catch one of my horses to travel on, he immediately fixed on the wrong one, and a horse that I had myself barely mounted for perhaps six weeks, in order to get it into condition for the journey into Patagones.

This horse he caught, and came down to the toldos at full gallop over rocks, stones, and bushes, with a grin of delight on his face. After being warned in mild terms that he was not to ride that horse, which I took from him and turned loose, he proceeded to catch one of Casimiro's, which he treated in the same manner, but at length got the right one, and then, without saying 'With your leave, or by your leave,' galloped off, yelling at the top of his voice, to follow the road which the Indians had taken the previous day.

We were about to start ourselves when, at the last moment, Quintuhual sent to say that he wished to have a council. So Casimiro and myself remained in the pouring rain squatting on the grass listening to a repetition of what we had heard the previous day.

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252 When the council was concluded a sheep was brought up and killed. The poor beast was lashed to a post with its head looking to the sky, and the throat being cut, salt was forced into the wound, the lip of which was compressed *secundum artem*, in order to flavour the blood and lungs, &c., 008 which formed the repast. All the girls then crowded round, each preferring a request to us to bring a little yerba, flour, sugar, &c., from the settlements, till, our horses being ready, mine having been additionally burdened with the dead mutton by way of provisions for the road, we extricated ourselves from the crowd, and amidst repeated injunctions, charges, and affectionate farewells, got away, and towards four P.M. started to overtake the now distant cavalcade.

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CHAPTER VIII.

GEYLUM TO PATAGONES.

A Sick Camp—Oerroè Volcanic Hill—Crimè's Deathbed—Graviel's Promotion—The Burning Ground—Hot Springs—Fighting the Gualichu—A Real Fight—A Soda Lake—Encampment at Telck—The Doctor comes to Grief—An Obliging Ostrich—Appointed Chasqui—Miseries of Pampa Life—A Bad Time—The Plains of Margensho—Casimiro's Distrust—Doctor and Sick Child—Duties of a Messenger—Departure of the Chasquis—Travelling Express—The Paved Pampas—An Ideal Bandit—Letter from the Chupat Colony—Trinita—Teneforo's Pampas—Champayo's Generosity—A Morning Drink—Departure from Trinita—Valchita—The Pigs' Road—Wild Horses—The Travesia—Limit of the Patagonian Fauna and Flora—First View of the Rio Negro—Sauce Blanco—The Guardia—San Xaviel—Approach to Patagones—Señor Murga—Welsh Hospitality—Among Friends at Last.

WE were now fairly started on our journey eastward to 133
the Rio Negro, on my part with contending feelings of regret at quitting my recently acquired and amiable relatives, and of joyful expectation of reaching Patagones and finding there that which travellers, amidst all the excitement of new countries and strange people, still so eagerly long for—news from home! We galloped forward casting longing looks behind at the forest-clad slopes and snowy peaks of the Cordillera, the never-to-be-forgotten beauty of which made the dismal prospect of the country before us still more dreary.

My friends had been unanimous in describing the district that intervened between Geylum and a place spoken of as Margensho, nine marches distant, as both difficult to travel, and affording scanty pasture for the horses and little game

for the people.

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for the people. The rain which had been falling when we left, had turned to sleet driven by a strong westerly gale, and my load of mutton sadly interfered with the management of the sheltering mantle: Fortunately, as the direction of our route was easterly, we thus escaped having to face the storm, while the gale in our backs stimulated both horses and riders to their utmost speed.

At the entrance of the rock-strewn gorge which formed the eastern gateway of the valley of Geylum, to the south of which towered the isolated column of rock, we were suddenly startled by the apparition of mounted Indians galloping towards us from the direction which our advanced party had taken. Conjectures as to possible calamity in the shape of a fight or accident were speedily dispelled, as they proved to be Tehuelches riding back in search of lost horses, which they averred had been stolen and craftily concealed by the Araucanians. So we continued our march through a succession of narrow rocky gorges winding amongst the hills, till, as the twilight was growing dark, we arrived, wet and weary, and feeling symptoms of illness, at the encampment situated in one of the usual grassy valleys. The toldo, when reached, proved to be in utter disorder, two of the women and a child having been attacked with the epidemic; so we set to work ourselves to light a fire, secure the skin covering of the toldo, and arrange the beds, and after a time the interior assumed a more ship-shape aspect, although the grass (our carpet) and everything else were wet. On every side one heard complaints of some child having fallen sick, and throughout the wailing cry of the women 'Ah gelay loo!' over their darlings rendered sleep all but impossible. Next morning broke fine and clear, so it was determined to march onwards in the hope that speedy change might get rid of the epidemic, but starting was almost as difficult as staying.

Of our party Meña had returned to look for a missing horse; Crimè was dying, and Casimiro was attending to him; and what with sick friends and children all were

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occupied or distracted, and the business of catching the horses devolved on myself, single-handed at first. Having secured the troop, the next task was to catch my newly-acquired steed; the sight of a lazo was sufficient to make him gallop a league, and as he was very swift, three hours were spent in ineffectual efforts, but at last, two or three of my comrades coming up to my assistance, he was caught. Giving my flibbertigibbet page charge of the remaining horses, I started, in company with one of my friends, to join the hunting circle, already in course of formation.

We rode up a valley in an easterly direction, on our way passing the invalid Crimè, who, groaning with pain, lay stretched out at full length on a sort of couch composed of blankets on the horse's back, his wife leading the horse and wailing out loud. But as condolences were of little use, we passed on in silence, and shortly emerged from the valley which sloped up by gradual ascent to a wide plain of sandy soil and stunted bushes, bounded on the eastern horizon by a line of high jagged hills, which stretched to the southward as far as the eye could reach. While sitting under a bush by the fire, I was attacked with headache and sickness, the premonitory symptoms of the epidemic; however, I mounted and joined the hunting party, and at the end of the circle felt much better, although unable to eat.

The finish brought us to the entrance of a valley which wound among the precipitous rocky hills of the range seen from the farther verge of the plain. While watching the cavalcade of women and baggage, I looked long in vain for my own troop of four horses, but at last descried them trotting without a guide in the rear of the column, their natural sagacity or perhaps thirst having induced them to follow their comrades. The trusty page had left them to take care of themselves, and gone off hunting on his own account, which behaviour, repeated on a subsequent occasion, caused the loss of the stud. Towards evening we encamped in a valley enclosed by three hills, one of which, of decidedly

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volcanic aspect, was named 'Cerroé.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimé's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Cheoeque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

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drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was cur- 203
rent that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them, and various other stories, most of which were declared to be lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish their hearers. Crimé's widow took up her abode in our toldo; [736]
and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the 622
rank of lieutenant in the Buenos Ayrean army, and the right of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique, who at last declared that he should name his almost insane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated by annual pay! On April 22 a start was made, but we remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing, so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was 133
presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular hills, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after 261
it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce, what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given to those recovering from sickness.

Jackochan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as 755
the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for. He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, muttering a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

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755 his mouth close to its chest and shouted to bring the devil out: he then turned it on its face and repeated the same process. The child's health mended next day, and it was shortly out of danger.

224 About ten o'clock at night Casimiro returned with his horses, which had strayed a considerable distance on the road back to Geyium. The next day a long march of twenty miles brought us to an encampment on the western verge of a broad plain, watered by a brooklet. During the [134] hunt the first Patagonian hares, or cavies, were caught. These little animals live in burrows, but are generally out feeding or sleeping in the grass during the day. They are excessively swift for perhaps a mile, but, like the foxes of this country soon get tired. The chase of these small deer afforded an agreeable relief to the monotony of the journey. As soon as we entered a plain or valley where they abounded, as they always were found in numbers where the pasture was good, all hurried off to 'stop the earths,' *i.e.*, close up the burrows with bushes; but the cunning little beasts often evaded us by slipping into a burrow overlooked by the earth-stoppers. It required considerable skill to bring them down with the bolas, as, if only caught round the legs or body, they disentangled themselves quickly, but a blow on the head [262 281] proved at once fatal. They are good eating, though the flesh is somewhat dry when roasted. Their skins are made up into mantles, but are of little value, as the hair soon comes off.

133 About a mile below the encampment, where the sandy plain narrowed and sloped down to a low-lying grassy valley, a singular phenomenon presented itself. The morning after our arrival, when going out to look for the horses, a furious easterly gale whirled the dust aloft in dense clouds, and, to my great surprise, the sand, which was driven into our faces, was as hot as when the fire so nearly encircled us. Almost blinded in forcing our way through this curtain of driving sand, we rode right into a hollow, where the earth appeared to be on fire; as the horses plunged

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through the heated surface the hair was burnt off their fetlocks, and they were nearly maddened with fright, so that it was a difficult feat for the riders without saddles or stirrups to keep their seats. Once I was somewhere near my horse's ears, but, more by good luck than good management, just escaped being thrown as it were into the fire. After the gale had partially moderated, I proceeded to inspect this place, and found that, although not, as I at first thought, absolutely on fire, the ground was smoking as if from internal combustion. The surface presented a crust of baked yellow clay, which yielding to the horses' feet, disclosed a black subsoil; there was no flame, but a thin white vapour issued from the ground. When I inadvertently ventured a step on the treacherous crust, it gave way, but I managed to extricate myself with no further damage than burning my poor boots. The Indians stated that the fire had been originally caused some years previously by their having kindled the pasture higher up the valley, and that the ground had been burning ever since. It was impossible to discover whether there was any subjacent bed of combustible matter which might then have been ignited; but as there are hot wells and springs in the same range not many miles distant to the south-east, it seems more probably due to volcanic agency. The principal hot spring was described as a circular basin of about six feet in diameter, the water, of a temperature not so hot as to scald the hand, bubbling up through numerous holes in a clay bottom. In many of the surrounding hills there are lava and pumice of not extremely ancient formation; some of the hills have also an appearance of having been at a recent period the outlets of eruptive forces, which have scattered large shattered masses of rock over the sides of the extinct craters.

In this encampment I had a serious misunderstanding with our chief, which all but ended in a downright quarrel; but after consideration we agreed to make it up, as although on two occasions of danger he had left me to my fate, I thought

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better on the whole to keep friends for the present. The
evening of this quarrel, as a party of them Indians were start-
ing off to go to the Chapel, and Casimiro was desirous of
extending his force to the Welsh settlement, I wrote a letter
to the authorities inquiring about some saddles, part of his
Argentine rations sent thither by mistake, which the chief
declared to have been intended for him, but which had been
distributed amongst other Indians. The letter was forwarded
by one of the Indians who was supposed to be of English
parentage on one side, although he showed but little traces
of English blood in his type, with the exception perhaps of
his hair, which was of a lighter colour than that usually met
with: he was a very good-natured fellow, and I regretted his
departure, as he was one of my adherents, but being a man
of very sober habits he did not wish to be mixed up in the
universal orgie which would probably take place on arriving
in the vicinity of Patagones. With this party the young
widow, who had made overtures of marriage to me, also
departed, after an affectionate farewell, and receiving a hand-
kerchief as a remembrance. The following morning we also
started, and one of the universal traders who had gambled
his property away, asking for a mount, was told to catch the
'white horse' presented by Orkeke: he accordingly borrowed
a horse to catch him, and at the end of our day's journey had
not succeeded in doing more than driving him in, to use a
sentinel term, in our wake; this was exactly what I had
intended, as this Indian was a great rogue, and had cheated
me at cards out of a set of metal holes, equivalent to a horse.
Our march lay up the valley, and the whole was fenced on
the surrounding volcanic hills, the sides of which, besides the
vesicular lava, presented large masses of the limestone noted
as having been observed at Santa Cruz. Shrubs were sparsely
scattered on these hills, and game was exceedingly scarce.
Towards evening we encamped on the borders of a stream
in a place called by the Indians Tolok. There the sickness
broke out afresh in its worst form, and several children died,

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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were 165
slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other 764
property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most
distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of
sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud,
and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of
the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of 7755
our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in
which everybody joined. After dark, when many were
sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining
on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and
communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms
ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires
were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off
guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the
toldos, and pulling 'kow-w!' at each blow; firebrands being,
at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with
clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking,
the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes
of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into
the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and
for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect dark-
ness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed
their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place 578
in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a
general sallie or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were
already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further
mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and
others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race- 526
course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since
leaving the Rio Sengel, was a regular beaten level track of
about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had
established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a
distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke
out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting
in the surrounding country (where hares abounded), we ob-
served a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate
leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to
about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were
bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter,
reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific,
being administered to the invalids with great success. In
133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended
on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swell-
ing eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly
overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a
saline was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself
being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner,
determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the
quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been desti-
tute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but
to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
[135] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the
supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.
132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather
had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much
lighter: indeed whilst in Telek some warm days were ex-
perienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously de-
scribed as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in
abundance, and was collected by the women and children.
[136] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the
neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but
the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being
so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel
pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling
that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

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that on the third next march we should pass a deposit of yellow ore, lying to the south of the route, and that during the hunt he would show it to me. Orkeke also corroborated this statement, and I have every reason to believe that there is in that locality a deposit of iron or more probably copper ore.

As the meat of the slain horses was nearly consumed, we marched the following day across a most stony, rocky, and inhospitable country, and at length arrived at a range of hills, through which ran a steep, narrow gorge. Descending through its tortuous windings, we at length arrived at a spring, the waters of which, joining with another small rivulet, flowed out, and formed a sort of marsh at the head of a large plain. From the slope of the hill bordering the ravine a fine panorama extended to the east, the entire face of the country appearing to be more uniformly undulating than the confused ranges of hills, through the intricacies of which we had been marching and hunting since leaving Geylum. In the foreground were visible distant black figures, moving with swiftness across the plain in pursuit of numerous ostriches; and away to the eastward rose a column of smoke, the cause of which was eagerly speculated on.

I am conscious that the description of this part of the journey is not likely to give a very clear idea of the country traversed; and that the directions of the successive ranges, and the general character of the ground, are left too much to the reader's imagination; but, in deprecation of criticism and censure, it is pleaded that I was under the impression that this district had been traversed, and accurately surveyed and described, by a *savant* employed by the Argentine Government; and that I was deprived of the assistance of my compass, which had been presented to Foyel. The notes taken at the time were very scanty, and my recollections were confused, inasmuch as I was labouring under a constantly-recurring attack of sickness, which was only kept at bay by resolute endeavours not to give way; but which ren-

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dered observation and record, in addition to hunting and the usual toils of marching, impossible. It was the more needful for me to endeavour to keep up, as all were more or less ill, and becoming increasingly gloomy and dispirited. To add to the troubles which weighed down the Indians' spirits at this place, the doctor's horse fell while descending a precipitous rocky hill. The unfortunate physician was stunned, and very nearly crushed to death by the horse falling on him; great grief was universally expressed at this catastrophe, as no one was left to cure the invalids and contend with the malignant Gualichu, who, it was natural for the Indians to imagine, had laid a trap for his opponent, and upset the medicine man's steed in order to have the field clear for himself.

We encamped in a sort of morass, by the side of the hills overlooking the plain, and were woke at daylight by the chattering of a flock of blue and orange paroquets; these birds, which brought back old pleasant associations of the banks of the Parana, and almost seemed to be harbingers of civilised life, were numerous in this locality, though they were the first of the species that I had observed in the country.

The distant signal smoke was concluded to indicate the presence of Jackechan and the Pampa Indians under Teneforo, and all were in spirits at the prospect of obtaining news, and perhaps luxuries in the shape of flour, yerba, &c., from Patagones. The order was accordingly given to march, and a large answering signal fire kindled in some dry pasture bordering the hill side, a messenger being at the same time despatched to ascertain the news. After a rather long march over a barren plain strewn with angular masses of chalcedony and projecting rocks resembling alabaster, we arrived at a dreary encampment, sheltered under a bank, from which a spring gushed out, forming a refreshing rivulet.

The mutiny of my page had compelled me to enjoy the pleasure of driving my own cattle, following the track in

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advance of the other people; besides this, an attack of fever rendered me indisposed, and, indeed, incapable of hunting. While languidly jogging on in the centre of the circle which was made on both sides of the tracks, and anathematizing one of the horses who would every now and then endeavour to join the hunt on his own account, I observed an ostrich coming straight towards me: the sight was reviving, and leaving my horses to themselves, I galloped to the cover of a friendly bush, and when he was within a short distance dashed out, and discharging the bolas, had the satisfaction of seeing him turn a somersault and lie with outstretched wings stunned. An Indian riding up at the time claimed the customary division, and took charge of the bird, on which we regaled our friends at the close of the hunt. Many of the hunters came in empty-handed, or with only a skunk, of which there were numbers in this vicinity, hanging to their saddles. By this time the armadilloes had taken up their winter quarters under-ground, and only came out of their burrows on a remarkably sunny day.

At night we encamped under a barranca or steep rising to the eastward. On his arrival Hinchel informed me that we had passed the vein of ore previously spoken of, and the hot springs, the Indians having shortened the journey by deviating from the usual line of march.

The chasqui returned late at night with intelligence that the smoke had been caused by a party of Pampas Indians travelling to join Quintuhual, or, at any rate, in that direction, but whatever provisions or tobacco they had they kept to themselves, and had purposely avoided us. Jackechan and Teneforo had started for Valchita *en route* for Patagones, after waiting for our coming more than a month in Margenaho, the place appointed as a rendezvous. Whilst there they had received liquor and other luxuries from Patagones, but no disturbances had ensued, the only casualty being that a woman had been severely burned by falling into a fire whilst in a state of intoxication. All was reported to

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203 be peaceable at Patagones, and a rumour was current that Commandante Murga was about to give up his governorship. Casimiro, on receiving all this intelligence, immediately wished a despatch to be indited, although I pointed out to him that it would be better to wait until we had arrived at a nearer point; he was so urgent that on the following morning I composed an elaborate letter, detailing the union of the tribes, the precautions taken for protecting Patagones, and requesting a hundred mares for Casimiro and his people: when finished it was carefully wrapped up and stowed away in my baggage till wanted.

202 The talk then naturally turned on the subject of the choice of messengers to be despatched to Patagones on our arrival at Margensho. It had been previously arranged that I should be sent fully commissioned, as being better able to represent to the authorities what had been resolved on, as well as to impress upon them the immediate requirements of the Indians, and several others now volunteered to accompany me, and got quite merry at the thoughts of a drink. But we were still three marches distant from Margensho. The following
133 day we were again *en route*, traversing a succession of plains with rocky ridges cropping up at intervals, until we at length reached a grassy valley enclosed by steep walls of rocks sixty feet high; gravely perched on the summits of
[136] which several slate-coloured Chilian eagles were visible, their occupation being to prevent the excessive multiplication of little cavies. On the hill sides bordering this valley, our old friend the incense bush, which had for many marches back been very scarce, grew in luxuriant profusion. At this
[272] season it was covered with berries which, though uneatable, are used by the Indians mixed up with water as a drink; this infusion has a very sweet taste, but I should think must be very unwholesome. On arriving at the encamp-
165 ment, at the head of the valley, near some pools of standing water, we were apprised, by the lugubrious sounds of the women's monotonous chants, that the number of the children

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had been further diminished by several deaths. One of this day's victims to the epidemic being Algo, Tankelow's youngest daughter, the father was in great distress and anger, as he attributed the death not to the distemper, but to witchcraft. 165 [761]

The warm and tolerably fine weather experienced since our departure from Telck had been succeeded by a heavy, murky, still atmosphere, and the clouded sky promised a downfall of rain, which speedily came. The next day more children and the old deaf and dumb woman died; over her little moan was made, but the lamentations over the children were terrible to hear, and on all sides mares were slaughtered. The abundance of meat, and the general confusion, combined with the rain to defeat Casimiro's anxious desire to proceed. The accumulation of miseries had rendered all the Indians gloomy and ill-humoured; and since our departure from Geylum we had had ample experience of the wretched side of Pampa life. 132 165 152

This district is always dreaded by the Indians, who assert that they invariably are attacked by a similar sickness when in it, notwithstanding that some considered it to have been occasioned by poison or deleterious drugs administered by our late neighbours. The marches had therefore been forced and prolonged, and the increased fatigue had doubtless aided the distemper in its fatal effects. Nearly half the children and several of the elder people died during our progress to Margenaho, and the utter misery and discomfort cannot be described. The rain had continually drenched us; the women, distracted with their endeavours to soothe the sick children, and their grief over the dead, could not attend to their domestic duties; our mantles were unmended, and proved but a poor shelter from the rain, no small misery in this climate, and the arrangements of the toldos were utterly devoid of their customary care and comfort. The usual good temper and cheerfulness of all had fled, and grief, sickness, and angry suspicion cast a gloom over every countenance. 164 165 152

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152 One misery, starvation, had certainly been avoided by the abundance of horse-flesh, but it can easily be imagined that we could have borne hunger better. We had endured cold, and hunger, and fatigue, as well as danger, before, but nothing has left so indelible an impression of a thoroughly bad time as that march from Geylum to Margensho.

000 At last Casimiro issued orders to march, and with two or three more of us started in advance. While waiting under the shelter of a mass of rocks for the remainder to overtake us, I fell asleep, and on waking up found the rain pouring down in torrents, and the chief just directing Meña to return and see what the women were about. Our page arrived a little later to say that the Indians had refused to march, the occupants of our toldo alone being on their way to join us: these soon appeared, so we proceeded in the storm, having agreed that to return, after having once started, would be an ignominious proceeding.

133 We followed for some distance the valley, or rather the plain, into which it had opened out, and then ascended some abrupt rocky heights at its eastern extremity; crossing these hills, in the valleys or ravines of which incense bushes grew [137] almost like a forest, we halted for a time by the side of a rivulet flowing from a spring on the hill side.

133 After kindling a fire to warm our bodies, wet as we were 132 and chilled by the wind, which, originally west, now blew from the south with cutting violence, the sight of numerous guanaco on the heights above determined us to encircle a herd; we accordingly mounted the heights, and having completely failed in our attempt, descended to the other side. A large lagoon lay at our feet, and away to the east a succession of plains extended to the encampment called Margensho.

133 These plains were bounded for a short distance on the north side by a range of hills, which came to an abrupt termination at the end of the lagoon, on the south side by another range gradually sloping to the eastward, and on the

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western side by the rocky heights we were descending. The 133
view would have been enjoyable on a fine day, but in such a Patagonian tempest of rain and wind, landscapes were by no means appreciated. Near the lagoon was another herd of guanaco, some three thousand strong, who tempted us to a vain endeavour to encircle them, but they descried us before we could approach within a mile, and were soon lost to sight on the plains leading towards Margensho. Whilst riding down the edge of the hills Casimiro pointed out some [137]
thyme, a little of which we gathered to flavour our soup with in the evening. We then descended, and sheltered under the overhanging bank of a dry watercourse leading to the lagoon. The women and remainder of the cavalcade shortly arrived, and loading my page with firewood, to his intense disgust and the extreme delight of every one else, we proceeded a little farther to the south, where the pasture was good, and established ourselves for the night.

The following morning early we all started to hunt, and 132
were more successful than on the previous day, though the wind was blowing a fearful gale from the S.W., with occasional storms of sleet. Towards the afternoon, by which time, having finished our hunting, we were snug enough under the toldo, it rained hard, and with the rain the Indians commenced to arrive, till before dusk a town of toldos occupied the borders of the hills.

Casimiro this evening sent for volunteers to go in with 134
me as messengers or chasquis to Patagones, on our arrival at Margensho, now but one march distant. But of those previously so desirous to go on, not one appeared, nor would any one Indian consent to lend his horses for so long a journey. The chieftain was sadly put out, and cursed the caciquillos all round. He then tried to dissuade me from going myself, saying that it was a great distance, that the desert or travesia was a fearful place, that I should probably lose my horses, that many people had starved, at the same time wishing me to lend my horses to some other Indian.

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He narrated how he himself had occupied twelve days in crossing it, and had been obliged to abandon a horse and the saddle and gear of his remaining steed, and with difficulty, nearly starved, on foot, and driving his almost worn-out horse before him, had made his way to a station.

At the same time a young Indian started to cross the desert, but lost his way, and, quoth the cacique impressively, 'His bones are there now.'

One statement, that the chañals or white thorns grew higher than the horses' heads and tore the unlucky riders' mantles to pieces as they forced their way through them, my own after-experience fully verified. I, however, adhered firmly to my original intention of going, as agreed to by him, and conveying with my own hand the letter I had written: and it was finally settled that Meña, Nacho, and I should, on arriving at Margensho, start on our journey as chasquis. Casimiro's real motive for dissuading me was distrust, as we had on two or three occasions disagreed, and once nearly come to blows; he was therefore afraid that I should, on arriving at Patagones, work against his interests and give him a bad character. Meña, who had taken a great fancy to me, volunteered for the purpose of keeping an eye on Nacho, who was my 'bête noire,' and not to be trusted.

These arrangements having been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, we proceeded to the toldo of a friend and assisted at the ceremony performed by the doctor of curing a sick child, more especially concerning the part of painting with red ochre, killing and eating a white mare.

On this occasion the parents formally invited the principal chiefs and their relations and friends, and the ceremony commenced as follows. All the men were either sitting or standing in a circle, in the centre of which sat the mother holding her infant in her arms. The doctor then came in, and under his direction the mother plastered the infant from head to foot with white clay, the wizard meanwhile mutter-

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ing incantations; when this was completed, the doctor 755
disappeared for a minute or two, returning with an ornamented hide bag in his hand; this he opened, and produced from the bottom some charms carefully enveloped in rags, which he, after performing some mystic hocus-pocus, returned to the bag. He next took the baby from the mother, and patting it gently on the head, and muttering in a low tone, dipped its head into the bag two or three times, and then returned it to its mother. A white mare was brought up, and, after being daubed all over with hand-marks of red ochre, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten on the spot, the heart, liver, and lungs being hung on a lance, to the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Care was taken, as in other ceremonies, that no dogs approached to eat the offal, which was buried, the head and backbone being removed to a neighbouring hill.

On the 9th of May we started, arriving the same evening 133
at Margensho, which was, as the Indians had previously described it to me, a large grassy plain lying below a step or barranca, and watered by a brook running N.E. and S.W. During the hunt over the previously described plains there was nothing remarkable except the extreme scarcity of game, skunks alone being numerous; fortunately I killed a male guanaco, and as I had the previous day corrected my page he brought up the horses most carefully, so that all was in readiness for an early start. Before sundown the chiefs 622
were collected, and the contents of the letter[1] read to them; they all appeared pleased, and after adding a postscript setting forth the names and number of the chiefs who required rations I closed the correspondence.

Hinchel came and provided me with tobacco, asking as a favour that if any of his friends in the settlement should inquire if he got drunk when occasion offered in the pampas, I would bear witness to his sobriety; he also entreated that I would either return to the Indians or remain in Patagones until he arrived, which latter I promised to do.

[1] [Letter to be delivered to the Argentine authorities — Ed.]

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622 At the risk of repetition, it must be said this man was the best Tehuelche, excepting perhaps Wáki, I ever had anything to do with; he was frank, honest, generous, sober, and in every way fit for a chief; a ready and skilled workman in all Indian trades, from breaking a colt to constructing a saddle or silver necklace; his only vice being gambling, but for which last habit he would have been the richest and most powerful chief, as he was universally respected.

[431] Orkeke also sent for me, and put into my hand a packet of tobacco for the journey, which he assured me would be long, tedious, and dangerous. I promised to ask particularly for his ration, and if the Government would not grant it, to make him a present myself. He wished me to return, but I pointed out to him that for various reasons it would be better not, so we parted, agreeing to meet in Patagones.

202 It may be as well to mention that if the post of chasqui, or herald, as he may be styled, be an honourable one, for which as a rule only the near relatives of chiefs are employed, the duties are sufficiently hard. The chasqui is expected to ride like 'young Lochinvar,' as fast and as far each day as the horse will carry him; he must not turn aside or halt even for the purpose of hunting, and unless an ostrich or other game cross his path may have to go without supper after his day's fifty or sixty miles' journey, while his bed and bedding are the ground and mantle. Of course endurance, sobriety, and reliable steadiness of purpose are essential qualifications, especially if the distance to be travelled over be great. And Nacho had always approved himself an excellent chasqui, and was an unerring guide even across the trackless travesia.

When the chasqui falls in with other Indians on the march, or an encampment, he is ceremoniously received and honourably entertained, and it is usually expected that in case of need he will be supplied with fresh horses to prosecute his mission.

The following morning at daylight another consultation

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took place, and the letter had to be again produced, and another postscriptum added. I then took down in my note-book the immediate requirements of Casimiro and other friends, which, according to agreement, were to be sent back by Meña and Nacho, myself remaining in the settlement until the arrival of Casimiro, when we were to proceed together to Buenos Ayres either by land, *viâ* Bahia Blanca, or by steamer.

At about eight o'clock, when the rime of the frost was just cleared off the grass, we, after bidding adieu to all friends, caught our horses and started. I took with me only my suit of clothes in a bag, and the letters. Each of the party was provided with a piece of meat from the guanaco I had slain the previous day by way of provision, and with two horses apiece we were at length *en route*, the old women chanting melodiously to keep the devil out of our way. My page affected great distress at my departure, but as he had my remaining horses to take charge of, and a legacy of a mantle I had no particular use for, having worn it almost without interruption since leaving Santa Cruz, he was, in all probability, delighted to see, as he thought, the last of me as we disappeared over the ridge.

We travelled slowly for the first half hour, and had just released our spare horses from the lazos, which hitherto had restrained them from rejoining their fellows, when we heard a shout behind us, and an Indian appeared driving a troop of horses. He was from the encampment, and being a Pampa was *en route* to join his tribe, whom he expected to meet somewhere about Valchita, five days' journey on, and from whom we were to get fresh horses wherewith to cross the travesia to the settlements. This addition to our party was unexpected, but we considered the more the merrier, and three at any rate is an awkward number to travel sociably together. Putting our horses to a hand canter, we now regularly started, leaving care behind, and looking forward to bread, coffee, and other long-untasted good things. We

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484 passed the time in talking over what we would get, how we should be received, and in smoking and singing. Our route lay along the barranca, which changed as we proceeded in a N.E. direction, to higher rugged hills interspersed with sandy valleys covered with scrub and incense bushes.

By nightfall we had arrived at a pointed hill, under the brow of which we encamped. We had seen plenty of ostrich and guanaco, but had not delayed to hunt, only pausing to pick up an armadillo that happened to be basking in our road.

On dismounting we secured all the horses with lazos or manéos, as they might probably be inclined to stray away. After gathering a little firewood, kindling a fire, and discussing the armadillo and a small piece of meat each, we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and lay down to sleep, every now and again during the night getting up to have a look at the horses. The morning star was shining brightly above the horizon when we saddled up, and crossing the brow of the hill mounted to an adjoining pampa, where the rocky nature of the ground obliged our unshod horses to go at a foot pace. Added to this a bitter cold wind and small driving rain were not improving to the temper, until after an hour or two of difficult and slow travelling, the sun rose magnificently and dispelled the mists and drizzle, and re-
484 stored our cheerfulness. We at length descended into a
133 ravine leading to a series of small valleys, containing here and there ponds covered with teal and other water birds.
[136] We travelled at a gallop through the same description of country till five P.M., when, after passing a high barren plateau, similar to that encountered at starting, we suddenly came to an abrupt declivity, at the bottom of which, in a plain extending for about five miles, lay a large salina.

484 We descended where it was feasible, and after stopping to get a little salt, proceeded to encamp near a small spring of fresh water. About a mile to the eastward large herds of

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guanaco and several ostrich were visible in the plain, and 484
near our halting-place we found the tracks of a puma, for which we searched diligently, but without success.

After securing our horses, as on the previous night, we 135
dined, minus armadillo, off a piece of scraggy meat, and 484
turned in. The salt from the salina was of excellent quality; it was necessary to remove a little of the upper surface, which had slightly deteriorated by exposure to the atmosphere, and then we cut out cakes of salt like pieces of ice, which served for plates. It is a strange fact that both into this and other salinas small rivulets of fresh water flowed, fed by springs in the neighbouring hills.

The next morning (if it could be so called) at the same 484
hour we were in the saddle, and traversing the plain crossed some ridges of moderate height, and continued passing through a tract of country thickly wooded with incense and other bushes. About two P.M. we arrived at a rivulet of water, near which were marks of a recent encampment; after examining these, we came to the conclusion that a week had perhaps elapsed since the occupants had left. We travelled forward at our utmost speed over ground of much the same description, diversified now and again by ranges of low hills, putting up occasionally a partridge, of which birds we observed [134]
two different species, one crested, and nearly as large as a hen pheasant, and the other smaller than an English bird, and which took only short flights and then cowered—and were fortunate enough to kill a couple. The sun went down behind some hills, and still we found no suitable place to halt in; at last, however, we came to some ponds of water, where we all, being pretty well tired, dismounted, and tethering two of the horses allowed the remainder to go loose. We found the water brackish, though drinkable, but the animals would scarcely touch it, and wandered about, necessitating a watch on them all night; this was rather weary work, especially as a sharp frost came on, and with all our care, at starting-time two horses were missing. After a

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search of an hour they were found, having wandered in search of better water, and, wiser than ourselves, found out a spring about two miles to the east.

The sun was up before we got away, after warming and eating the last of our food, which we had cooked overnight it was dry and dusty, and all the washing in the world could not have got the grit out of it; however, we laughed over it, saying we would soon have a bottle of wine to wash away the dirt from our throats. One thing we congratulated ourselves on was being well provided with tobacco, and although we boasted no pipe, mine having been lost at a previous encampment, Casimiro's correspondence with Foyel and Cheoeque, which I had carefully kept, provided us with cigarette papers. We rode on accordingly, rejoicing, and passing out of this wooded country traversed a succession of high pampas, set with small blocks of granite exactly resembling paving-stones, and placed as thickly and regularly as if paviors had been at work. The appearance of a London street undergoing repair brought this singular formation vividly to my mind. These pampas terminated in waterworn cliffs thickly strewn with stones, and as our horses scrambled like cats up the slopes, their hoofs sent the stones clattering down, and they found it hard to keep their footing. At the foot of the cliffs were watered valleys, and whilst descending into one of these valleys I noticed for the first time the algarroba thorn, which was in fruit. There were two sorts, one with black fruit, which Nacho warned me not to touch, as it was poisonous, the other bearing yellow pods, which though somewhat dry, as the season was so advanced, we plucked and ate as we rode along, the taste proving something between tamarinds and peach.

Near a lagoon in one of these valleys we halted for a few minutes, and on pursuing our journey espied a horseman with a troop of led horses approaching from the opposite side. I had halted for a moment and saw my companions rein up, and racing up to know the cause, observed him. When within

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200 or 300 yards, all halted; and Nacho rode forward, and 57
ceremonious explanations ensued, followed by formal introductions. He was a Pampa Indian outward bound to join those mentioned as having passed us eastward of Margensho; he gave us news that Jackechan's, Teneforo's, and other Indians were in a place called Trinita, some four hours' gallop only distant. When he found that I was 'Anglish,' he spoke in high praise of my countrymen whom he had met in Rio Negro.

This man was a perfect picture; he was splendidly mounted, and had a troop of horses all as good as the one he bestrode. He was well dressed in ponchos and white drawers, and wore a silk handkerchief round his head. Over his saddle was a poncho containing, as we supposed, a store of yerba, flour, or other luxuries, and he had a bold, careless, good-humoured face, with restless eyes; altogether he gave one an idea of the imaginary generous bandits one reads of in novels, and to make the character complete it turned out afterwards that he had almost certainly stolen the horses from Trinita.

After five minutes' conversation, we started in opposite 58
directions, and our party pressed on at speed. From the steep hill above the valley we saw, to our joy, the smoke of hunting parties apparently not far off. However, it was four o'clock when we arrived in the vicinity of the fires in a green pastured valley. From one of the two toldos pitched there, a man emerged with a maté pot in his hand and a bombilla or reed used for imbibing maté, like straws for sherry cobblers, in his mouth. As these people proved not to be the Indians we wanted, after saluting him we galloped on, and crossing the valley, where we had to jump our horses over a brook, ascended the opposite hill. A new growth of 59
bush growing sixteen feet high, with long switches like osiers, forced itself unpleasantly on our attention, as, when riding fast, they sprang back into one's face in the most painfully annoying manner. On the hillside we overtook and passed

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464 a caravan of women travelling in the same direction as ourselves, and from the summit of the range saw in the valley below two different groups of thirty or forty toldos each, about half a mile apart. Galloping on we arrived, about
484 five P.M., at the nearest tolderia; but on inquiring for
576 Patricio, to whom we had been directed to go by Casimiro, found that he belonged to the others, to which we proceeded, and were duly received, our horses, &c., taken care of, and ourselves ushered with all ceremony into the presence of Patricio (a half-bred Pampa and Tehuelche). After the hour's etiquette of answering questions, we were each given one rib of a guanaco to eat. I was so hungry that I could have eaten a dozen at least, so, on the plea of washing, started off to look for Jackechan's toldo, which I shortly found, and was received with open arms by my friend and El Sourdo. After his 'missus' had given me some food, followed by the luxury of a maté with sugar, Jackechan related his proceedings subsequent to leaving our party.

203 After a few days' march in the direction of the Chupat, he came across some cattle, which were caught and killed, and then, whilst in the same spot, he despatched the messenger to Chupat with the letter, who returned in fifteen days with an answer, but without any stores.

The letter, carefully wrapped in a piece of old linen which had served as the envelope to my own epistle, was ceremoniously handed to me by the light of a blaze produced by some grease thrown upon the fire. I read and interpreted the contents to Jackechan. The writer—Mr. Hughes, if I recollect rightly—expressed his pleasure at hearing of my safety, but regretted his inability to forward any stores or clothing, as the supply in the colony was extremely scanty, owing to the non-arrival of the ship with Mr. Lewis Jones on board, which had been expected for some months. It need scarcely be said that I had been quite unaware of the privations endured by these unfortunate colonists, which the despatches of Commander Dennistoun have made known to

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the public during the preparation of these pages for the press, and to which reference will be made in the ensuing chapter. Jackechan, after the return of his messenger, proceeded to Margenabe, in the vicinity of which he met the parties under Tenefero, Patricio, Antonio, and other petty chiefs. These all united, and, sending into Patagones, obtained liquor and other stores, with which, as before mentioned they had a drink for ten days, but no quarrels or fights took place—a fact which redounds to the credit of the chiefs. After waiting a month for our party, they, owing to the scarcity of game, had come by easy stages to this place (Trinita). Jackechan then explained that the first tolderia were those of the Pampa Indians, under Tenefero and Champaye, the former being absent in Patagones, getting his rations of animals; his Indians are pure Pampas, and are often called Kewkinchen,* or armadillos, for some reason unknown to me. Some of them are in the service of the Argentine Government, and liable to be called upon by Linares, chief of the tame Indians. The remaining tolderia were those belonging to the Indians under Antonio and Patricio, who were composed of mixed Tehuelches and Pampas. The two encampments were situated about half a mile apart, separated by a winding stream, in some places concealed by most unusually high reeds. The position was entirely surrounded on the eastern, southern, and western sides by high rocky eminences; but to the north the valley apparently continued for some miles; its breadth was about three miles, and everywhere in the vicinity of the stream, which in some places had overflowed its banks and formed a marsh, the most luxuriant pasture was growing.

On returning to Patricio's tolderia, I formally asked for the necessary horses to prosecute our journey, but was refused on the grounds of his having none to spare; so we determined, as our horses showed symptoms of fatigue and one was lame, to give them one day's rest before proceeding. We passed

* Quirquincho.

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1579 the following day with our friends, and I made acquaintance with the petty chief Champayo, for whom I wrote a letter requesting a ration which was due to him. He was very civil, and presented an Indian to me named Luis Aguirre. This man had been brought up in Patagonia, whence he had received his name, his parents, I believe, having been killed. He was a very intelligent man, and had formerly been in the troop of Linares, but had left disgusted with the quarrelling and generally seditious state of those Indians, and taken to the Pampa, where he could live a free and happy life with his wife—at least so he affirmed.

After we had taken various siesta together, Champayo, on my mentioning the cause of our not proceeding that day, said, 'Your people shall not want for horses. I will supply them, and send Luis Aguirre in with you, and you can give him the answer about my ration.' I afterwards visited, at his own request, the cacique Antonio, for whom I also wrote a letter requesting that his ration should be sent to him at the Gamelin of those Blancos, as, owing to having lost his troop of horses in a storm, he could scarcely reach the Upper Gamelin. This was true, as at the first toldos we had visited in the neighbouring valley in Trinidad we had been informed of Antonio's loss, which was most probably a gain to our well-disposed bandit friend; but he had some enemies on the road to Patagones, which was the real reason of his not going as far as the Upper Gamelin.

After dinner, having asked me all about our proceedings, he commenced to give me advice as to what I should do on arriving at Patagones. He assured me that I should get employment readily, but especially cautioned me against drink, as the commandante disliked drunkards, and would not encourage them!

At a late hour I retired to Patricio's toldo, and rolled up in one corner. The next morning we were getting our horses ready for a start, when a boy galloped into camp with the news that people were coming in from Patagones.

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Everybody at once mounted and went to assert in the new 574
arrivals, who proved to be Tanofero himself and two of his
followers. They had brought a hundred head of horses and
cattle as far as Valchita, two days' journey from Trinita,
and had left them there, bringing on with them only some
liquor and yerba, which were at once unloaded. After I 576
had been presented to the newly-arrived chief, who hailed 273
me as a brother, and honoured me by a place among the
four caciques, who, pannikins in hand, walked round the
lenses in due performance of the ceremony of blessing the
liquor, already described, the drinking commenced.

When the people arrived the sun had just risen, and by 273
ten o'clock, most of the liquor, which consisted of some gin
and cuba, or white rum, had disappeared. Many of the
Indians were intoxicated, but all after a merry, good-
tempered fashion, which it had never been my luck to see
before. After imbibing freely enough with my numerous
friends—who, if it had been left to them, would have made
me as drunk as themselves—I mounted my horse, and after
a bathe amongst the tall reeds on the borders of the stream,
returned to the toldo, where I found the aged Patricio
singing to himself in a very maudlin state. By sundown all 274
were sober again, and Patricio imparted to me that he
intended himself to proceed with us, as well as some other
friends, his wife, and two or three other women, but that we
were to travel by the lower route, which, though longer, was
easier and safer than the shorter and upper road, where the
thorns grow higher and thicker: the latter is usually selected
in summer, when water is scarce, of which at this season
there was no danger.

The following morning, bidding adieu to Antonio, Cham-
payo, and Jackeshan—whose ration I had promised to pro-
cure—we started, eleven men and four women, taking plenty
of horses, besides a troop of mares for an Indian called
Hernandez, settled near the Guardia Chica, the mares being
intended for the purpose of treading out his crop of corn.

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We were soon out of sight of the encampment at Trinita, and proceeding at either a gallop or a trot through an undulating country, in which incense, algarroba, and other shrubs abounded, arrived near sunset at a stream, on the north side of which we encamped, amongst some thick bushes. A little distance to the west lay a large saline, from which, several miles across, the place takes its name, being called Hitchin-kaik, or Salt Hill. The stream flows round one side of the saline, and is, I think, the same that we subsequently crossed near Valchita. This time we travelled in great style, the women having brought with them stores of horse-meat and yerba.

After dinner we all sat round the fire and took a maté, and some of an Indian sweetmeat, a yellow paste made from the algarroba bean pounded and mixed with water. Old Patricio, who had turned over a new leaf, and grown quite frisky after the drink, said that I was a fortunate man, having a wife with me; alluding to one of the wives of the cacique El Ingles, who was travelling with us to rejoin her husband near Patagones.

The following morning at daylight we again started, and travelling over much the same description of country as on the previous day, arrived about midday at the place where Tesoforo had left his cattle. Here we dismounted and refreshed ourselves off the round berries about the size of a turnip-radish, the fruit of a small plant growing by the margin of the water, which had a very pleasant taste. The river here had a fringe of tussocks of pampa grass, under which we reclined and smoked.

The cattle were grouped about amongst these tussocks, and Golwin, Jackschan's son with the light hair, amused himself by vain attempts to count them. After half an hour's dawdling we proceeded, leaving behind one of Maña's horses which was done up, and, following more or less the line of the river, we arrived, about three P.M., at the encampment of Valchita. As it was early in the day, some of the party

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started to hunt, but returned empty-handed. We filled up 434
the skins and water-bottles, in anticipation of entering the 133
travesia the following day; and, after the usual meal and matè, sought out each his own particular nest in the pampa grass, and went to sleep without fear of the horses straying far, the pasture and water being both of the best quality. As it was in this encampment that, according to Casimiro, the defunct Mendoza had discovered gold, I prospected carefully for any signs, but only noticed that parts of the adjoining pampa were strewn, amongst other pebbles, with pieces of quartz. At the usual hour we started to commence the ascent to the travesia, or desert, which rose above us to the north, in a high plateau. On ascending a short distance, we observed on our left hand (to the westward) a [135]
salina of several leagues in length, which bordered the edge of the travesia in about an east or west direction. I am inclined to think that the river Valchita loses itself in this salina. This river is subject to great floods, evidences of which were visible in the drift weeds and rubbish clinging to the bushes and shrubs throughout the valley, evidently left there by the spring inundation. By a gradual ascent we at length reached the level of the plateau, and saw before us an interminable dreary expanse strewn with small shingle, and covered with shrubs varying from four to twelve feet, or even higher, and here and there small tufts of grass. No signs of life were visible. The sky was bright and clear, although clouds were gathering in the southern horizon, and the wind (it nearly always blows in Patagonia) was cutting. I remarked to Luis Aguirre that it would possibly 521
rain; his reply, 'I hope it will—it will be splendid, then all the lagoons will be full,' told of the danger of drought, but found no assent from me, having had enough of wet weather during the excursion to Las Manzanas. During the ride he told me that he knew the difference between the Catholic and Protestant religions, and of the two he preferred the latter; he also asked me if I had ever been to China, where

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521 the tea came from, and various other questions evincing a considerable amount of information; and wound up by proposing that I should set up a trading establishment near the Chupat; Jackechan—who, if any one can claim it, is the real lord of the soil—having volunteered to cede the ground to me. In the event of establishing a store in that neighbourhood, this astute Indian considered that all the Indian trade would be taken out of the hands of the people of Patagones, who notoriously used false weights, besides charging exorbitantly for all articles supplied to the Indians.

484 About two P.M., as the rough shingle had already begun
133 to tell on our horses' feet, a halting-place was found near a laguna containing rain-water of the colour of *café au lait*. The horses were for the present let loose, to pick up the best meal they could off the stunted grass near the borders of the lagoon. Before dark most of them were tethered, and a careful watch kept all night, lest they should return to Valchita in search of pasture and water. After a lengthened conversation by the fireside—in which I was informed that the track we were travelling was called Pigs' Road, from
[134] wild pigs, or perhaps peccaries, having been killed near one of the lagoons in the route—we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and sheltered ourselves like hedgehogs under the bushes, from time to time getting up to look round for the horses. Next day we rode over the same interminable
137 desert of stones, and bushes of the following descriptions: chañal or whitethorn; picayun, furnishing the best firewood; the osier-like switches before described; black bush, which is useless for burning, owing to the pestiferous smell it emits; algarroba, incense, which are, however, very scarce; and some others whose names I was unable to procure. The chañal is the only one that impedes the traveller's progress, as the thorns are large and sharp. In the other road (more to the west), which we had avoided, although the distance is shorter across the travesia, and therefore more used by the Tehuelches, who dread this crossing, especially in summer

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or for small parties, the chañal grows to the height of ten to fifteen feet, and, like the 'waitabit' thorns in Albania, renders fast riding impossible. 137

This day we were about to start hunting, when a demi-john of rum was discovered in a bush. This put an end to the sport, for, although it was hidden again in another place, enough was taken out to render most of the party talkative, a bottle or two also being reserved for discussion at the camp fire. 425

At four P.M. we encamped by the side of a lagoon similar to the previous one, and, our Valchita water being finished, diluted the rum with meal and water about the consistency of Spanish chocolate. I forgot to state that in the excitement of the 'find' the horses were not looked after, and on mustering to proceed, one of Nacho's had disappeared, and, although carefully searched for, he was not found again. 454

The next day, despite the dissipations over night, we were in the saddle at daybreak, and had hardly traversed a league of this wearisome waste when we came suddenly upon seven wild horses. An effort made to surround them failed, owing to the difficult nature of the ground; but the failure was to me fully made up by the magnificent spectacle of these splendid creatures careering in their untamed strength and beauty across the plain. 136 454

We subsequently hunted and killed guanaco and ostrich, and also saw some hares and partridges. At about ten A.M. our eyes were gladdened by the sight of the sea, and presently the level plain rose into more undulating country, and from the crests of the elevations at times a full view of the inlet called the Laco de San Antonio presented itself. 133 454

Smoke was visible ahead, and we accordingly pushed on, and made a long and rapid march, the surface being here altogether free from the small stones which had previously caused so much damage to the horses' feet. That night we halted, as usual, by the side of a lagoon, the water of which was not more than two inches deep.

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312 Patricio during this day's journey pointed out to me a dry lagoon near which efforts had been made to sink a well for obtaining a permanent supply of water, but, although the shaft was of some depth, none had been reached, and the work had been given up in despair. It is a mystery even to the Indians where the guanacos, wild horses, puma, and other game that exist in this desert, find water, as these lagoons, depending entirely on the rainfall for a supply of water, must inevitably, in this country where little rain falls, be dry for many months in the year. No doubt springs exist in hitherto undiscovered places.

133 Before leaving the travesia, a few remarks, which cannot claim to be called a description, may be interesting.

This desert consists of a plateau about three hundred feet above the level of the valley of the Rio Negro, stretching to the southward more than thirty leagues to Valchita. Of its extent westward I have no precise information; but it narrows considerably in the interior, forming an irregular triangle, with its base on the coast, and its apex near the junction of the Rio Limay and the northern streams.

The soil is either clay or sand and gravel, with small stones strewn thickly over the surface; while the only vegetation met with consists of the bushes already mentioned, *and scanty tufts of coarse grass.*

It is much dreaded by travellers, and, after traversing it, I can well believe the stories current of people having perished on the passage; the track once lost would be very difficult to regain; while the want of water in the summer, and the danger of horses straying and leaving the traveller helpless, are both probable risks. With all our watchfulness, two horses strayed away and were lost. In the winter there is no fear of want of water; but the fatigue of travelling is at all times great, and the horses are almost worn out by the time that the desert is passed. It serves, therefore, as a barrier, protecting Patagones from all dangers of attack by the Indians from the south, who in their forays must descend

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the river. A large troop of horses can scarcely find pasture, 133
and after the rapid journey would not be in a condition for their riders to attack with success, if opposed vigorously by people able to defend themselves.

This district[1] appeared to form a distinct and well-defined 136
limit between the habitats of various animals; as, for instance, the Rhea Darwinii, or smaller ostrich of Patagonia, and the Rhea Americana. The latter, according to my experience, is never found to the south of it, and I am at a loss to understand how Mr. Cunningham could have met with any specimens of it, as he seems to imply.*

The Tehuelches often described the larger Rhea as found north of the travesia, and as distinct from that hunted in their country. They also particularly insisted on the fact that the Gama, or deer—abundant in the Rio Negro valley and the country north of it—is never met with south of the travesia. The same remark is true of the Viscacha and the Aguarra (Lupus manatus), though the latter is probably to be met with in the spurs of the Cordillera.

Patagonia may thus be properly considered as cut off by the Rio Negro and the line of the Cordillera, and possessing its own races and a separate Fauna and Flora.

It may be added that only one species of armadillo, the Quirquincho (Dasypus minutus, Gay), occurs within these limits. The algarrobs and other bushes, though found in 137
and near the borders of the travesia, do not occur south of its immediate vicinity.

It was a joyful hour for all when, on the fourth day, after 454
galloping from dawn till ten o'clock, we at length came in sight of the valley, still three miles distant, where large [137]
willows—which, by the way, are unknown in Patagonia, save a few at Chupat, probably introduced by the settlers—marked the winding course of the Rio Negro. We halted at the head of an abra, or lateral opening which ran up [138]
into the barranca from the main valley, and saw in the

* 'Natural History of the Straits of Magellan,' p. 134.

[1] [i.e. the travesia, or desert — Analyst]

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distance a solitary rancho, the first civilised dwelling beheld since my departure from Santa Cruz.

After a rest, to enable all to come up, some having lagged behind perforce, their horses being hardly able to limp along, we made our way down the slope, and at length reached the river, in which our thirsty steeds soon drank their fill.

The rancho, which belonged to Hernandez, for whom the convoy of mares was intended, was then visited. The owner was absent but his Indian wife did the honours, at least as far as serving us with matè, for no food was produced, though all were dreadfully hungry. I wished to stop and don what an American would call my citizen's clothes, thinking that we should immediately proceed to the Guardia I had heard so much of from Luiz Aguirre; but he told me not to be in a hurry, so in my dirty mantle I remained for the present.

After half an hour's delay we left the rancho and followed the south bank of the river, which here was a swift stream 200 yards wide, passing the farm of Hernandez, where a man was occupied in ploughing, and mares and cattle were grazing.
[33] The river here made a bend towards the southern barranca, which so nearly abutted on it as to compel us to ride close along the bank. Small partridges got up frequently, and I made a mental resolution to come and have a day's shooting
[34] at a future period in the magnificent willows bordering the river; blue pigeons were cooing in the trees; and through an opening we caught a glimpse, on the opposite bank, of a well-built, comfortable-looking estancia in the foreground of a wide extent of rich flat land, with corral, galpones, and the usual surroundings, which Luiz Aguirre informed me belonged to Mr. Kincaid. The feeling of having safely emerged from the desert into the settlements put us, though very hungry, into the best of spirits; and after a cheerful
133 half-hour's ride, passing on our road a tumbledown, unused rancho, we arrived at Sauce Blanco, or 'White Willow;'

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there the river, sweeping to the northern side, leaves a wide rincon, or expanse of rich alluvial ground. This is considered as belonging to the Indians, some of whom are always to be found encamped near the rancho, which belonged to the cacique El Ingles, and three toldos were pitched in its vicinity.

We presented to the chief his wife, whom we had brought with us, and I was warmly welcomed as a relative, the cacique being a nephew of Quintuhual. This chief derives his name from his alleged relationship to some one or other of the officers of Fitzroy's surveying expedition, so that I was doubly welcome in my English and Indian character. Here we camped amongst the pajas, or pampa grass, and, having been presented with a mare and some pumpkins, soon had a good fire blazing and meat and pumpkins cooking; these latter being dressed by cutting them in halves, taking out the seeds, and filling the interior with hot ashes, and then placing them on the ashes, the result being, at all events as it seemed then to my taste, delicious. I wished to proceed direct to the Guardia, but as Patricio and the others put it off till the morrow, in my ignorance of the road and usages of the place, I was forced to 'do at Rome as Rome does.'

A good wash in the river was one of the first things indulged in, and the enjoyment of getting rid of several days' accumulation of the dust and mud of the travesia can be better imagined than described.

The following morning, before daylight, we all bathed in the river, and, after taking maté with the cacique El Ingles, and a warm by the fireside after sleeping in the frosty night air, we prepared to visit the Guardia. Casting off the Indian mantle, I assumed the usual dress of an Englishman of the period, shooting-coat, &c.; and having been provided with fresh horses by our friend, half an hour's gallop brought us to the north bank, opposite the Guardia—not, however, without misadventure, for as we made our way along the narrow,

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uneven horse-path, full of ruts, and hemmed in by pampa grass, Luiz Aguirre's horse stumbled and threw him, rolling over him and crushing his revolver into his ribs.

The mean appearance of the much-talked-of Guardia at once dispelled the ideas of it derived from the imaginative descriptions of the Indians, but some previous experience of Spanish frontier towns saved me from disappointment. The settlement consists of a small fort mounted with one gun, a cuartel or barracks, and a few houses, one or two built of brick and the others of adobe, clustering round the fort. Almost, if not quite all, of these are 'pulperias,' or grog-shops and stores, intended for trade with the Indians, for whose transport a launch is kept. The usual object first seen in frontier towns—an unfinished church—is here conspicuous by its absence, no provision for spiritual wants being made in the Guardia. After about half an hour's delay on the bank, a bustle on the other side was observed, caused by getting ready a large launch, which shortly crossed to our side; and having secured our horses with lazos and maneos, we jumped in, and I was greeted by a non-commissioned officer, who congratulated me on my arrival, stating that the Commandante, Señor Murga, had been expecting me for some months. We crossed over in great pomp, a soldier playing the cornet in the bows of the boat; and, landing, we proceeded to a store kept by a man named Don Fermin, where we were all ushered into a room behind the shop, and the Indians exposed their skins and plumes for trade. My friend the non-commissioned officer had left me, as I declined to surrender my letters to any one but the Commandante in person, and he was at the time at Patagones, distant eighteen leagues from this Guardia. Meanwhile I watched the trade going on between Don Fermin and the Indians.

Now and again people came and contemplated us, as if we were some strange sort of wild animals; but as I was out of the trading, no one bid the stranger welcome, and I formed a bad idea of the politeness of the inhabitants, though per-

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haps my shaggy hair and dress, not altogether of the neatest, may have been against me.

The Indians were soon in full enjoyment of some grog and biscuits, which they naturally asked me to share. After a bite and a sup, finding the proceedings slow, I left the room, and shortly after met Mr. Alexander Fraser and Mr. Grenfell, the owners of an estancia a few miles lower down the river; and after introducing myself, was most kindly received, and supplied with cash, a civilised medium of which I had not a son to enable me to gratify the desire of treating my Indian friends to a bottle or two of wine and spirits and a few loaves of bread.

Mr. Fraser hospitably pressed me to come on to his establishment at once, but being desirous of handing the letters to the Commandante without delay, I returned across the river with the Indians.

A foretaste of Rio Negro manners was given us at the other side, as one of the horses, saddle, lazo and all, was missing—stolen by some of the civilised inhabitants. The horse belonged to El Ingles, and had been lent to Meña to go down from the encampment to the Guardia; the lazo belonged to me.

At the camp most of the people got more or less drunk, and Nacho received a richly-deserved thrashing for being pugnacious, after which he was lashed down, and left to cool in the frost for an hour.

In the morning I started for Patagones, accompanied by El Ingles and another Indian; but as our horses proved to be too tired to proceed into Patagones, we stopped for the night in a toldo at San Xavier, the head-quarters of Linares and his tame Indians.

I took up my quarters at the toldo of one Chaloupe, and after supper, being desirous of communicating the political arrangements to the chief, proceeded on horseback behind another horseman, who proved to be a brother of Ronque Pinto, to the chief's residence, a long, low house.

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574 After a little delay I was ushered into the Sala, where the two wives of the chief were sitting sewing. The usual matè was served, and I waited long in vain for the chief, who was away collecting his followers for an intended pursuit of some of Calfieura's Indians, who had recently driven off cattle from the valley.

177 At last I bade good-night to my fair hostesses, and summoning my companion, who had been taking matè in the kitchen, set out to return. We had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards, when the tramp of approaching horsemen was heard, and my companion enjoined strict silence, for fear of 'accidents,' and reined up our steeds under the shadow of some trees till we heard the people pass. When their voices had died away in the distance, we proceeded, and resumed our conversation, in the course of which he informed me that it was unsafe to meet people at night in this vicinity unless when well armed. I rather opened my eyes at this, and moralised considerably on the benefits conferred by civilisation on Indian races. At Chaloupe's toldo I found Antonio
574 Linares, brother of the chief, who had brought with him a bottle of brandy, over a glass of which I told him my business, which he promised to forward, and after a nightcap he left in search of more boon-companions. This young fellow
[241] was very well dressed in cloth ponchos and chiripas, leather boots and clean linen, and wore a revolver in his belt. He playfully informed me that he had been in search of some one he had quarrelled with all the afternoon, and would have shot him if he had found him.

574 Mrs. Chaloupe made me up a luxurious bed with ponchos and my own saddle gear, and indeed all the inmates of the toldo showed me the greatest civility.

577 At an early hour in the morning I started on my now jaded horse in the hopes of seeing Linares, but on arriving at his house was informed that he had already left for Carmen, to have an interview with the Commandante, Señor Murga.

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Refusing the proffered maté, I hastened on, and speedily overtook him taking a stirrup-cup at a friend's house. After introducing myself, and joining in a social glass, I was glad to avail myself of his companionship, as our routes lay in the same direction, and transact my business on the road.

An hour's ride brought us in sight of Patagones, at which point I diverged from my companion to the chacra or farm of my expected host Don Pablo Piedra Buena, situated on the river bank. Half an hour's ride brought me to the house, but finding no one at home, with the exception of a big bull-dog, I soon started in search, and shortly came on two men occupied in ploughing. After the usual salutations, I inquired for Don Pablo, and was very civilly answered that he was shortly expected at the farm, but that if I went straight to Patagones I should probably meet him on the way. Accordingly, being very desirous of some breakfast, I spurred my horse into a gallop, and rode towards the town. Its aspect, as viewed from a distance, although it appeared rather irregular, was tolerably imposing; the fort and buildings on the northern bank, which are situated on a rise, showing out prominently, whilst on the southern shore the cathedral (unfinished of course) and English mission station were the most noticeable buildings. After making a slight *détour* through ignorance of the track, I arrived at the immediate vicinity of the southern suburb, which, like all Spanish settlements, new or old, failed to bear a close inspection.

An extensive mud-hole, which a fall of rain would probably render impassable, bordered the outskirts, which, when reached, were found to be plentifully strewn with offal, heaps of brick, and other *débris*, making it incumbent carefully to pick one's way along the paths.

As I had heard that it was possible the Commandante would come over to the south side to arrange about a race, I visited a pulperia, indicated as a likely place to learn his whereabouts, where I found Linares and his capitanejo

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(adjutant) taking a glass of brandy, and was introduced by them to the proprietor, Don José Real, who offered his services, and informed me that Commandante Murga was expected in about half an hour. I accordingly proceeded to the mission station, where, having introduced myself to Dr. Humble, I left my now tired horse in his quinta, and after a short rest, returned to José Real's, and found the Commandante Murga, to whom I presented the letter from Casimiro and my own letter of introduction.

At first sight I was not prepossessed in favour of Señor Murga; he was about the middle height, dressed in Garibaldi shirt, uniform trousers and boots, and casquette with the lace bands denoting the rank of colonel. He disposed of my business by saying that he would attend to it 'mañana,' to-morrow, which is the answer to everything in the provinces of La Plata, and evidently dismissing the subject from his mind, resumed an argument with Don José about a race-horse.

This Colonel Murga is addicted to field-sports of every description, is a good rider, in fact a perfect gaucho, and rarely misses a cockfight on Sunday after mass.

Somewhat disgusted with my reception, I proceeded to the boatman's house with the intention of crossing the river to the north side, and knocking at the door asked in Spanish for Solomon. It was opened by a well-dressed woman, and inside I perceived a broad-shouldered, well-built man at his breakfast. I was about to retire with apologies, when he recognised me for an Englishman, and guessing who I was, immediately dragged me in and seated me at the table, whilst the good wife cut slices of bread and butter and brewed more tea. I was considerably hungry, as the Americans say, and enjoyed the bread and butter and tea as I never enjoyed a meal anywhere else. The kind, honest welcome of this Welsh family will always remain as a pleasant remembrance to me of Patagones.

Leaving the house with Solomon, we met Don Pablo, who

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was equally hearty in his welcome, and we proceeded across in his company to the northern shore, where my friend placed his house at my disposal, and I took up my quarters with him; and after the necessary ablutions, and the reduction of a twelvemonth's growth of hair to a decent length, got into a new suit of clothes which were brought from Señor Aguirre's store, and felt that I was a civilised Cristiano once more.

That afternoon I was introduced by Don Pablo to several of his relations, who were all most kind and amiable, and their agreeable society dispelled the thoughts which I had entertained of returning to the Indians; instead of which I now determined to send Meña and Nacho out with the answers to the letters and some stores, and wait in Patagones until the arrival of the rest, employing the interval in reconnoitring the place and studying its chances in the future.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE RIO NEGRO SETTLEMENTS.

Patagones, or Carmen Old Town—The Fort and Buildings—The Southern Town—The English Mission—Elements of the Population—The Negroes—The Convicts—Lawless State of Society—The Cemetery—Early History of the Colony—A Successful Stratagem—Villarino's Ascent of the River—Expedition of Rosas—The Island of Choelechel—La Guardia Chica—Estancia of Messrs. Kinnaird—Ancient Indian Graves—Flint Weapons—The Shepherd and Pumas—Estancia San André—The Indians and the Colonists—Calfoura's Raid—Indian Method of Attack—The Tzanz Indians—View of the Valley—Trade of Patagones—Fertility of the Soil—Rio Negro Wine—The Sportsman—Advice to Emigrants—Interview with Colonel Murga—The Government Grants to Chiefs—Cacique again—The Tehuelches in Town—Farewell—The Welsh Utopia—Social Life at Patagones—The Steamer at Last—Aground—The Pilot—Pat Sweeny—Adieu to Patagonia.

AS it did not at the time occur to me that the rising settlements of the Rio Negro could have escaped being fully described already, I must candidly confess that the duty of keeping a diary was neglected during my stay; and recollections alone have furnished the materials for what has been peremptorily urged on me as a necessary supplement to my travels—a description of Patagones. This name, which seems intended to designate the future capital of Patagonia, has completely usurped the place of the original title El Carmen, conferred on this settlement in honour of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, under whose patronage it was placed.

The modern town, situated on a bend of the Rio Negro,

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about eighteen miles from the sea, consists of two parts separated by the river, here about 450 yards wide: the older and most important on the northern bank, where the authorities and principal people reside, and a new suburb on the southern bank, known as El Merced, which, though of recent growth, threatens to eventually rival the northern portion. The means of communication between the two is supplied by ferry-boats, which are procurable at almost all hours.

On the northern beach a wooden pier has been erected, opposite his store, by Señor Aguirre, the grand capitalist, banker, and factotum of the place, to allow the steamer to unload with greater facility. It is probable that the northern side will continue to preserve its importance for some time to come, owing to the want of equal facilities for landing goods on the other side, where at low tide an extensive mud-bank is exposed, which has to be passed to reach the shore.

The position selected for Carmen by the founder combined security with easy access to the river. The barranca at this spot advances as it were to meet the river bend, and leaving but a narrow intervening space. A rather steep hill rises to a plateau, which again to the north, or rear of the town, falls by a step to the level of the pampa. The crest is crowned by the fort, and up the declivity climbs the town, laid out with scrupulous adherence to the prescribed pattern, the regularity of its streets and cuadras not being, however, very perceptible to a stranger, owing to the formation of the ground. Next to the fort, the most prominent buildings are the Commandante's house, a pretentious red brick building, and the old church of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, an insignificant edifice, both situated a little below the crest of the hill, and under the wings, as it were, of the fort.

The fort itself, crowning the crest of the hill, or barranca, is of imposing appearance when viewed at a distance, but a closer inspection dispels the illusion, and reveals its utter uselessness for defensive purposes. The walls are in wretched

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Now repair, and the whole edifice is so decayed that when one of the American gunboats stationed in the Rio de la Plata visited the place some four years ago, and duly saluted the Argentine colours, the reverberation of the discharge of her big gun shook down a portion of the wall fronting the river! The armament consists of a few field-pieces of small calibre mounted *en barbette*, and of very little use, as a single well-directed shell would demolish the whole structure; but if advantage were taken of the position for the construction of a substantial battery mounted with modern artillery, the approaches to the town from all sides would be thoroughly commanded and easily defended.

The Plaza or square lies immediately behind the fort, which forms one side, and some comfortable houses are situated in it, several of which, however, were only in course of construction. The condition of the streets is very bad, especially those descending the hill to the river-bank; in some places the pedestrian sinks ankle-deep in mud, and in others stumbles over rugged masses of sandstone. The pleasantest part of the town is the street running from the pier and store inland round the base of the hill: here a considerable track of lowland, stretching from the rear of the houses on the eastern side to the river, is laid out in gardens, or quintas, full of all kinds of fruit trees, backed by a row of tall poplars fringing the watercside.

One of these houses was the hospitable abode of my esteemed friend Don Pablo Pedro Bueno. It was a long low house, built of sun-dried bricks and whitewashed. We occupied one end, consisting of three rooms, the next part being occupied by Don Ramirez, captain of the steam transport Chacabuco (at anchor within hail, off the Quinta), and his wife. The remainder was tenanted by Don Domingo, an Italian, as a restaurant and hotel. Besides Don Domingo's hostelry, the town boasted another hotel, the property of Señor Aguirre, situated close to his store and pier, a fine well-built stone house, the only one of that material I ob-

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served in Patagonea, almost all the other edifices being of brick, except in the Negro quarter of the town, where they were simple adobe houses. Whatever their material, many of the buildings in all parts of the town were, like the fort, in a most tumbledown condition, and a freer use of whitewash would, if the inhabitants only knew it, cover a multitude of sins, both against external decency and internal cleanliness.

On the southern shore a considerable track of lowland extends from the river, and is liable to be overflowed at high spring tides. This is devoted to the cultivation of wheat, ditches being cut to afford imperfect drainage; across these flats, a causeway—the construction of which is chiefly due to the exertions of my friend the Welsh boatman Solomon—leads to the new town of El Merced, built on the higher ground, beyond the reach of floods. This, too, is laid out on the universal plan, and judging from the piles of bricks and the numerous sites marked out for future houses, is rapidly growing in size and importance. The roads, however, were at the time of my visit as execrable as on the north side, and the outskirts were offensive with offal and rubbish, while the pantano or mud-hole seemed to present an impassable barrier to friend or foe. The most noticeable buildings were—first, the new Church of Señora del Merced, in the Plaza, which, with its two towers, quite threw into the shade its older rival del Carmen, on the northern side; and next the English Mission Station, a considerable building occupying two sides of a square, one wing containing the room used as a chapel, whilst the other constituted the residence and dispensary of the missionary, Rev. Dr. Humble. This gentleman, whose hospitality I frequently enjoyed, combined in his own person the functions of doctor and clergyman. As regards the mission, the converts did not appear to be numerous; indeed an Indian girl, who acted as servant and nurse, seemed to be the only specimen. The whole establishment was scrupulously neat and clean, and afforded

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an agreeable contrast to the surrounding buildings. In front a considerable track of ground extended to the river bank, part of which constituted a pleasant garden, or quinta, the remainder being used for grazing the horses of the establishment, whilst a ditch cut at the lower end afforded a harbour for the medical missionary's boat.

Dr. Humble formerly had a school for children, but it was given up, I believe, on account of the opposition raised by the Padre. The church was generally pretty full on Sundays, when the British flag is hoisted to denote the hour of prayer; and as half the service was conducted in Spanish, a good sprinkling of the native inhabitants was generally present—some perhaps with a view to obtain advice from the pastor in his medical capacity, in which his skill and kindness made him deservedly popular.

According to Sir Woodbine Parish, the population of Patagones in 1833 amounted to no more than 800: although no statistical means of accurate information were at my disposal, I should be inclined to estimate the present number of inhabitants at not less than 2,000, and they may exceed that number.

They are divided into four very distinctly-defined classes:—1st, The descendants of the original and early Spanish settlers; 2dly, The more recently foreign immigrants; 3dly, The negroes; and 4thly, The convicts sent hither from the Argentine Republic. The descendants of the original settlers, who for some unknown reason are styled by their townsmen 'Malagueños,' both in name and character manifest their nominal descent from the sturdy Gallegos, or settlers from Galicia. Closely united by intermarriage, they form, as it were, one family, almost every member of which is either a Cuapo or a Real. Although hitherto jealously exclusive as regards any admixture of their 'sangre azul' by alliance with the foreigners—except perhaps Englishmen—the men are remarkable for their hospitable kindness and courtesy, whilst the ladies would vie with

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those of any part of Old Spain or the Argentine provinces in grace of manners or beauty. One noticeable feature of their character was that both men and women manifested a far more punctilious respect for religion than I had ever observed in other Catholic countries. Every one made it a point of being present at mass whenever it was celebrated. I was among the guests when Don Benito Crespo was entertaining a party at dinner, given to celebrate his daughter's birthday, which happened to fall during the period of the novena in honour of Santa Rosa, and when the bell sounded for vespers everybody rose from table and hurried off to the church.

The second part of the population—the foreigners—present a motley group of people of all nations, but the majority are Italians and Basque Spaniards. There are a few French, English, Welsh, Swiss, and Germans.

The negroes are the descendants of an importation of slaves, introduced when the slave trade was legal, by the Governor, a Frenchman named Viba, Casimiro's patron, who appears to have entertained an idea of employing them to cultivate the public lands. They all live together in one quarter of the town—excepting, of course, those who go out as servants—and keep up many old traditions and customs. They are called by the Gauchos 'Mandoquis,' which may be a corruption of Mandingo, and are a fine hard-working race, whose industrious habits and general character differ widely from the debased type of the negroes in the Brazils. Their exact numbers I am ignorant of, but was informed that they were once very much more numerous, their rapid decrease being caused by their being drawn as soldiers, and the ravages of the universal scourge of smallpox.

Lastly comes the convict element. Carmen at an early period of its history, was made a 'presidio,' or frontier penal settlement, in this respect resembling Punta Arenas; but the strict discipline of the Chilian colony is altogether wanting in Patagonia. There is a constant importation to the latter place of deserters from the army, robbers, and felons of

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[illegible] every description, sent down from Buenos Ayres. These men are, on their arrival, either enlisted as soldiers, or turned loose on society, and allowed to work where and how they please, or otherwise obtain a livelihood. They cannot, it is true, escape, as there is no chance of getting away by sea, and the almost certain danger of death or captivity amongst the Pampa Indians is a sufficient safeguard against their betaking themselves to the interior; but beyond this there is no restraint exercised. Horse-stealing is, in the event of any animal being left unwatched, a moral certainty, and robberies of all kinds are frequent, and go almost unpunished; while murder, in the rare cases in which the criminals are detected, simply involves being sent back to Buenos Ayres for a trial, which results in a sentence of transportation back to the Rio Negro. One man named Ruiz was pointed out as having been four times backward and forward to and from Buenos Ayres for murders committed: this man openly boasted that whenever he wanted a trip he had to kill a man. Another man, who had robbed the Bishop of Buenos Ayres of a jewelled clock, by presentation of a forged order, filled the position of billiard marker at the 'crish, and was 'nelush on us rather a dover fellow. The Commandante's orderly was also a man sent down for homicide. The state of society when these ruffians—every one of whom carries a knife, which is used on the slightest occasion—are allowed thus to remain loose, may be better imagined than described.

My friend Don Pablo was attacked one evening close to his house, but fortunately escaped unhurt. Murder is of weekly occurrence, and it is necessary for every one to carry some weapon of self-defence, while few people think of leaving the town without a revolver.

In the utter absence of legal protection, a project was mooted among some of the foreigners to establish a vigilance committee on the simple principle of mutual protection and agreement to avenge any injury to one of the society. As

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Sir Lucius consoled his friend by the remark that there is 'snug lying in the abbey,' the unprotected inhabitants of Patagones can pride themselves on their possessing an excellent new cemetery, situated to the north, about half a mile outside the town, which is surrounded by a brick wall, with iron gates, and kept in a neat and orderly condition. A little east of it, nearer the town, lies the old cemetery, the neglected state of which, when I visited it, offered a melancholy contrast: the mud wall was breached in many places; coffins appeared protruding from the sand, and in some cases were actually uncovered; skulls and bones lay exposed to view; and, as a climax, a cat jumped out of one coffin in which she had taken up her abode. I was extremely surprised at such want of respect being shown by the residents to the bones of their departed ancestors, and remarked on it to my companion, who shrugged his shoulders and muttered something which sounded like the inevitable 'Mañana.'

The most interesting relics of the first founders of the colony are a number of caves, or dwellings, excavated in the sandstone cliff, four miles below the town; they contain three or four chambers, leading into each other, and from eight to ten feet square. In one I remarked a sort of trough, hollowed out in the sandstone, which more resembled a manger than anything else. Tradition narrates that these were used as dwellings by the first settlers, or perhaps as hiding-places for themselves, or for their cattle, in times of war with the Indians.

Under the Spanish dominion the colony made but slow progress, notwithstanding the abandonment of all other attempted settlements on the Patagonian coast, which left the entire advantages to be derived from the valuable whale and seal fisheries in the hands of the people of Carmen; their inertness allowed this mine of wealth to remain unworked, and it fell into the hands of English and American fishermen, who worked them till a recent period. The

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Argentine Government has asserted its claim, and granted a lease of the fisheries to Don Luiz Buena, with authority to warn off all intruders; but the fisheries do not, I fear, produce the profit deserved by his energy. The Carmen settlers alternately traded with, and were plundered by, the Indians, preferring the profits of this doubtful commerce to the dangerous, though profitable, sealing and whaling. That the Indians' hostility had something to do with the concentration of the Spanish forces at the Rio Negro appears from a fact which has been studiously omitted from the Spanish records. The Indians preserve an accurate tradition to the effect that the first colonists at Port Desire aroused the anger of the natives, who made a successful attack; the colonists retreated into the church, where every soul perished at the hands of the natives. The buildings and fruit-trees still existing are the only monuments of the destruction of this colony.

From the time that the South American colonies asserted their independence, Patagones shared in the consequent increase of population and development of trade, as already pointed out. Since Sir W. Parish wrote, the population has largely increased and the value of property risen; and although the 'old inhabitants' complained to me of the want of progress, the growing demand and price given for land and houses at that time, compared with former years, proved the contrary. One item of its history must not be omitted. During the war between the Brazilians and the Argentine Confederation, the inhabitants of Patagones distinguished themselves by defeating and capturing a Brazilian expedition sent to endeavour to reduce the place. The story was told me as follows. A strong force of the Brazilians landed near the sea-coast, and marched overland towards Carmen, halting about a league north of the town. The garrison, numbering about fifty regulars and some volunteers, sallied out, equipped with a large assortment of coloured ponchos. Taking up a position behind a hill which concealed them from the enemy, who

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were ignorant of their real strength, the cunning men of Carmen then displayed themselves as if for a reconnaissance, and retreated, but only to change their ponchos and reappear as a fresh detachment; the enemy was thus led by these repeated feints and transformations to considerably multiply the real numbers of the Argentine troops, and hesitate to attack so seemingly large a force. After nightfall the herbage in the neighbourhood of the bivouac of the invading army was set on fire. Bewildered by the smoke, the Brazilians retreated, but were encountered by other fires in their rear, and, seeing themselves apparently surrounded and opposed by superior numbers, their leader capitulated. The story is substantiated by the existence of the wreck of a Brazilian man-of-war, still visible in the river.

The fertile valley of the Rio Negro must needs be described in order to convey a proper idea of the resources of Patagonea as a colony. By far the greater extent of this valley is as uncultivated as when it was first explored by Don Basilio Villarino, who, under the orders of Viedma, ascended the river in order to ascertain its source, and whose diary is extant in the collection of De Angelis, a valuable abstract of it having been given by Sir W. Parish, though sufficiently long ago in our rapid age to be almost forgotten. He ascended with launches first as far as the Island of Choelechel, seventy leagues from Carmen, which he recommended should be fortified as an advance post against the Indians; thence, after incredible difficulties, he succeeded in reaching the foot of the Cordillera, always keeping on good terms with the natives. Here he met with the Araucanians (termed by me Manzaneros), and was in great hopes of reaching Valdivia through their aid, as they showed themselves friendly disposed; when, unfortunately, the Indians fell out amongst themselves, one of the chiefs being killed in the *mêlée*. The chief who caused this man's death came with his people to the Spaniards to implore their assistance, which was promised. This led to the whole of the remaining

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Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and piñones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

T A 175 133

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and piñones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

T A 175

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Mansos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luiz Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1882, when Roca, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

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far as Mendoza, thus keeping the Salinas Indians quite inside the chain, and driving the Araucanos up to their native valleys of the Cordilleras.

This plan was never carried out, and the post, to which the name Isla de Rosas had been given, was abandoned. Rosas was, notwithstanding his having beaten the Indians back, very popular amongst them, and on his overthrow a relation of his, Don Pedro Rosas, took refuge in the Salinas with his artillery and battalion. Orkeke and several friends of mine often inquired after Rosas, saying that 'he was a good man,' &c.

The next expedition up the river occurred only a year previous to my arrival in the Rio Negro, when the steamer Choelechel ascended as far as the island, accompanied by a land force under the Commandante Murga. Indians were found occupying the island, and a European was reported as resident among them, and as exercising the authority of chief. Although he refused to hold any communication with the Argentine commander, it is most probable that this was the famous Frenchman Aurelie I., who was said to have obtained a supply of arms landed in the Rio Negro, and brought up to this island. The expedition did not think fit to disturb the Indians, and returned with little to show as the result of their journey.

It was in contemplation to despatch another expedition, but I have as yet heard no news of its progress from my Patagonian correspondents, and it is probably postponed till 'Mañana.'

The large island of Choelechel, which I know only by description, never having visited it, appears to be not only an important station in a military point of view, but also admirably adapted for cultivation; there are, however, some reasons against its occupation for that purpose: the first is the undoubted hostility of the Indians to any enterprise tending to occupy what they consider their country; secondly, its distance from Carmen or Patagones as a base

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of supply for bringing up implements and importing produce, supposing the first difficulties overcome. A railroad or tramway might I am sure be constructed at little cost to run down the whole valley of the river, or steam launches of good power, fitted to burn wood, would furnish an effectual means of communication. The present Government steamer Choelechel both draws too much water and is of too small power to render material assistance in the way of opening up the river. The Capitano Major Ramirez pointed out these defects to his Government previous to her being brought to the Rio Negro, but his opinion was overruled.

Foyel and a cacique named Limaven, who claims territorial rights over the island, had a scheme for cultivating Choelechel and other advantageous spots, importing for the purpose Valdivian settlers used to the labour from the other side of the Cordillera, and obtaining their supplies and implements from Carmen.

The present further limit of settlement in the valley is the advanced military post called La Guardia Chica, situated about seven leagues above the second Guardia, and about twenty-five leagues from Carmen. It has not, I believe, been in existence many years, and was two years ago the scene of an *émeute* amongst the garrison, which was graphically described to me at our watchfire in Las Manzanas by Ronquo Pinto, who had evidently assisted, if not as an actor, at least as a spectator at the scene. The troops, who were mostly foreigners, according to his account, suddenly rose, shot or stabbed the officer in command, and then their lieutenant, who was killed whilst endeavouring to escape by swimming the river. The mutineers then sacked the place, getting of course intoxicated on the contents of the grog-shops, and remained in possession for a day or two, when a party headed by a man named Benitesio, a Government agent for treating with the Indians, rode in and took the ringleaders, who were, I believe, summarily shot. I tell the

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story as it was told to me, and can only vouch for the truth of the fact that the officers were killed in a mutiny, which was afterwards suppressed by the determination and courage of Bonifacio.

Woodcutters frequently come up the river thus far to procure the red willow timber. Their plan is simple: they ride up bringing their axes, ropes, and provisions, and when arrived at the scene of their labours turn their horses adrift, which readily find their way home. The men form their timber into a raft, and voyage on it safely down the river. This, although hard work, is a profitable occupation for men skilled with the axe. Perhaps at some future period their operations will be extended farther west, and rafts of Araucarian pine, apple, and other trees will be floated down from the forests of the Cordillera.

From the Guardia Chica or Little Guardia, still keeping on the north side, a wide flat plain extends to the Guardia described in the previous chapter; in this several farms are situated, most of them wheat-raising establishments. Nearly all this land is leased by Señor Aguirre from the Government, and he has at present a large number of men engaged in cutting a channel or ditch for the purpose of irrigating an extensive tract of land. The men employed in this work are nearly all of them natives of Santiago del Estero, and it is needless to state that it is a most expensive undertaking: it is only to be hoped that Señor Aguirre will find his labour and expense repaid by fruitful crops.

A few farms are rented by Welsh settlers, refugees from the Chupet, who wisely have preferred the valley of the Rio Negro to that luckless settlement.

A little above the Guardia is situated the estancia of Messrs. Kinnaird, of which we caught a glimpse on our first arrival at civilization. I had the pleasure of staying some days at this farm, where a good deal of land had been brought under cultivation, and flocks of sheep might be seen grazing on the rich plain.

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The estancia, from its situation in what is termed a rincon or corner, namely, a peninsula nearly surrounded by a bend of the river, possessed great advantages, and as it is one of the most convenient places for passing cattle to the south side, the owner, who keeps a boat on the river, was enabled to do a profitable business with the Indians when they received their rations, by assisting them in ferrying their animals across.

The overseer, under Mr. Kincaid, was a Scotch shepherd, whose gudewife superintended the *ménage;* the house was a substantial edifice, built mainly by Messrs. Kincaid, the beams being taken from willow trees felled in the rincon. Up to the time of my visit these gentlemen had been working against fortune, neither of the yields of grain in the two previous years of their occupation having been even a good average.

Close to this estancia a number of ancient Indian burial-grounds exist, where, besides skulls and bones, numerous flint arrowheads may be found, some of which, in my possession, have been exhibited to the learned members of the Anthropological Institute, and found to present the peculiar Indian type. Besides flint arrowheads, pestles and mortars, fashioned out of a porous stone, are also to be found. These articles probably belonged to an old race of Indians who inhabited the Rio Negro previous to the advent of Spaniards and horses, and the pestles and mortars were probably used for pounding the algarroba bean into a paste like that at present manufactured by Pampa Indians under Teneforo; indeed, Luis Aguirre gave me to understand that these Pampas were of an original stock formerly inhabiting the valley of the Rio Negro, but I leave these conjectures to the consideration of ethnologists more skilled than myself. Near these ancient graves I renewed my acquaintance with the old familiar vizcacha of the plains of Buenos Ayres, which I have previously pointed out does not exist in Patagonia proper, viz., to the south of the Rio Negro. Two

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other species of armadillo besides the quirquincho were described as being found in their neighbourhood, but I was not fortunate enough to meet with either description, as they were at this season hybernating. Puma have been killed in the neighbourhood of one of the sheep stations. The shepherd heard two outside the corral on one occasion, and giving chase the puma ascended a small tree. The shepherd was only lightly attired, but he stripped off his shirt and fastened it to a stick planted by the tree, which unknown white object so terrified the 'leones' that they remained quiet while he fetched his gun and shot them both. 136

The skin of an aguarra killed on the premises was also shown to me, but I had not the good fortune to see one alive. The rarity of the animal causes the skins to be highly valued, being worth £5 each in Carmen.

From the second Guardia a short gallop past the advanced barrancas, near which the river flows in another bend, brings the traveller to another wide plain, which to the north runs up into an abra deeply recessed in the receding barrancas: in this there are several farms; one of which, six miles below the Guardia, belonging to Messrs. Fraser and Grenfell, is named the Estancia San André, and is also situated (i.e., the house and parts intended for wheat growing) inside a rincon or corner partitioned off by a good whitethorn or chañal fence, resting at each end in the river. The sheep and cattle graze during the day outside, but the latter and the horses are invariably brought within the enclosure at night for fear of theft. This foresight of enclosing the cattle had saved Mr. Fraser a considerable loss. A short time previous to my visit, a party of marauding Indians rode along outside the fence, and finding nothing but sheep, which travel too slowly to be securely lifted, proceeded to the next estancia, and drove off the cattle and horses, after stripping the shepherd of his clothes, but doing him no bodily injury.

When the news reached Mr. Fraser, he got some men

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677 together and started in hot pursuit; although a stern chase is a long one, the cattle grew tired, and the Indians, probably some of Calfcura's people, abandoned them, escaping with the horses only.

I passed several days at the Estancia San André, spending the greater part of my time in reading, first the papers, and then all the available books, and now and then saunteering about with a gun to shoot partridges or pigeons, whilst my companions were busy, each with his team of oxen ploughing in the seed, or carting bricks down to the new house in course of completion.

The house we occupied was of adobe, and getting rather into a tumbledown condition; but the new house was a substantial brick building, the bricks burnt by the future occupiers, and the walls run up by some Italian masons. This new house was situated on the extremity of the rincon, or corner, or where its apex touched the river: in front of it was a small island, rapidly undergoing conversion from its original reed-covered state to a fertile garden, in which a good crop of potatoes had already been grown and fruit trees were being planted.

The old house was to be given up to the Capataz, or headman, who then resided with his wife in a portion of it. This man was a native, named Medado; and I have since heard that, when pursuing the Indians who had invaded some stations near Bahia San Blas, he swam the river unaccompanied, and rescued two captives, for which he was made an officer of National Guards. His chief business consisted in looking after the cattle and horses, and training the race-horse, of which Mr. Fraser was justly proud.

During my stay the San André crack was entered against a horse of Linares' over a short course, and won easily, landing stakes of about eighty head of cattle.

136 I noticed, whilst at San André, a very beautiful description of small hawk, which appeared closely allied to our merlin, and shot one specimen.

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The San André people, like those at Rincon Barrancas, had been struggling against ill-fortune for two seasons; the last season their harvest was a fair one, but unfortunately they delayed thrashing-out for a long time, waiting for a thrashing machine from England, which, when it did arrive, would not work properly, and made it necessary for them ultimately to resort to the native fashion of treading out with mares; bad weather ensued, and a considerable portion of the grain was spoiled: such are the woes of Rio Negro farmers, especially improving ones. During my visit the daily routine of tilling, marking cattle, bringing up the horses, &c., was carried on; but we found time to visit the next estancia, owned by a Swiss gentleman residing in Buenos Ayres, and managed in his absence by a Swiss countryman, known by the name of Don Juan. Here, as sheep at the present time hardly paid the cost of shearing, an experiment was being made of curing mutton-hams for exportation to Buenos Ayres, and a large number had been already cured and were ready for shipment; but the result of the experiment is unknown to me, and the ingenious Don Juan has since died.

During my stay at San André and Rincon Barrancas 1648 picked up a good deal of information regarding the relations of the Indians with the colonists, which perhaps may not be uninteresting to the reader. All the settlements and guardias previously described are situated on the north bank of the river, the south side being almost entirely, as far as this point, in the hands of the Tame and other Indians. The Indian parties who are most feared are the Araucanos, under the chief Rouque, and the Pampas of Calfucura, who has his head-quarters at the Salinas near Bahia Blanca, while the former ranges from the neighbourhood of Choelechel to the Cordillera. I should be inclined to think that Rouque is a subordinate chief under Chocoque, though I am not certain of the fact, as the latter chief, during my visit to Las Manzanas, mentioned Rouque as being with his people in the apple and

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pine groves, gathering the autumn harvest; but I subsequently met some of these Indians at the Guardia waiting for Rosque's ration, and recognised one as having been present at our council and subsequent festivities in La Manzana. The Government agent for Indian affairs, Bonifacio, showed me a magnificent pair of stirrups sent from Buenos Ayres as a present to Rosque, the policy of the authorities being to keep him and Chocoque from joining Calfcura in the threatened raid on the frontier. The reason assigned for the declaration of war by this latter chief was the death—by which he probably meant the imprisonment—of one of his inferior caciques; but the real reason probably was that the Argentine Government, on account of robberies committed by some of his people, had refused to renew his ration of animals. The outbreak in Entre Rios, resulting from the death of Urquiza, was then unforeseen, and it was intended to have despatched a large force, under the command of Señor Mitre, to reinforce the whole frontier, and if necessary crush Calfcura; but the troubles caused by Lopez Jordan necessitated the despatch of all available forces at once to Entre Rios, and the meditated scheme of rendering the frontier secure was postponed. Calfcura subsequently took advantage of this by attacking the frontier in various places, carrying off captive women and children, besides numerous herds of cattle, winding up by attacking and devastating the new settlements in the neighbourhood of Bahia Blanca, his Indians penetrating boldly, almost without resistance, into the very heart of the town, and returning with abundance of booty. Patagones was not attacked, which may probably be due to the arrangements effected in Las Manzanas, the unwillingness of the Tehuelches to join, and the gaining over of Rosque. The latter chief, however, most probably played a double game, and whilst receiving rations and gifts with one hand, allowed his people to join the raids and received plunder with the other.

One reason for the Indians not committing great raids on

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the Rio Negro settlements is simply that cattle and horses hardly exist in sufficient numbers to reward a foray on a large scale. Small parties sometimes come in, as in the case described, when the horses were taken from the 'China Muerte,' the estancia of Mr. Fraser's neighbour; but these are rather robberies than hostile invasions—indeed no important raids have occurred since the time of Lenquetreu, who united all the Indians for the purpose, and swept the valley in a raid which, it may be remembered, was described to me by Gravino, a participator in it, at Inacayal's toldos, near the Pass of the Rio Limay. The settlers were naturally anxious to know my opinion as to the probable safety of the Rio Negro, and I assured them that, from what I knew, there was little chance of a raid, but that, on the contrary, Bahia Blanca was sure to be attacked, and I especially warned one of our countrymen who was on his way to Bahia Blanca not to hazard himself by settling outside the town at the present juncture. Englishmen are apt to suppose that because they possess good weapons, rifles and revolvers, and are able and ready to use them, they can resist an Indian attack; but the whole system of their warfare consists in sudden surprises. They secretly collect their forces, and waiting at a safe distance during the night, come in at the early dawn; and perhaps the unsuspicious settler, going to the corral or looking for his horses, observes in the distance what appears to be a troop of horses, driven, according to custom, by one or two mounted men; these approach unchallenged, but in a second every horse displays an armed rider, shouting his war-cry. They then spread out, as if to encircle the game, thus presenting no front to the rifles of their opponents, and dash down lances in hand; and whilst some secure the animals, others set fire to the dwellings and carry off the women—*if* there are any—captives. In some cases they kill the men, but generally only when much resistance is offered.

T A 726

Although their chief object in warfare is to carry off cattle

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726 and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xavier; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lemquetren.

177 They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

677 Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barrancas, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barrancas then abate on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large saline from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, on

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nearly due south, on the other side of the river, lay San Xavier, partially shrouded by trees; scattered farms centered to the west of this, and along the bank as far as the south side of the town. In the river several delightful-looking cultivated islands were to be seen, the most noticeable forming the vineyard of Don Emilio Crespo. Beyond the town, to the south-east, the eye ranged over unbroken plains, with dots here and there marking sheep stations or small farms. Of the south side little has been said: near the town there are many small estancias; but a great drawback, I am told, to settling there is the fact that no secure titles to the properties are procurable, and therefore there is no security of occupation in the event of acquiring a piece of land. An important establishment must not be overlooked, namely, the saladero of Señor Aguirre, situated about a league below the town of Carmen, whereon a considerable amount of hides and tallow is exported to England. During my stay a North-German or Dutch barque was lying off the place loading a cargo. Besides these commodities, the exports of Carmen include salt, wheat, ostrich feathers, and pelts obtained from the Indians, and some few ponchos and saddle-cloths; while the imports may be placed under the head of sundries or notions, from imitation ponchos and cheap finery to Paraguay tea and bad spirits.

Although to my eyes, so long accustomed to treeless wastes, rocky spur-like mountains, and wild grassy valleys, the valley of the Rio Negro appeared almost a garden of Eden, no doubt to any new arrival from England it would not have the same aspect. The valley through which the river winds is destitute of any trees, beside the fringe of tall willows which bolt the stream, extending (except perhaps in favorable seasons) nowhere more than a couple of hundred yards from the bank. The plains stretching on either bank to the distant and scrub-covered deserts in many places were so closely eaten down by sheep and cattle as to present the minimum of vegetation, at least in the winter season.

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[illegible] However bare and unpromising the land may seem, such is the fertility of the soil that wheat may be grown, crop after crop, and year after year, on the same land. Potatoes attain a very large size, and are of excellent quality, but these are chiefly grown in the islands of the river.

The Government have lately issued orders that all islands belong inalienably to the State, and all present occupiers are obliged to pay a small head rent to the authorities, which seems to point at future occupation of Choshehel.

Besides potatoes, all other European vegetables and fruit-trees grow well; tobacco seems to thrive, and vines promise to furnish a staple of export in the shape of Rio Negro wine. In one of the islands, occupied by Don Benito Crespo, and leased by him on shares to some Spaniards from the neighbourhood of Cadiz, a great number of vines have been planted and large quantities of grapes pressed out yearly. The wine, which is called "Chacoli," has the mesentil flavour and bouquet of Mosello, and is a thin pure wine, excellent to drink in the warm weather, as it is by itself not at all strong or heady. I should imagine that it would not bear exportation, but Don Benito has hopes that his Andalusians will shortly be able to produce a superior quality. Besides wine, I tasted at the table of this hospitable gentleman some brandy, the produce of the same grape; it was of course colourless, of good taste, but any number of degrees over proof.

[illegible] A sportsman can always find amusement either in shooting ducks, partridges, geese, and other wild fowl, or mounting his horse and chasing ostriches or deer in the shrae or openings running far up like inlets of grass between the scrub-covered promontories of the barranca. Fish may be caught in the river, chiefly, I believe, the delicious pejerey,* or large smelt, and those perch-like fish described as existing in the rivers of Patagonia.

For guanaco, the pampas near Sun Blas must be visited,

* Atherinidalaya Argentinensis. Cunningham, p. 56.

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but the valley and the lagoons formed by backwaters of the 136
river furnish abundance of black-necked swans, upland
goose, red-headed ducks, widgeon, teal, flamingoes, and
roseate spoonbills.

It will be evident that to any active and enterprising 137
young men, prepared to rough it a little, and possessed of a
small sum of ready money, who wish to invest in land and
cultivate, there is much to be said for and against the Rio
Negro as a home. The land may be had at a reasonable
price, and little clearing is required. Implements may be
brought from Buenos Ayres, either in a sailing ship or by
the steamer which is supposed to run monthly, though rather
uncertain in its movements. The climate is pleasant and
healthy, and one good season of harvest would almost repay
the outlay on a moderate establishment.

As to the drawbacks to be placed on the centre side, the
river is subject at times to floods, at other times droughts
prevail, and, unless artificial irrigation be resorted to,
crops will fail; besides which considerably a million of
hornets will save the farmer the trouble of reaping his
harvest; the cattle, of which most people keep enough to
supply milk and meat for home consumption, may be run
off by Indians; and last, but not least, the settler may lose
his life by the head of some felon. But no colony offers a
certainty of making a rapid fortune.

The great mistake most English settlers make is going
out to a place with the idea they are going to make a
"pile" in a year or two, and then return to Europe.

In my opinion the settler should go with the intention of
making the place he has chosen his home: then if successful
he can return, but he should not look forward to it. The
Basque population are looked upon in the Argentine pro-
vinces as the best immigrants, as they generally stay in the
country. The Indians, on the contrary, grub away for some
years, starving and pinching, until they have amassed a small
sum of money sufficient to enable them to live at ease in

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
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Italy, while English and all others are looked upon as people to be fleeced if possible. Sheep-farming in the Rio Negro is, I think, to be avoided, as in other places in the Argentine provinces. Señor Aguirre told me that he had lost a large sum of money in this investment, and many of my countrymen from the Rio de la Plata can sympathise with him.

Two sturdy Scotchmen are at present trying the experiment near Carmen, and as sheep were at a low price when they commenced, they may succeed.

It is a question in my mind whether lucerne or sweet-potatoes would not thrive along the flats bordering the river; perhaps the climate is too dry for the latter, but the experiment is almost worth trying for any one possessed of means and inclination to take up his abode for a term of years in the Rio Negro. For my own part, were I a settler, I should be inclined to confine my efforts to the cultivation of the vine, and perhaps tobacco, keeping of course the necessary stock of animals for home consumption.

It must be clearly understood that I am not recommending or interested in the Rio Negro as a place to which intending emigrants should direct their thoughts; it undoubtedly possesses great natural advantages, which are, as yet, insufficiently developed by most of the colonists. Their estancias, with the exception of those of my Scotch and English friends, are generally small, miserable-looking tenements, with offal scattered round the ill-kept corral; and their agriculture is as indifferent as the neglected appearance of the houses would suggest. But for all that, there is not a really poor man—except in consequence of his own laziness or drunken habits—in Carmen and its vicinity, and labour is in great demand at high wages, while living is cheap, which experience, since my return, has taught me to be a painful contrast to the state of our own population at home.

I was recalled from Rincon Bermoso and my speculations on the Rio Negro as a field for emigrants by the distant view of Indians, espied from the lookout on the top of my host's

2: Mastere T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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horses, as they descended from the traverse, and hastened back to the town to receive them, according to promise. It will be remembered that on my arrival at Chanyé I presented to Señor Murga my despatches, in which Casimiro detailed his arrangements for the protection of Patagones. A list of the chiefs to whom rations or gifts of cattle, horses, &c., were due, was also enclosed, and a request that a hundred mares should be sent out at once with the returning messengers. After a few days' delay I was sent for by Señor Murga, who, it may be here remarked, is reputed to thoroughly understand the Indians, and to display considerable address in managing them. It was amusing to observe the natural suspicion and perplexity aroused in the mind of the Commandante concerning my position among the Indians; and my reply to his questions as to what rank and influence I possessed among them, and how I was interested for them—that I was simply a guest and friend—did not seem at all sufficient to explain matters. But he discussed the question of the chiefs and their requests, and assured me that all the chiefs who should be found to be entitled to rations should duly receive them: he, however, absolutely refused to send out any mares, declaring that Casimiro should receive all his dues when he arrived.

As the grand cacique had for several years not drawn his annual allowance, amounting to 200 cows, 100 mares, 200 sheep, and a quantity of clothes and yerba, it can be well imagined that with fair play and prudence he would, on this visit, become a wealthy as well as powerful cacique, as a reward for his labours. At his previous visit he had left a quantity of cattle and sheep, under charge of some of the Tasse Indians, to increase and multiply; but alas! on his arrival, in reply to his inquiries, only one small flock of sheep was forthcoming, the rest, instead of multiplying, having been gambled away by their guardians. The liberality of the Argentines and the largeness of the gifts may appear surprising; and indeed the nominal value, as charged to the Government for these annual gifts to the Indians, is very

2: Mustere T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

330 AT HOME WITH THE PATAGONIANS

414 great. I saw myself 1,000 head of cattle pass on their way
to Rosque, and Chosque was expecting 1,500. The cattle
445 were brought down from the Tandil by purveyors, whose
457 business must be as lucrative as that of the American army
contractors; for the Indians are sometimes when sober, or
oftener when intoxicated, induced to part with their newly-
acquired possessions for a mere trifle, and the cattle, reverting
to the dealer's hands, thus do duty over again as a ration
perhaps to the same cacique. Thus the Indians benefit but
little, while the Government pays a large amount, and the
purveyors and other agents grow rich, Indians and Government
being esteemed apparently as lawful and natural pigeons,
to be plucked by any safe means.

273 The Commandante's reply had been duly forwarded to
579 Casimiro, together with some liquor and presents for my
friends; and the morning following my return from the
country I was awoke early by a knock at the door, and on
opening it found five or six Tehuelches who had made their
way over the river to my quarters. After giving them a mate,
we all proceeded to the store, and I gave one or two some
small presents. Among these first arrivals was my friend
Jackechan, the cacique from the Chopat, who confided to me
that he had been very drunk the night before. The Tehuelches
had not, however, waited till they reached the settlements
for an opportunity of abandoning themselves to the pernicious
enjoyment of "lum." It soon came out that their delay at
Valchita had been necessitated by a prolonged debauch on
liquor procured from the Guardia. Casimiro had of course
set the example, and the drink had, as usual, also led to
quarrelling, which resulted in a general fight; several had been
killed, including Cayuke, so often mentioned as a staunch
friend; and I was greatly grieved at being unable to get any
accurate tidings of my Herculean comrade the good-natured
Waki, who had, beyond doubt, been killed at the same time.

574 Such common occurrences were little regarded by my
visitors, all of whom were caciquillos, and whom I presently

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dismissed rejoicing, with a promise to visit them on the south side in the evening. But my troubles had only just commenced. All day long Tehuelches kept arriving, and not knowing what to do with themselves, followed me about wherever I went, much to the amusement of some of my acquaintances.

In the evening I crossed to the other side, and remained for the night with my old hosts. All were in a great state of delight, as their rations were to be given them without delay—the yerba, sugar, and spirits from Aguirre's stores, and the cattle and mares from the Guardia in front of Santa Blanca. Old Orkeke, who had not expected to receive rations, had been allowed, in consequence of my urging his claims, the same as other minor chiefs, and was consequently in high delight.

They were, on the other hand, very dissatisfied at the extremely low prices which their feathers and peltries had realized, and abused the dealers very roundly as a lot of rogues. False weights and other tricks of trade had been freely employed to cheat the Indians; and the storekeepers also charged exorbitantly for necessaries supplied to them. Their custom is to bivouac in the yards or corrals at the back of the stores, where they light fires and cook as in their own country, and pay in the end as dearly for their accommodation as if in a West End hotel. I delighted the heart of Mrs. Orkeke by presenting her with a long-promised iron pot and a shawl; and to Hinchel's son I gave a promised pack of cards, and to the children raisins, sweets, or bread.

Jackeshaw's wife and daughter, who had always shewed me great kindness, I took into the store, and told them to choose whatever they fancied most; whereupon they both, without hesitation, selected two small bottles of scent to put on their hair. I must remark, *en passant*, that all this family were exceptionally clean in their habits and persons, and I promised, if I returned to Patagonia, to travel in their table, as I had then some idea of journeying by the sea-coast to

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

the Chupat, and perhaps to Santa Cruz. Jacheshan's son—the boy with light hair and complexion—volunteered to come to England with me, and I consented to take him; but on hearing that there were no ostriches or guanaco where we were going, he thought better of it.

Some of Quintinhual's and Foyel's people also arrived, but behaved themselves in a very different manner to the Tehuelches. Their women and children had all been left in Geylum, and the men walked about in a very independent manner, with a proud, superior bearing, not condescending to admire anything, or to ask for any presents. One of them, on the boatman requesting his fare for bringing him across the river, refused flatly, and then drew his revolver to enforce his denial.

Last, but not least, as became so great a personage, Casimiro arrived, attended by Mella, who acted as secretary. His costume had suffered considerably from his late pursuits, and his appearance was by no means improved by a gash in his face received from a Manzanero in a brawl at Sauce Blanco. He installed himself in the hotel, hired the fife and drums of the garrison to play whilst he was at breakfast, and for two days kept open house for all comers, ending the day in an advanced state of intoxication.

At the end of this debauch a bill was handed to him which, I should think, took the value of nearly half his retinue. This sobered him, and he, taking my advice, left the hotel, and crossing the river proceeded to Sauce Blanco to look after his retinue and Indians. On the whole, the Indians behaved very well whilst in the settlement. I saw, of course, some drunkenness, but not nearly so much as I had expected. One and all parted from me with most cordial farewells, and pressed me to return to the Pampa, as they call it, as soon as possible. Jacheshan was one of the last to leave. He, as well as one or two of the others, had found an old acquaintance in Mr. Humphreys, formerly of the Chupat colony, but now settled in Patagones as carpenter. We all met in Mr.

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Humphreys's house one Sunday after church, and had a long talk relative to this Chupat settlement, and to the answer received to my letter brought by Jackechan's chasqui. The statement in it that the settlers had no stores of any sort, and that of the Indian messenger that they were almost destitute of clothing, have been fully corroborated by the despatches of Commander Dennistoun, H.M.S. Cracker, published whilst these pages were being written. Mr. Humphreys considered himself and the few companions who had accompanied him to the Rio Negro fortunate in having left when they did; and all agreed that the colonists would do better if transferred to the Rio Negro, where those who were skilled in trades would be able to live in comparative ease, and the mere labourers find plenty of work, and be able at any rate to maintain themselves. I cannot but record my astonishment that Mr. Lewis Jones—who, although I am not personally acquainted with him, must, from the report given me by the Indians, be a man of no ordinary understanding—should endeavour to maintain the colony in a place which had formerly been tried by others and abandoned as hopeless, the distance of the harbour—thirty miles off—alone being a certain obstacle to its prosperity.

The visionary scheme of a Welsh Utopia, in pursuit of which these unfortunate emigrants settled themselves, ought not to be encouraged, likely as it is to end in the starvation of the victims to it. Had it not been for the charity of the Argentine Government, this must have been their fate ere now. Jackechan described to me that he had seen the settlers 'eating grass,' and had taught some of them how to hunt, and furnished them with bolas. The Blue Book just published confirms the truth of this statement, and perhaps renders it needless for me to go more into the subject; but I must add that, though at that time friendly and well-disposed, this chief considered the settlers as intruders on his territory, and avowed his intention of demanding payment at a future time—a refusal of rent being in such a case sure to

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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be followed by a very summary process of cattle driving and eviction.

The Rio Negro, with all its drawbacks of Indians, locusts, floods, and droughts, is certainly infinitely superior to the Chupat. If the Welsh wish to live as a separate community, I am sure that Señor Aguirre will only be too happy to let them settle on his tract of land between the Upper and Second Guardia, where already some of their countrymen—Messrs. Williams and Owen—have taken land.

After the Indians had left, I gave myself over to the enjoyments of social life in Patagones, which did not prove sufficient to reconcile me to the delay consequent on the non-arrival of the steamer. My days were spent in walking about, playing billiards, and taking maté; and a visit in the evening to Don Domingo's, where a party were in the habit of meeting to play 'truco' for sweetmeats. Sometimes we varied this by calling on some of the fair señoritas, or spending the evening at the house of Mr. Davis, the engineer of the Choelechel, in the company of his amiable señora. All the young ladies agreed that Patagones was very *triste*, especially those who had been to Buenos Ayres, and had enjoyed the delights of the opera and bands of music in the Plaza.

On Sundays, after mass and service in the mission station, attended by all the English, a race would sometimes take place, or, in default, there would be sure to be a cock-fight held on the south side; at either of which Commandante Murga invariably attended. There was also a fives court, where some Basques or natives were generally to be found playing. Once or twice I accompanied Dr. Humble—not, however, on Sunday—in a pull on the river. Every day we looked out anxiously for the steamer, which had been so long overdue as to make it appear probable that she had met with an accident. Tired of the delay, I had just negotiated my passage in a Dutch schooner laden with grain for Buenos Ayres, when one evening the steamer arrived, having been delayed in Bahia Blanca.

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In the morning I was agreeably surprised by the size of the steamer, formerly the Montauk, of Boston, but re-christened the Patagones, and owned by Messrs. Aguirre and Murga. She was very well fitted up as regards accommodation, but all the decks, cabins, and every part of her presented a very dirty appearance.

After two days' stay she hoisted the blue peter, and, having taken my passage, together with Messrs. Fraser and Kincaid, who were going to Buenos Ayres on business, and Mr. Gibb, who was on his return to Europe, repaired on board, where we found a considerable number of passengers assembled; the distinguished billiard-marker who had annexed the clock amongst the number. About four P.M. we weighed, and, bidding adieu to Patagones, started down the river with the ebb tide, intending to anchor for the night in the Boca, and cross the long line of sandbank, which forms a dangerous bar, with the morning tide. We continued along smoothly enough until just well within sight of the ships lying in the Boca, when a sudden concussion announced that she was ashore on a sandbank, where she had stuck hard and fast. We thought little of this misadventure, expecting to be off at high tide, and some of us went on shore and picnicked on the flats bordering the river. We returned about ten, and about midnight I was awoke up by hearing one of the funnel guys snap, and, going on deck, found that, though the bow of the ship was high out of the water, the stern was in deep water, and the ship severely straining amidships in consequence. A few minutes after the main steam pipe broke: the steam had, however, luckily, been turned off, or the consequences would have been disastrous to those in the after-part of the ship. The ladies were then landed, for fear of accidents, and the remainder of us held a consultation as to how we should get to Buenos Ayres, and ultimately went to sleep on it.

The following morning the Choelechel came down and succeeded in towing the vessel off, and the Dutch captain of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the schooner came on board and agreed to take us and some others on to Buenos Ayres. We accordingly jumped into a boat, and proceeding down to the Boca, got on board the schooner, hoping to sail the next day; but were again doomed to be disappointed.

The captain went up to buy provisions, and did not return till late the following evening. Meantime the wind set in foul in the morning, and the line of roaring white breakers on the bar showed the impossibility of sailing; so we were compelled to wait, looking out on the dreary sand-dunes which narrowed the entrance to the river on either side.

Some of us went on shore to visit the pilot station, and had a talk with the pilot, a brave old German or Dutchman. This veteran and his men had successfully defended his station against a large force of Indians in the raid of Lamquetruz. The enemy desired to get possession of a howitzer which is kept in the station, and the Indians rushed actually up to the enclosure, while the men fired on them almost muzzle to their breasts, at last succeeding in beating them off with immense loss.

The boat's crew consisted of men of all nations. I got into conversation with one, at first in Spanish, then in English. After lending me his pipe, he looked hard at me, and said, 'I know you: I am Pat Sweeny, and ran away from the Shelldrake. What ship did you run away from?' I was not dressed in my best clothes, and looked doubtless weatherbeaten enough; but I recognised my friend, though he failed to remember me, and was not enlightened as to my identity. Several weary days were spent in drinking schnapps, and ineffectually trying to catch fish, when at last a fair breeze sprang up, which speedily wafted us out of sight of the Patagonian shores, and after a boisterous passage of six days the anchor was dropped off Buenos Ayres.

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APPENDIX A.

A partial Vocabulary of the Tehuelche Language, as spoken by the Northern Tehuelches.

M2

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ENGLISH.	ARAUCANKA, OR TEHUELCHE.
	ytun
	ytahen
	coquotye
companion	gennow
	kittar
	ôô
	tehal
	tal
	ekum
	oër
	tsioc'r
	goa
	shankuye
or house	kou
do. ditto	kô
ditto	wummun
	oowan
	kai
do. hair	kotchi
	tsuoore
	kakewik
	kor
(Four balls)	ytschike
(Two balls)	chume
	kats
	koo
	palken
	gilwun
	gilwinkush
	tchampum
	kun
	waiko
(to cooking)	saken
	oëtro
	barr
) navells, or	kôllen
	hill
	snjwoe
	congaaou
	golk
	tusk
	hum
	kankion
	kashon
	watorun
	genig
for securing	kaligi
' legs	

ENGLISH.	ARAUCANKA, OR TEHUELCHE.
whip	wakenoun
belt	wôti
sun (or a day)	gungunko
moon (or a month)	showan
stars	ôôkrun
a year	tsor
fire	yaik
water	kly
snow	ôl
wind	kashen
rain	tsiva
smoke	pâin
clouds	páwall
night	queyoncn
wood	kaki
hill	yorri
place	kaik
land or country	yerroen
river	koona
road	nooma
poncho	lacho
mast	yipper
stones	kitch
rocks	air
grass	kor
pasture	oot
broth or tea	ôôloish
horse	ewoe
	cawall
cattle	choi
sheep	cámpin
large deer	shôen
guanaco	rou
ostrich (or rhea)	mikhoush
puma	gol
fox	paltû
skunk	wicketer
armadillo	ino
hare	páâhi
fowls	peyou
fawn or colt	koorco
skins	wumnun
gold	winki
eggs	ôôm
bones	kotsh
marrow	tcham
grease	am
a chief	gounok
fish	cin

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English.	Aboriginal, or Tehuelche.
marriage	coyenk
wild potatoes	appely
sheep	shenk
a file	kikerlki
emerald	six
ill	ka'ennenk
ship	yenk'el
gum or resin	naki
cards	kirren
sit down	ennenk
catch	korigi
to be tired	ywotink
I go	yechenge
to go	wenk
to kill	kill
give me	mayout
lend me	mon
write	akiren
buy	amili
change	quewarien
I am tired	wotyukiya
I am hungry	pankilk ya
I am sleepy	yaherak
to kill	ynnck
to fight	ywowak
to sing	ywerrish
I like	yakenke ya
to mount on horseback	amentta
to row	kittera
to send messenger	wickeni enike
to talk	ayenah
I understand	ya enkes
I do not understand	ytenkes
come along	herechenge
to hunt	aenkem
to speak	kinecott
to do a thing	michetes
make	mifki
to work	tirek

English.	Aboriginal, or Tehuelche.
to light	keine
to fill	meshawr
to eat	shehattq
march	wien
to break	shenk
to play	enyenah

Colours.

black	cherle
white	gelwin
yellow	waieken
green	arium
red	kilipen
blue	kaliken
brown or bay	acorah
piebald	hagel

Numerals.

one	chenke
two	houke
three	ain
four	enge
five	kiain
six	winikush
seven	enk
eight	winienge
nine	humenkeetsen
ten	kako
eleven	chucke ker
twelve	houke ker
thirteen	ain ker
ker added up to twenty	
twenty	wommenikekiker
thirty	aenenikaki
forty	engenkaki
fifty	kiainkaki
a hundred	petack
a thousand	kuranca

Some Sentences.

English.	Aboriginal, or Tehuelche.
Thank you	Nouremi naki
Lend me the pipe	Mon aniwee—aniwee mayout
Catch my horse	Korigi ya
Come along, friend	Herechenge genrow

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

ENGLISH.	ARAUCANIAN, OR TEHUELCHE.
192 Will you come out hunting? (*Lit.* Come out hunting, will me.)	Hawe soukemalaw kimamit ye
The people are fighting	Tewwichh chemik
How many are killed?	Kinkeinkerum yamek
Where are you going?	Kimek nie chengo
Cook some meat; I am hungry	Herichh ziyyer wamani pushikh ye
I understand Indian	Gnakoo Akoniamko
I like your wife	Ke yakoosko yaker
What do you want?	Keterum kara?
It rains much to-day	Chaiche emah quo tawa
Why are going to see many people	Wutikharye emah chemik
We are going to see another country	Wutikharye kaiuk yawoon
Come here quickly	Gemmo kouet wilka
What do you buy	Ket, m emli

APPENDIX B.

Testimony of successive Voyagers to the Stature of the Patagonians.

141 A.D.

1520.	*Pigafetta* . . .	The least, taller than the tallest men in Castile.
1578.	*Drake* . . .	Not taller than some Englishmen.
1591.	*Knyvet* . . .	Fifteen or sixteen spans high.
1598.	*Van Noort* . . .	Natives of tall stature.
1615.	*Schouten* . . .	Human skeletons 10 or 11 feet long.
1669.	*Narborough* . . .	Mr. Wood was taller than any of them.
1750.	*Falkner* . . .	A cacique 7 feet and some inches high.
1764.	*Byron* . . .	A chief about 7 feet high, and few of the others shorter.
1766.	*Wallis* . . .	Measured some of the tallest: one was 6 feet 7 inches, several 6 feet 5 inches; the average height was between 5 feet 10 inches and 6 feet.
1782.	*Viedma* . . .	Generally 6 feet high.
1828.	*D'Orbigny* . . .	Never found any exceeding 5 feet 11 inches; average height 5 feet 4 inches.
1833.	*Fitzroy and Darwin* .	Tallest average of any people; average height 6 feet, some taller and a few shorter.
1867-8.	*Cunningham* . .	Rarely less than 5 feet 11 inches in height, and often exceeding 6 feet by a few inches. One measured 6 feet 10 inches.

End map A

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End map B

End map C

[illegible]

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1871.

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600 factory, they look upon him as a fetich, and receive him well accordingly; but on the contrary, should a dearth occur, then the traveller had better make his escape as quickly as possible, as in all probability he would be severely handled.

After a death, it is the custom for all the friends of the deceased to gather together and dance over the grave, at which times they mourn, yell, and drink. The latter they always do at their own expense, as each mourner brings his own beer or rum with him. These festivities usually continue for eight days, during which time they generally make great disturbances, which not unfrequently end in bloodshed.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. BASSINGTON D'ALMEIDA remarked, with regard to the palm-beer drank by the Quissama tribe of Angola, that the natives of Ceylon, and those of the Malayan Archipelago, were also in the habit of drinking a palm-beer, but this was drawn from the cocoa-nut tree. The stem-bearing portion of the tree being lopped off that part of it in which the cocoa-nuts were suspended, was bent downwards, in the shape of a curve or a bow, at the end of which an earthen or wooden vessel was attached to receive the juice. It has an agreeable taste, and forms a very pleasant beverage. It is known amongst the Malays as the "nescoo manis", or sweet juice. When it is allowed to ferment, it is called "toddy"; and, taken immoderately, has an intoxicating effect. Cocoa-nut vinegar is sometimes made from this liquor.

Dr. CARTER BLAKE saw nothing to impeach the accuracy of Mr. Hamilton's observations respecting the intoxicating fluid, inasmuch as the Indians of Nicaragua extracted a somewhat similar liquid from one of the indigenous trees (*Acrocomia vinifera*, Œrst.), and which was undoubtedly inebriating the instant it was tapped from the tree, without any time being given for fermentation.

Dr. CHARNOCK said the author of the paper spoke of the cannibals which he had come across as having a squalid and unhealthy exterior. It was probable that this might be attributed rather to the circumstances in which they were placed than to the eating of human flesh. It had never been proved that there was any appreciable difference between the flesh of man and that of other animals. It seemed to agree very well with those who indulged in it, for they were generally vigorous and robust people.

The following paper was then read:

On the RACES *of* PATAGONIA. By Lieutenant MUSTERS, R.N.

114 In this paper it is proposed to give the members of the Anthropological Institute a brief sketch of the manners and customs of the tribes which inhabit the tract of country commonly known as Patagonia, as a residence of twelve months, during which I traversed the entire length of the country, afforded me an oppor-

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

114 tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

131 The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rio Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is 133 an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless [136] herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

101 The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yamonascunna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Ahonicanka, or Tchenek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Penck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.

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The third is a branch of the great Araucanian race, which has its head-quarters near Las Manzanas, in or about the same latitude as Valdivia, from which it is about sixty miles distant, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. These may be described as the border race, seldom descending much to the south of the Rio Limay, though they cross the Cordillera to Valdivia and Araucania. 101

Of these three races the Tehuelche or Aboniean will occupy the chief portion of the time at my disposal, which will not admit of giving more than a short sketch of their manners and customs, and a few very brief remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the others.

The traditionary gigantic stature of the Patagonians is naturally, as I have learnt by experience, the first point as to which inquiries are made. Of the two divisions of the race, the southern slightly surpass the northern in height, but not in muscular development. The average height of the southern Tehuelches is rather over five feet ten, but I have seen many six feet, and some attaining six feet four; the great breadth of the chest and the muscular power of the limbs cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one seeing them for the first time, and it is easy to imagine that if such men came down to meet the first Spanish voyagers, they would, especially when seen dressed in their long mantles, appear of gigantic proportions. Some of the women whom I saw were remarkably tall. The wife of the cacique "Orkeke" was very little short of six feet, and possessed a corresponding robust form and strength of muscle, but the average female height did not exceed five feet six. I never remarked the weakness and want of muscular power in the legs attributed to them by some travellers. They are very active and good runners, and, in their games of ball, display great quickness and strength; they almost invariably travel on horseback, but as an illustration of their walking powers I may mention that two of them who volunteered to go to Buenos Ayres in the sealing schooner, after waiting for several days in the mouth of the river for a fair wind grew restless, and finally walked back to the trading station, a distance of between forty and fifty miles, without food, in about fourteen hours, and when they arrived did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been a long walk. 142 481 [526]

They usually have large heads covered with long black hair, dark sparkling eyes, which give a bright intelligent look to their oval faces. Their foreheads are generally good (retreating foreheads being rare) with peculiar prominences over the eyebrows. Their noses are often aquiline, but varying as in other countries, but generally with a marked breadth of nostrils. Their natural complexion is reddish brown, scarcely, however, deserving the 142

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description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally the limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or [illegible] earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them. 857

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point. 861 525 524 526

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase: the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the incensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, zerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink. 262 252 262 [137] [763] 273 276 177

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately 852

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852 sent to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins, and painting himself white, gives the order for the erection of a tent called by the Indians "the pretty house". The women immediately collect together their mandils, a description of wove blanket, obtained from the Araucanians, and sew them together to form the covering of the toldo; some of the women then place the necessary stakes in the ground to form the toldo, and the young men, taking the mandils, march several times round the stakes to frighten away the devil, the old women singing and crying in a discordant manner, and then draw the covering over the stakes; lancepoles, with brass plates and streamers attached, are placed in front, the whole forming a gay-looking toldo. The men then mount their horses, and after a short interval, mares are brought up and knocked on the head in front of the tent, after which the meat is either portioned out to the several families, or cooked on the spot, all being free to come and eat. To-
852 535 wards evening a fire is kindled in front of the mandil-tent, and a dance takes place after the following manner: The men and women sit down at the opposite sides of the fire, except the musicians, who sit in the tent; their instruments consist of a [534] small drum formed by a piece of hide stretched over a bowl, and played on with two sticks, and a wind instrument, formed from the thighbone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is applied to the mouth, and played on with a small wooden bow, having a horse-hair string, after a preliminary tune and howling on the part of the old women. Four Indians, muffled up to their eyes in their mantles, wearing on their heads plumes of the so-called ostrich (*Rhea Darwinii*), step on the scene; they first of all pace majestically round the fire, then quicken their pace to a sort of little trot; after two rounds the time is quickened, they throw aside their mantles, and appear with their bodies naked, except the waistcloth, painted all over, each one wearing also a strap studded with bells, extending from the shoulder to the thigh. At the moment that the mantles are thrown on one side, they dance in quick time to the music in not ungraceful steps, at the same time bowing their plumed heads most grotesquely, in time to the taps of the drum on either side. When tired, they resume their mantles, retire for a drink of water, and then come on again dancing a different step. When they are fatigued, four more take their places, and so on, till all present have had their turn. When many Indians are present, these performances often last until a late hour of the night. The women, who only participate as spectators, mark their applause of any particularly good dancer by a howl which may be considered a sort of encore. I have on one or two occasions known these dissipations carried on for two or three evenings in succession.

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The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed; his ponchos, if he possesses any ornaments, bolas, and other belongings, are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womenkind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations; and the widow (who cuts her hair short in front, and assumes black paint) repairs bag and baggage to the toldo of her relations, if she has any, if not, to that of the chief. The body, sown up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, is taken away by some of the relations, and buried in a sitting posture with its face to the east, a cairn of stones being generally erected over the place. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's book; but as I never travelled much by the sea-coast, they may exist and be the burial-places of some of the Pampa tribe.

A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[i.e. as for a newborn child. — Analyst]

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[782] 755 house erected, and a feast and dance takes place. If a child falls ill, the doctor is sent for, and if he says it will live, great rejoicing and a feast take place. The doctors, although they depend chiefly on incantations and magic to perform their cures, must have some other knowledge, which they keep to themselves, as I have known them perform two or three cures when the sick people appeared to be rapidly sinking. I will cite one instance of their treatment which came under my particular notice. The patient, a child of about a year and a half old, was very ill with influenza, and we all thought it would die. The doctor arrived in the toldo, and laying the child on its back, proceeded, after patting it lightly on the head, and murmuring an incantation, to place his mouth close to the patient's chest, and shout, as far as I could understand, to exhort the evil spirit to leave the child; after this he took it up, carefully handed it to its mother, who under his directions, smeared it all over with gypsum. This over, it was handed back to the doctor, who had been absent a minute. He then produced a hide bag, at the bottom of which were some charms; into this he inserted the baby's head several times, muttering incantations; after this a white mare was brought up, and after being painted with red ochre hand-marks all over, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten, care being taken, as before, that no dogs approached. The liver, heart, and lungs were hung on a lance, at the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Whatever effect these ceremonies may have had, the child recovered. On the death of a 766 child great anguish is displayed by the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on on the march, is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, when fully caparisoned, strangled by means of lazos, the saddle gear, cradle, and all appertaining to the child burnt, the women crying and singing; the parents, moreover, throw their own valuables into the fire to notify their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out as a recompense for their services; however, they seldom benefit much.

776 I have now described most of the principal ceremonies observed amongst these Indians, but have not touched on their religion in any way. They believe in a good spirit gifted with much power, who made the Indians first, and also the animals necessary for their maintenance, which he dispersed from a hill visited by us in our wanderings, situated about lat. 47 degs. south, long. about 71 degs. 40 mins. west. This great spirit, however, according to their ideas, takes but little trouble as to their welfare; consequently most of their religious ceremonies are for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, which are several. The chief devil, however, who rejoices in the name of "Gualy-

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chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, patting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and [illegible]le several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insen[illegible]ity, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

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Puelche SI 10

and sometimes his whole family, are destroyed. Casimiro, an enlightened Indian, for some time under the auspices of the missionaries at Santa Cruz, informed me that when his mother, or one of his wives—I forget which—died, he sent and had a woman killed who had caused the death by witchcraft.

Any instrument, the use of which is not understood, is looked upon as having some connection with witchcraft. For instance, a watch, which they look upon as bringing luck at play; my compass also was in frequent request, and a locket I wore round my neck was supposed to be a talisman securing the wearer from death.

I have not touched upon the language of the Tehuelches, but shall be happy to answer questions as to any words of common use amongst these people, and hope at a future time to publish a partial vocabulary of their language compiled during my residence amongst them.

From the data I was enabled to acquire I should estimate the numerical strength of their population at seventy fighting men of the south, and about two hundred of the northern, making with women and children a total of about 1,400.

Pampas.—North of the Sengel river, a tributary of the Chupat, in latitude 44 deg. south, and about thirty miles from the Cordillera, we joined company with a party of the Pampa or Penck Indians already alluded to. It is impossible now to do more than mention the chief characteristic differences which, besides that of language, mark them out as a distinct race from the Tehuelche. Their stature and proportions are smaller, their countenances are inferior in intelligent expression. The women, however, who seem to have appropriated the marks of the not infrequent admixture of Spanish blood, are, as a rule, better-looking than the Tehan of the Tehuelches; the men when mounted on horseback are armed with peculiar long light lances, the shafts of which are made from a cane resembling bamboo found in the Cordillera. As to their religion I have reason to believe that they are worshippers of the sun; they however practise similar rites to those already described for propitiating the evil spirit, who is known by the same name. One custom not practised amongst the Tehuelches is a ceremony the Pampas perform before drinking intoxicating liquor. Four lances are pitched in the ground, round which the chiefs walk, each carrying a pannikin containing a little liquor which they sprinkle partly on the lances and partly on the ground, muttering incantations all the time. These Pampa Indians I believe to have been the race armed with bows and arrows met with and described by the early navigators, and to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Negro, where great quantities of flint arrow-heads and

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P 105

stone pestles and mortars are found, near Indian burying places, dissimilar to those of the Tehuelches. As to the probable use of these mortars by people to whom grain was unknown, I am inclined to conjecture that they were used to pound the aljarroba pods into a paste, such as at the present day forms an article of food amongst the Pampas. These Indians are expert in the use of the sling, with which they used formerly to chase the eamy, partridge, and other small game abounding in the Rio Negro. The numbers of the Pampa tribe south of the Rio Negro are gradually diminishing, principally by the agency of smallpox. At the time of my visit their whole population was perhaps under six hundred.

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The third distinct tribe are called, by the Tehuelches, Chenna or Araucanos; some of them are also known as Moluche; they are also called Manzaneros from the station of Las Manzanos or the apple-trees, the headquarters of their chief cheoque. These are an offshoot of the warlike Araucanian race, who ever since the first settlement of the Spaniards have waged war against the invading race with varying success but have never been conquered. They are a decidedly superior race in intelligence, knowledge, and character. They are at once recognisable by their finer features and fresh complexions; they cut their hair short, and are, as a rule, well dressed, in ponchos woven from home-made yarn by their women. The general appearance of the first party we met with, while still too far off for the colour of their eyes to be discernible, struck me as so peculiarly European that I remarked to the Tehuelche next me in the ranks, "Perhaps these are my countrymen?" He answered, "They are very white, but very much devil; perhaps they'll fight us." These Indians are far less migratory in their habits, and greatly dislike travelling, more especially the women, who invariably remain behind when the men go on hunting excursions, or pay visits to the settlements, either for peaceful trade, or, as frequently happens, for the purpose of plunder. Their ceremonies are much the same as those of the other Indians; they possess some knowledge of precious stones, to which they attach value as having particular virtues. Some clans of these Indians north of the Rio Limay or Rio Negro occupy stationary dwellings made of skins, but much larger, and exhibiting greater regard for comfort than the toldos of the Tehuelches. They also possess large flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and horses. In the country apples and piñones abound, which they gather every autumn. Of the apples they make cider, and also prepare an intoxicating drink from some other plant; I think the algarroba.

Like the Pampas, they are armed with long light lances, which they use with great dexterity. The chiefs maintain strict disci-

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Araucanians SH4

pline, and I have seen their assembled forces, each squadron with a captain or leader at its head, manœuvre like disciplined troops. Their language appeared to me to be much softer in sound than that of the Tehuelches, and resembles in some measure the Pampa tongue. The Méluche women are remarkable for their modesty and good looks, one of their chief charms being their beautiful black hair, which is of great length and fine texture, and of which they are justly proud. This race alone resisted the aggressive power of the Peruvian Incas, and a conjecture that some of the fugitives of that Royal race took refuge amongst them, was suggested to my mind by the light complexion of some of their families, and by the occurrence of the name "Manco" as that of a man who was killed during my sojourn in their country, and who, I was told, was the descendant of a great chief. Altogether these Araucanians are a far higher and more cultivated race than the Pampas or Tehuelches. Their numbers in Patagonia proper, viz., south of the Rio Limay, may be estimated at three hundred men, women, and children, which at a rough estimate would give the numbers of the Indians of Patagonia as amounting to about two thousand five hundred.

Discussion.

Mr. D'ALMEIDA begged to observe, on the races of Patagonia, that he saw a similarity in some of their customs with those of the Chinese and the eastern races. Painting or daubing the body with the dyes or flour extracted from the leaves or roots of farinaceous plants, was a common practice with the Javanese and the natives of the Malayan seas. They burnt their hair for similar reasons to those assigned by the Patagonians. The offering of the bull's-head was also common among some of the Javanese. Mr. d'Almeida witnessed one of these ceremonies. They call it the "festa Boomie", an offering to earth. As to burning the goods and chattels of the deceased, Herodotus mentions that the Scythians practised this ceremony. Feninore Cooper described a similar ceremony, he thought, in his "Last of the Mohicans", and it is a subject of a poem by Longfellow. The Chinese, like the Patagonians, also believed in the existence of a good spirit, though they bowed down and burnt candles to the bad spirits, because the latter required more praying to than the former. He made these observations merely to show the similarity of customs prevalent amongst nations and races, though wide apart from each other.

Lieut. MUSTERS said that the method of ascertaining an average height of the Patagonians, and also the difference of stature between the northern and southern tribes, was obtained by the author of the paper taking the average of eighteen able-bodied men, in whose company he travelled. Of these, ten were of the northern tribe and eight of the southern, the latter exceeding the others in a small measure in average height. The obsidian and flint articles

3: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The obsidian and flint articles
were confined to scrapers used by the women for cleaning skins, and flints for obtaining fire. There were no traditions regarding the migrations of tribes extant amongst the Indians. It was impossible to obtain information of their forefathers from the Indians. The disposition of the Tehuelches was, when not excited by drink or warfare, cheerful and good-humoured. They treated Lieut. Musters with great kindness. They were particularly fond of their children. During the author's visit and travels in the country, all the tribes were mustered for political purposes: being on the staff of the head chief, he took notes of the numbers of each tribe: from these data he made his calculations, allowing four women and children to each able-bodied man. The numbers are probably slightly under than over the mark.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above: viz., Mr. J. J. Monteiro, Col. Lane Fox, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Wadé, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Wake, Mr. H. Howorth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

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POLYCHROME GUANACO CLOAKS OF PATAGONIA

BY

S. K. LOTHROP

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POLYCHROME GUANACO CLOAKS OF PATAGONIA

BY

S. K. LOTHROP

29/11/S

SOUTH American Indians, for protection against the cold, employed a cloak, a poncho, or a shirt. The genetic relationship between these garments is close, as the poncho is merely a cloak with a hole in the middle for inserting the head, while a shirt is a poncho which has been sewn up the sides. Poncho and shirt are typical of all western South America from Colombia to central Chile.[1] Robes, on the other hand, are a southern element of culture, found from Cape Horn northward to the Gran Chaco. The distribution of fur robes as given by Nordenskiöld [2] includes the following tribes:

Mataco	Yaro
Ashluslay	Chaná
Toba	Tehuelche
Abipon	Ona
Mbayá	Yaigan
Querandí	Alacaluf
Lengua	Chono
Southern Tupinambá	Araucan
Charrúa	Aries (prehistoric)

To this list we may add the Haush of Tierra del Fuego, the Puelche of the Argentine Pampas, and various tribes of the lower Paraná such as the Mimaaé, Chaná-Mbeguá, Timbú, etc. In short, fur robes have a continuous distribution over thirty-six degrees of latitude in southern South America.

Granted a wide distribution of even such simple cultural elements

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[1] Nordenskiöld (1919, pp. 93–107) has discussed the typology and distribution most adequately. Except in a few minor details we have followed his data.

[2] Ibid., map 15 and pp. 97–98. We have omitted literary sources on which this list is based.

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Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

T 291 171 as the fur mantle, we should naturally expect to find much variation in materials, methods of manufacture, and manner of use. Among the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, robes were made typically of seal- or otter-skin, and were worn with the fur side outward. Eastern Yahgan at times also used guanaco, while western Yahgan and Alacalof employed coypo-skins. The stitching was of whale sinew. A characteristic feature of all Magellanic mantles is their small size, for they measure about 35 by 50 inches and covered only the upper part of the body, being held in place with thongs tied across the shoulders. Yahgan capes, to the knowledge of the writer, never received painted decoration on the skin side, but an Alacalof cape of three coypo-skins, secured for the Museum in 1925 (14/2052), had been painted red.

T, Y 291

T, O 291 171 Ona mantles were made of two or three skins of adult guanaco sewn together with sinews from the back of this animal. They measure about five feet square, which is enough to envelop the body from neck to ankle. Ona women painted their robes red on the skin side, which was worn next the body, and, when this task was finished, they turned the fur side uppermost to wipe their encrimsoned hands. Thus streaks were produced on the fur, but in no way could they be regarded as deliberately made patterns. In fact, the only fields for painted decoration among the Ona were their persons and their dance paraphernalia, while their patterns, like those of the Yahgan,[a] were crude dashes of color, uncertain in line and simple in rhythm.

T 291 171 On the use of fur robes in the Chaco, Nordenskiöld[b] writes that they are seemingly an impractical garment for a tropical climate infested with insects; but, as a matter of fact, the nights are often cool, while chilling winds sweep over the country in May and June. Formerly cloaks made of coypo-skins were common, but these have given way to sheep-skin robes owing to the trade value of the former, and the sheep-skin garments in turn are being replaced by capes or ponchos of woven material. Robes in the Chaco are worn fur side inward, and they are painted on the skin side (fig. 12).

T 291 The Tehuelche cape (fig. 1), known as guanaco, is a fur robe measuring a few inches more than five feet on a side. The fur was worn next to the body and the skin side was elaborately painted.

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[a] Lothrop, 1928, pl. 10.
[b] 1919, p. 98.

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SHS Tehuelche SHS

LOTHROP—GUARANI CLOAKS OF PATAGONIA 3

Around camp or at home in the table sees kept this garment in place with their hands, but alone they wore a belt and slipped the cloak from the shoulders when they wished to liberate their arms (fig. 3). The women's robes were secured by a belt and by a pin inserted at the throat. From this fact it follows that the specimens here described were males' garments, for none of them exhibit pin marks.

Fig. 1.—Tehuelche Indian, showing cloak. (After Oates and Brush)

In addition to the cape, Tehuelche men wore a loincloth of hide or of woven material, while the women had a small apron falling to the knees. Both sexes wore tall boots made by stripping off entire the hocks of puma or horses, which were sewn up at the bottom to form the toe. The women did not remove the hair from their boots, but the men did. In wet weather the Tehuelche covered these *pairs* boots with what is described as an overshoe, but this we judge to have been the primitive Tehuelche footgear, corresponding in type to the mammals of the Oas.*

Tehuelche painted robes could have been obtained in almost unlimited numbers until a few years ago, but not many of them have reached museums. The reason for this seems to be due to the fact that they were so common that no one took the trouble to preserve them, while, doubtless for the same reason, only short descriptions of their manufacture are on record. The five specimens on which this study is based were purchased by the writer for the Museum in 1923 at Gallegos in southern Patagonia. Other examples may be seen in the Museo de la Plata, the American Museum of Natural

*Lothrop, 1928, pp. 10-20.

281 History, the United States National Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

281 In regard to the material preferred by the Tehuelche for their robes, Father Falkner* writes:

136 These made with the skins of young rabs and mares are the best valuable. The mantles made of the skins of a small, stinking animal, like our polecat, which they call yaguaon, are superior to those last. . . .

The fur of the ceipe, or otter, is in equal esteem with that of the yaguaon, or mulhet. . . .

The mantles made of the skins of guanaco are in still greater estimation than those before-mentioned, on account of the warmth and fineness of their wool, and their long duration. But those which are in the highest esteem of all are made with the skins of small foxes, which are exceedingly soft and beautiful. They are of a mottled gray, with a red cast, but not so durable as those of the guanaco.

On this subject Musters* writes:

Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and dusch; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat being the most valuable, but that the others, are generally intended only for barter.

In addition, the present writer has seen several mantles of ostrich-skins from Patagonia. While these have undoubtedly been made by the Indians and exhibit characteristic indigenous sewing, yet it is exceedingly doubtful that they were ever used locally. On the contrary, it appears that they were manufactured merely in order to trade with white settlers.

A considerable variety of furs, then, were used on occasion in Tehuelche robes, but in rules cases the guanaco was selected. This wild relative of the Rama, one of the four New World camels, has been most entirely described by the friend of Capt. Musters* who enclosed that it combined "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the antibiosis of the devil." We shall examine the methods of hunting guanaco and the weapons employed.

When first encountered by Europeans the Tehuelche armed themselves with bows and arrows. Their bows apparently were not like those of the Ona, for they are described as short and stiff.* After

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* [illegible]
* [illegible]
* [illegible]
* [illegible]

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SMS Tehuelche SMS

[illegible] 7

the introduction of the horse between 1670 and 1730, the Tehuelche abandoned their ancestral weapon in favor of the bolas. As pointed out by Oates,[*] there is no literary mention of bolas in Patagonia before the expedition of John Byron in 1764, but all travelers thereafter speak of it. On the other hand, various discoverers during the first half of the sixteenth century observed bolas in use among the inhabitants of the La Plata litoral, such as the Minuanes, Charrúa, and Quiroga, but archaeological evidence indicates that this missile was never employed as extensively in that region as it was later in Patagonia. In Chile, Bolivia, and Peru occasional finds have been made of grooved stones suggesting bolas, but their use never was typical, for the inhabitants of these lands preferred the sling. The greatest development of the bolas, then, was among the Tehuelche, but the center of dispersion apparently was the La Plata district. 411

Among the Tehuelche three types of bolas were employed (fig. 1, p-r). The simplest of these, known as the *bola perdida*, was a stone ball attached to a cord about a yard long. This was employed in warfare, for finishing off wounded game, and for killing pumas, which they always attached at close quarters (fig. 3). A second type, called *chaná*, had two balls joined by a cord six or seven feet long. This was intended primarily for capturing ostriches. A third type, with three balls, known as *perdida*, was dedicated to the pursuit of guanaco.

In compound bolas one ball is especially designed to be grasped in the hand when the missile is spun and cast. We do not know the Tehuelche name for it, but it is called the *maneja* in Spanish. This stone is not round, but oval (fig. 1, d-f), and is lighter by about a third than the other balls.

In former times bolas' balls were made of stone or hematite, but the Tehuelche have employed lead or copper when procurable. Archaeological examples from southern Patagonia, illustrated in fig. 1, a-c, show various types of grooving. More recently, however, the stones have been enclosed in leather sacks and therefore have no grooves. The average weight of a ball is perhaps a pound, but there is a good deal of variation in this respect. 411 324

The cord used in Tehuelche bolas is of ostrich or guanaco sinew, braided four-ply. 411 283

As a weapon the bolas has both its advantages and disadvantages. 411

[*] [illegible]

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929

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000 2/1

FIG. 3.—Tehuelche hunting. (After Masters)

2/1 [The original source has been processed-A]

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

411 hunter must be moving in the same line as the quarry when he makes his cast.

224 The actual hunting of guanaco was a joint occupation for all male members of the group who happened to be living together. After camp had been broken, the horses packed, and the women and children set on the road, the men would sit around a fire and smoke for a while. Then, at the command of the chief, "two men start off at a gallop and ride around a certain area of the country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are dispatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use." [11]

000^1 Information about the manufacture and decoration of guanaco robes is scanty. We therefore quote in full the accounts of Musters [12] and Bourne,[13] as they are the most extensive we have been able to find.[14] Musters' narrative follows.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed in a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle [fig. 4]. They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into a pulp, after which they are softened in the

[11] Musters, 1871, p. 71.
[12] Ibid., pp. 179–180.
[13] 1853, pp. 98–99.
[14] Cooper (1925) cites the following references to Tehuelche robes and colors: Maximilianus Transylvanus, 1523, p. AV. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498. Nuño da Silva, 1906, p. 135. Outes, 1905, p. 258. Pigafetta, 1906, I, pp. 48–49. Oviedo, II, p. 43. Fletcher, 1854, p. 53. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 234. Dr. Cooper has most kindly assured me that he knows no detailed accounts except those of Bourne and Musters.

I 1 [The original sources have been processed—A]

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife [fig. 5] into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other [fig. 6], in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The favorite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work, and the rapidity with which they sew are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case, he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about a third of their number.

FIG. 4—Tehuelche flesher. (After Outes and Bruch)

Bourne's account of mantle-making differs in detail from that of Musters, so we quote it also in full.

The skins of young guanacos are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. When the surface is made tolerably smooth, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively scoured with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. When the skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of

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the ostrich. They are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of an ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which, if intended to show forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garments are now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native taste requires. . . .

Certain comments may be made on the two descriptions of robe-making just quoted. In the first place, the tools enumerated are well known archeologically, and most of them have been illustrated by Outes (1905). Scrapers sometimes were hafted by setting them transversely in a block of wood and securing them with resin.[15] More often the handle consisted of a split sapling, bent until the ends met, with the blade secured between them by lashings (fig. 4). Snub-nose scrapers, intended for use without hafting, are found throughout Patagonia, but not in great quantities.

Knife-blades are found all over Patagonia. However, the series we illustrate in fig. 5, *a–d*, come from the region where the cloaks here described were obtained. Of these *b* is a single triangular flake, retouched along the edges; *a* is a symmetrical elongate blade which

[15] Outes (1905, p. 339) states that this hafting is of Araucanian origin, taken over by the Tehuelche. The use of transversely hafted scrapers by the Ona of Tierra del Fuego, however, suggests that the culture transference may have been from the Tehuelche to the Araucanians.

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has been worked all over; *c* is a lanceolate blade, again worked all over. While not rare, none of these forms is common. An apparently unique knife is seen in *d*—a form probably derived from some European prototype. The great majority of blades (fig. 5,

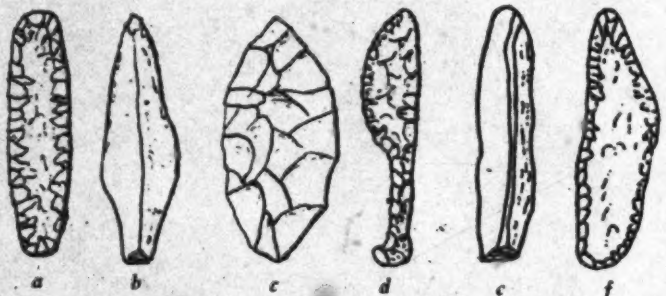

FIG. 5.—Tehuelche knife-blades. *a–d*, Río Galliegos basin (Hamilton collection); *e*, Gulf of San Jorge; *f*, Sierras Coloradas (after Outes)

e, *f*) are of somewhat irregular shape, sometimes one- and sometimes two-edged, in type merging imperceptibly into the scraper class. On the Tehuelche manner of hafting stone knife-blades we have no information.

Bourne's account of preparing skins describes the scouring of hides with a coarse-grained stone. In the John Hamilton collection at Galliegos, which we had the privilege of inspecting, were a number of accurately cut rectangular blocks of porous lava about six inches long by two to three inches wide and thick, which might well have been used for this purpose. Outes [16] describes and illustrates stone discs about three inches in diameter and an inch in thickness which may have been similarly employed.

Tehuelche "needles," used in the sewing, were not true needles with an eye, but simply awls. As among most primitive people, formerly they were of bone, particularly the leg-bones of birds, but in recent years the Tehuelche have used a nail or some piece of scrap-iron.

As for the pigments employed to decorate Tehuelche cloaks, they were applied mixed with blood or with grease to a slightly dampened surface. Musters [17] writes that the grease was obtained from the

[16] 1905, figs. 194, 195.

[17] 1871, p. 172.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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386 scum of boiled marrow-bones, and he states that red paint was ocher, black paint an earth, and white paint a gypsum. Bourne[18] says that black was obtained from charcoal, as was the practice among both Foot and Canoe Indians in Tierra del Fuego. No information is available about yellow, blue, and green pigments. We suspect that the green is always of European origin and has replaced blue, frequently mentioned by early travelers but not found on the Museum's specimens, which, by the way, illustrate the use of both native and 413 European pigments. On the methods of applying paints, we have the statement of Bourne that a stick was used for a brush. The Tehuelche made small hair-brushes by binding together a bundle of slender roots,[19] but apparently never used paint brushes. However, it must be remembered that a stick makes a good brush if the pulp has been removed by chewing so that a fibrous end remains.[19a] Certainly Tehuelche patterns have been applied with a neatness and precision perhaps not fully appreciable on existing specimens because the colors have run in the rain.[20]

281 Assemblage of skins we illustrate in fig. 6. This mantle contains
291 twelve skins, placed alternately head to foot, as will be seen if the picture is reversed. From side to side there are five complete rows, two head-up and three head-down, while the sides contain skins which have been split into halves longitudinally. The result of thus piecing together the skins is an alternation of color, the white bellies and the *café au lait* backs of the guanaco succeeding each other in turn. Such robes have considerable commercial value today, and we have been told that more than half a million guanaco-skins were shipped from Patagonia in 1924.

531 Coming now to an examination of the painted patterns, preliminary
291 inspection shows that the decorated surface habitually is divided into

[18] Ubi supra.

[19] One of these is illustrated by Outes and Bruch, fig. 118.

[19a] See Orchard, W. C., Fine-line Decoration of Southwestern Pottery, *Indian Notes*, vol. II, no. I, 1925.

[20] The colors in pls. LXV and LXVI have been made more intense than on the weather-stained original specimens. The following color-scheme is employed in our line-drawings.

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six fixed and limited portions, each of which is separately adorned in its own fashion. These divisions follow.

1. *Edge.*—A strip of solid color runs completely around the entire edge of the robe. On the Museum specimens this is red in four cases and green in one.

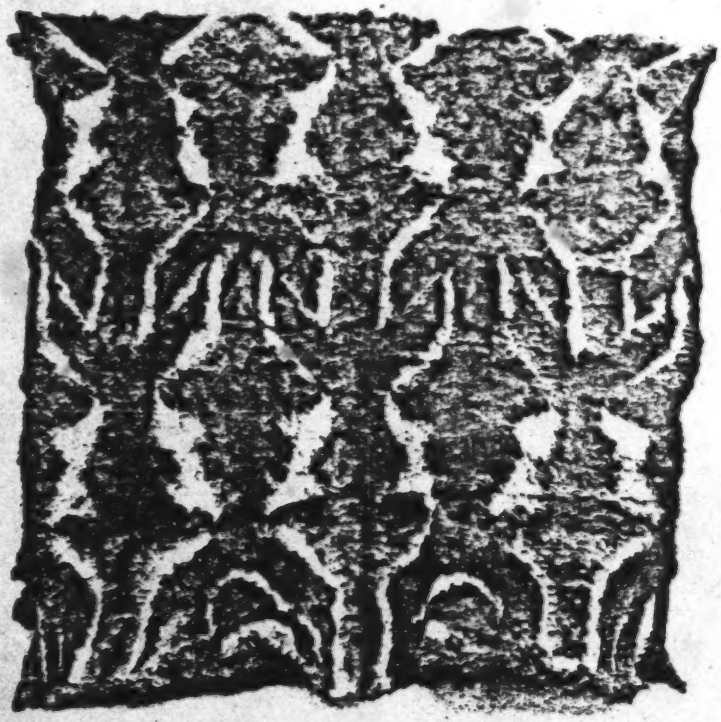

FIG. 6.—Fur side of a Tehuelche guanaco robe. Size, 61 x 63 in. (13/9769)

2. *One-border pattern.*—Along one border, next to the colored edge, is a band of polychrome motives set between black border-lines (fig. 7, *a*).

3. *Corner patterns.*—At each end of the one-border pattern, at the corners of the robe come two identical designs (fig. 7, *b, b*). These each are painted on a single piece of skin about a foot long, and they are wider than the one-border pattern.

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4. *Corner tabs.*—Just around the corners from the corner patterns are a pair of tabs painted in solid color (fig. 7, *e*, *e*). They project slightly beyond the straight side of the robe. Musters speaks of these as "wings."

FIG. 7.—Skin side of a Tehuelche guanaco robe, showing distribution of patterns. (13/9769)

5. *Three-border pattern.*—Starting at the corner tabs, a polychrome design encompasses the three remaining sides of the robe (fig. 7, *c*, *c*, *c*). Like the one-border pattern, this is placed between black lines, but it is a little wider, though not so broad as the corner motives.

6. *Central field.*—Inside the patterns we have described, the remainder of the cloak is either painted in solid color or is completely

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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covered with polychrome decoration. Of the Museum specimens, one is painted green all over (fig. 9, *a–c*), while another is red (*d–f*). It will be noted that in both cases the edge of the robe has a contrasting color. The remaining examples here illustrated have the central field completely covered with rather elaborate polychrome motives, which are segregated in three panels by two dividing bands, as seen in fig. 7, *d*.

As the robe is actually worn (fig. 1), the one-border pattern runs across the back and over the shoulders. This brings the corner patterns and corner tabs over the arms, so that roughly they suggest the sleeves and cuffs of a coat. The three-border pattern extends down the front edges and across the bottom.

The patterns themselves consist of extremely simple elements, such as the square, diamond, triangle, and cross, but these are worked into combinations surprisingly complex in view of the cultural poverty of the Tehuelche in general. This complexity arises not only from varied juxtaposition of design elements, but also from the alternation of colors.

One of the favorite border motives is a checkerboard pattern based on three colors, of which one is the natural hide. These patterns are so arranged that successive squares form diagonals or zigzags. Examples of the diagonals are illustrated in fig. 9, *e*; pls. LXV, *c*, and LXVI, *a*; while zigzags appear in fig. 9, *a*, *f*, and pl. LXV, *b*. In each case the zigzags enclose triangles of contrasting color.

Diamond motives are also common. Usually they are boldly drawn, as in figs. 8, *a*, and 9, *c*, *d*, and pl. LXVI, *b*. In one case, fig. 9, *b*, crossed diagonal lines form small diamonds which have been filled with color in the fashion of a checkerboard pattern.

The triangle commonly is a minor pattern employed as a space-filler, as in fig. 8, *a*, *c*, and 9, *c*. In fig. 8, *b*, and pl. LXVI, *b*, however, it occupies a major position in the design.

Central patterns are painted on a larger scale than those on the corners and borders, from which they also differ because the colors stand by themselves, while in corner and border motives colors are used to fill black-outlined designs. Central patterns either are like the large meanders seen in fig. 1 or are based on square and cross in various combinations. In fig. 8, *d*, there are shown four-color alternating groups of four and five squares connected by diagonal lines.

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Pl. LXV, *d*, has a much simpler assemblage of alternating squares set between parallel lines of red. Pl. LXVI has the most complicated pattern of the Museum collection, for it contains a four-unit design built up of crosses flanked on all sides by squares.

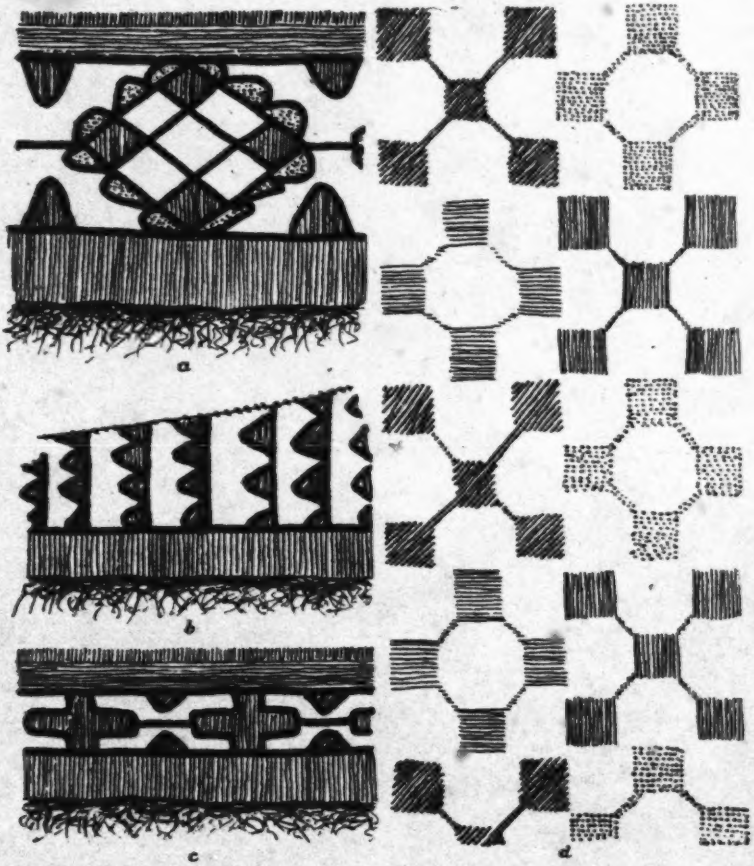

FIG. 8.—Designs from a Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, Three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, center. (13/9769)

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Such, then, are the Tehuelche patterns. To what are they related and where do they belong in the cultural scheme of southern South America? We have already pointed out that the central patterns exhibit a different tradition from the border and corner patterns. The

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latter consist of black outlines filled with color, a decorative method particularly characteristic of New World pottery. Furthermore, the confinement of design within bands is a pottery characteristic, while

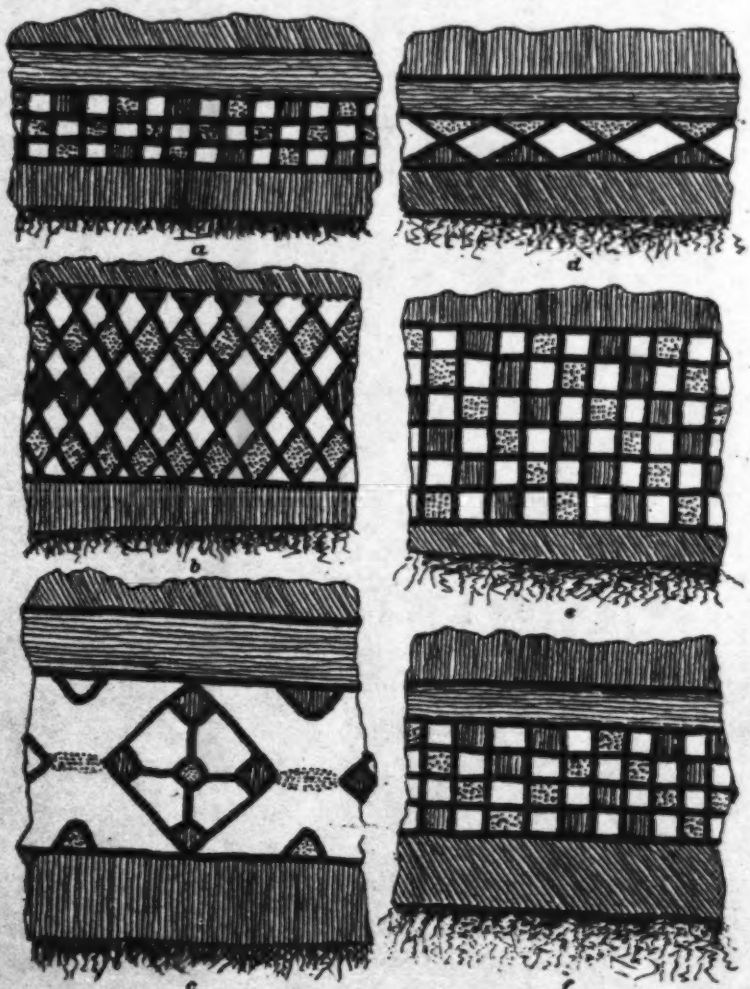

FIG. 9.—Tehuelche patterns. *a*, *d*, One-border patterns; *b*, *e*, corner patterns; *c*, *f*, three-border patterns. (*a–c*, 13/9770; *d–f*, 13/9767)

some of the patterns themselves, such as fig. 8, *a–c*, or pl. LXVI, *c*, strongly suggest widespread ceramic motives. Hence to seek comparisons we turn first to ceramic remains.

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The painted pottery found nearest to the Tehuelche comes (1) from the coastal region in Chile between Valparaiso and Puerto Montt, (2) from the Calchaquí region in northwestern Argentina, (3) from the Gran Chaco, (4) from the south bank of the Río Luján, and (5) from the islands of the Paraná delta. The Chilean pottery is represented by a few examples in the Museum from Temuco in the province of Cautín, and we have seen also a small collection in the National Museum at Santiago. It is a grayish white ware with black or red designs strongly recalling ceramic remains from our Southwestern states. The patterns afford no ground for comparison with those of the Tehuelche.

Calchaquí pottery exhibits within itself wide variations which we have not space here to discuss. In glancing through museum collections and printed illustrations we have encountered sufficient likeness to Tehuelche art to arouse a feeling that there is some vague relationship, especially with specimens from the province of Mendoza. For instance, from Huasan [21] and many other sites come painted checkerboard designs suggesting Tehuelche art. However, we know little of chronological sequence in the Calchaquí, and it would be unwise to draw conclusion on this or similar evidence which might be presented.

Modern pottery from the Gran Chaco does not suggest to the writer interrelationship with the Tehuelche.

On the south bank of the Río Luján formerly lived the Querandí Indians who attacked and fired the first settlement at Buenos Aires. This tribe has totally disappeared and the only trace of them today consists of archeological remains. A presumably Querandí site on the Arroyo Sarandí, excavated in 1925 by the Thea Heye - La Plata Expedition, yielded both incised and painted pottery. The latter showed no relationship to Tehuelche art, but the incised ware suggests Tehuelche meander patterns, seen in fig. 1.

Painted pottery from the delta islands of the Paraná presumably is the handiwork of Guaraní Indians. A site on the Arroyo Guayracá (Arroyo Malo), excavated by the Thea Heye - La Plata expedition, produced a few vessels decorated with red and black paint. As might be expected of Guaraní ceramics, however, the designs point definitely to the north and show no relationship with Tehuelche art.

[21] Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

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A survey of painted pottery in relation to Tehuelche border and corner patterns then yields no very definite connections, although the Tehuelche designs considered suggest in themselves a pottery technique. An examination of basketry decoration from the coast of Chile, from the Araucanian district, and from the Gran Chaco, gives only negative results. At the same time, some of the Tehuelche patterns, especially those in the central field, indicate a basketry prototype.

FIG. 10.—Tehuelche Indians. (After Personty)

Araucanian weaving,[22a] on the other hand, has certain definite links with Tehuelche robes. In the first place, checkerboard patterns are common and often are arranged to form zigzags. Secondly, when the Araucanian poncho has a border pattern, it is not a unit completely encircling the cloth, as is the case with Bolivian and Peruvian textiles. On the contrary, the border designs are arranged in opposing pairs, which differ from each other in color, pattern, and

[22a] Lowie, 1917.

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width. While this ordering of border decoration is not exactly like the Tehuelche arrangement, it is the only suggestion of it that we have been able to find in contiguous territory.

The guanaco robe illustrated in fig. 1 has for its central pattern a series of large meanders and frets, quite different in character from the corresponding designs on the Museum's specimens and on others examined by the writer. We believe this represents an older current of Patagonian art. In fig. 10 we reproduce an eighteenth-century picture of Patagonian robes showing the decorations, probably drawn with some accuracy, as the artist must have had an opportunity to inspect the specimens brought back to Paris by the expedition of Duclos-Guyot.[29] The type of design depicted corresponds with verbal descriptions of contemporary and more recent date. For instance, d'Orbigny speaks of "un manteau de peaux d'animaux, sur lequel, du côté opposé au poil, ils figurent des groupes irréguliers et variées,"[30] while the description in Pernetty states that the robes were painted with blue and red figures "qui semblent approcher des caracteres Chinois, mais presque tous semblables, & séparés par des lignes droites, qui forment des especes des quarrés & des lozanges." The description of Musters, already quoted, implies that there were at

FIG. 11.—Chorrin Indian. (After Pernetty)

[29] Pernetty, vol. II, p. 125, footnote 8.
[30] Vol. IX, p. 22.

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the time of his journey two distinct classes of design, and of these one was marked by zigzags like the robe in fig. 10.

In fig. 11 we illustrate a cloak from Montevideo adorned in much the same fashion as ancient Patagonian specimens. This piece must have been made by the Charrúa Indians, who formerly inhabited the western half of Uruguay, for Pernetty[20] expressly states that it was worn by natives who lived only a few leagues from the city. In describing these garments he says that they were "peint en rouge

FIG. 12.—Otter-skin robe. Mataco Indian. (After Nordenskiöld, 1913)

& en bleu gris, par quarrés, losanges & triangles." The Charrúa Indians have been extinct for many years, and no examples of their perishable handiwork probably are in existence, but the engraving has been executed with such detail that we can feel confidence in its accuracy.

The ancient school of design depicted in figs. 10 and 11 has survived to this day among tribes of the Gran Chaco, not in the

[20] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 256.

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weaving but in painted robes, carved gourds, and facial painting. In fig. 12 we show an otter-skin robe made by the Mataco Indians. Each of the fifteen skins in this garment has been decorated with its own individual pattern, painted in two distinct manners, which perhaps indicates that two individuals cooperated in its manufacture. At any rate, the thin-line designs are based on a series of squares, lozenges, and zigzags obviously suggestive of old-time decorations of the Charrúa and Tehuelche.

FIG. 13—Skirt with painted decoration. Lengua Indian. Length, 37 in. (14/Sat)

Skin robes, as already stated, were in general use throughout the Chaco until recently. They embraced the kind seen in fig. 12, marked by geometric decoration, and also a second class, painted with crude life forms (fig. 13). The second group apparently is totally unrelated to Tehuelche mantles, on which animorphic patterns are completely absent, but this type of design is ancient, for it reflects pictographs found in the Chaco and farther to the west and south.

Incised or burned designs on gourds are common throughout the Chaco,[illegible] and these patterns at times suggest early Tehuelche motives. Similarly facial painting also recalls the art found farther to the south.[illegible]

[illegible] The technology and distribution have been discussed by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Lehmann-Nitsche, 1904.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
[illegible] Tehuelche [illegible]

What we have called the ancient Tehuelche school of design has archaeological affiliations over a very wide area. Nordenskiöld[*] published the Kimara cake reproduced in our fig. 12 because he recognized a connection with designs on incised pottery excavated near the San Francisco, a tributary of the Bermejo river. Incised pottery with patterns exhibiting local variations but in general recalling Tehuelche designs is found along the course of the Paraná river (fig. 14), especially in the provinces of Santa Fé, Entre Ríos, and

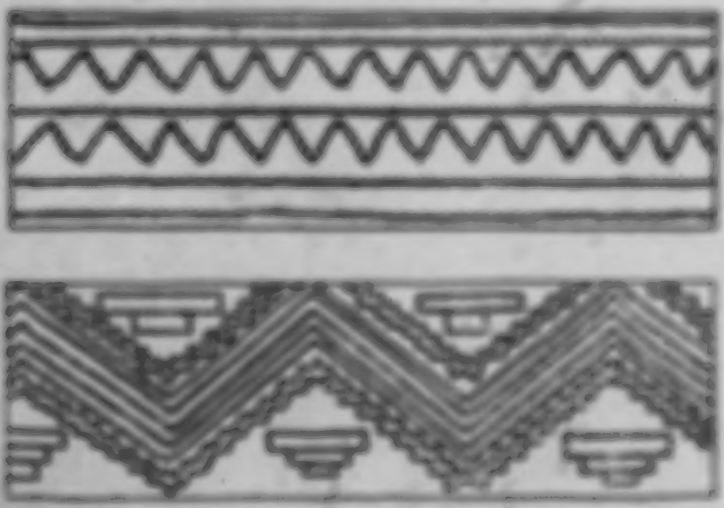

Fig. 14—Designs incised on pottery vessels. El Cerrillo, Paraná Guazú river, Argentina. ([illegible])

Buenos Aires. This incised ware indeed extends southward along the Atlantic litoral[**] into Patagonia well beyond the Deseado river, that is, to south latitude 48°.[*] Burial grounds and refuse heaps in the Paraná delta yield comparable designs scratched on bone and other objects.[*] Incised decoration on pottery from northeastern

[*] [illegible], fig. 13.
[**] See Outes ([illegible]) and Nelson ([illegible]).
[*] Incised designs from Patagonia have been published by Outes, [illegible]. This important archaeological paper, as well as historical sources from Figueroa to d'Orbigny, have not been utilized in distributional maps published by Sapiehe and Wissler, for they draw the southern limits of pottery at the Río Negro.
[*] Torres, [illegible].

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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[illegible] MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Argentina, especially from the province of Mendoza,* at times is strikingly like Tehuelche motives.

Aside from fur robes, the most elaborately decorated objects from Patagonia are ceremonial axes, plaques, and labrets, and, as might be expected, the patterns on them show the closest resemblance to the old-style embellishment on skin.* In fig. 15 we illustrate a stone

Fig. 15—Engraved stone plaque. (After Gusta, 1908)

plaque engraved with fine-line designs, unusual though not unique in their elaboration. These consist of triangles, lozenges, zigzags, and meanders, associated in a manner very suggestive of the cloak in fig. 10, as well as some of the recent border patterns. The purpose of the engraved axes and plaques has been the subject of controversy, but there can be little doubt that they have an antiquity of several centuries.

Our survey of Tehuelche robes has shown that this kind of garment must was in general use throughout southern South America.

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* For example, the Chapman tacked ways, published by Lehmann (1908, [illegible]).

* Axes and plaques have been illustrated by Ambrosetti ([illegible]), Gigliotti ([illegible]), Dickson ([illegible]), Lehmann-Nitsche ([illegible]), Gusta ([illegible]), Vivanco ([illegible]), and Vivanco and Vitale ([illegible]). Lehmann-Nitsche ([illegible]) has described labrets.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Painted decorations on specimens collected in recent years, though based on simple elements, exhibit a complexity of rhythm scarcely to be expected among people of such general cultural poverty. A study of the designs has shown that they can be divided into two major groups. The more recent of these shows apparent connection with textile patterns of the Araucanians, although the relationship is too vague and the available material too scanty for exact demonstration. The Araucanians, it will be recalled, in the sixteenth century occupied only a few small valleys east of the Andes, but in the eighteenth century they overrun most of the Pampas, thus coming into contact with the Tehuelche. 531 171 291

We also have given reasons for believing that the Tehuelche formerly adorned their robes with designs of a different type, related to the art of other nomadic tribes, such as the Charrúa, and until recently found in the Chaco. This school of decoration we believe is basic over a large area in South America, for it is typical of archaeological remains not only from Patagonia but as well from the Pampas, from the Calchaquí region, the lower Paraná, and from the Gran Chaco.

The absence of such decorative motives among the Ona and Huash of Tierra del Fuego implies that they had been separated from their mainland kinsmen for many centuries, and it raises the question whether the Tehuelche carried this type of design with them when they populated Patagonia or whether it reached them by infiltration at a later date.

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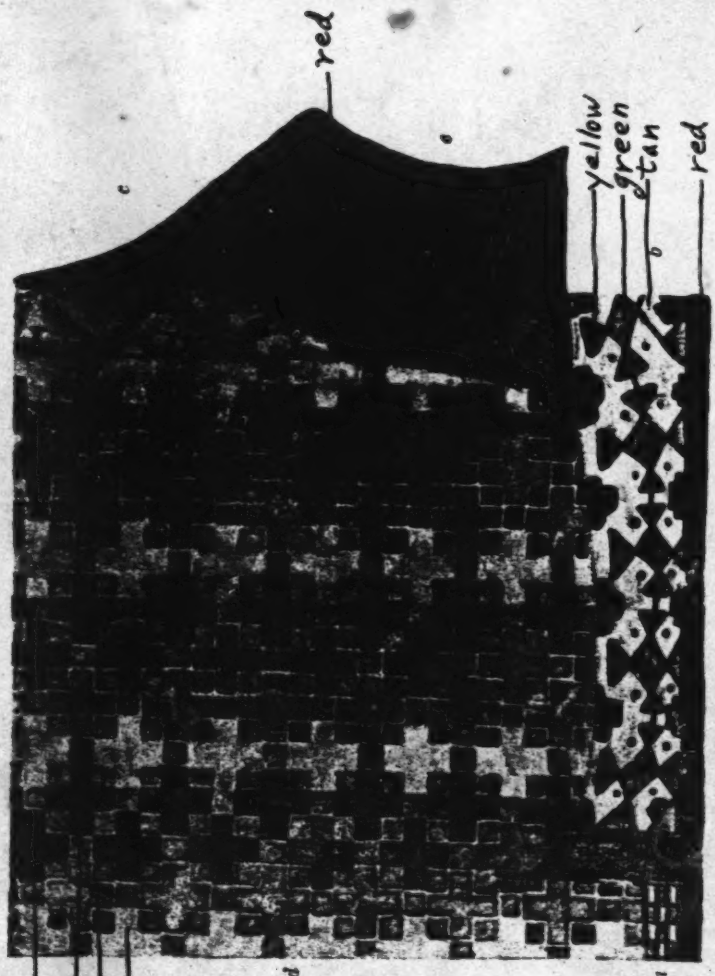

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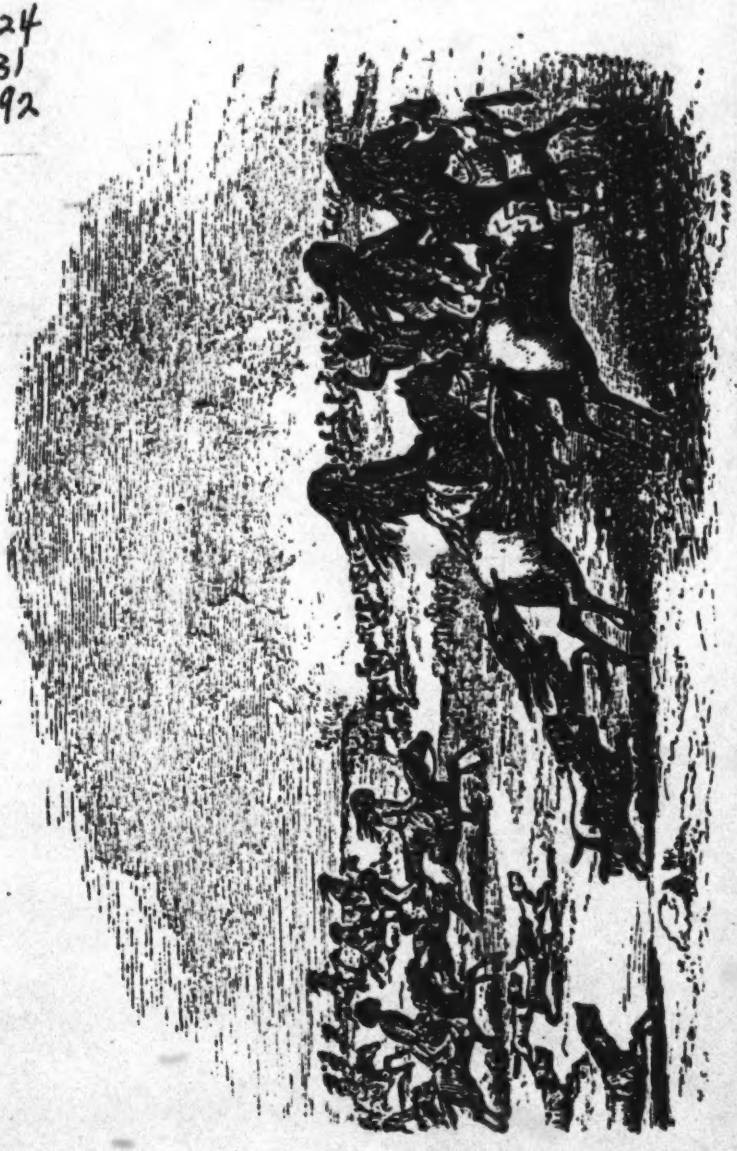

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THE

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CAPTIVE IN PATAGONIA;

OR,

LIFE AMONG THE GIANTS.

A

PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

BY

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BOURNE.

With Illustrations.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY D. LOTHROP & CO.
DOVER, N. H.: G. T. DAY & CO.
1874.

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PREFACE.

BOOK-MAKING is so much of a trade, that it may be thought quite unnecessary to be at the trouble to assign reasons for embarking in it; but, as it is not my own vocation, it will be allowed me to say, that the deep interest which many, not only of my personal friends, but others whom I never saw, have taken in my fortunes, and the desires expressed, both verbally and by letter, to know more of my adventures than was communicated through the newspapers, overcame the reluctance I felt to undertake such a task. The interest of personal adventure, however, great as it might be in immediate view of the events while they were fresh, would not alone have been presumed upon as a sufficient attraction for this volume. But the strangeness of the country

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observed, and the deficiency of exact information concerning its people, it was thought, would make welcome any contribution, however slight, to the knowledge of this section of our world and race. After the contradictory statements of voyagers as to the "giants" of South America, there may be some curiosity to hear the testimony of one who has "seen the elephant" under circumstances that enabled him to measure its proboscis.

My story is a plain one, — a simple record of facts, but not, I would hope, tedious. It offers no feats of literary agility for the critic's inspection, but a recital of human experiences and observations, sufficiently aside from the beaten track of life to have attracted a degree of attention which flatters me with the belief that they will repay a nearer and more minute survey.

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CAPTIVE IN PATAGONIA.

CHAPTER I.

For California — Pernambuco — Straits of Magellan — Trading with Patagonians — Their treachery — Four men made prisoners by them — Three escape; the native detained, with promises of release on paying ransom — Indian village — The chief and his household — Sailing, shooting, and adventure in a Patagonian wigwam — Find myself looked for on holyhole residence in Patagonia, and some natural reflections thereupon.

Among the early subjects of the "gold fever" that became epidemic in the autumn and winter of 1848-9, a company of twenty-five men left the port of New Bedford in the schooner John Allyne, A. Brownell, master, and B. F. Bourne, mate, for California. The vessel had been selected for her good sailing qualities, light draught of water, and general fitness for river navigation. In the haste and excitement of the time, California-bound craft carried out some rather motley companies; but we considered ourselves fortunate in the character of the men associated in this enterprise, and were organized on such principles of equality as seemed to promise entire harmony and good fellowship. Of course we had high and golden hopes,

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and our great object was to reach the new Gold [illegible] in the [illegible] and most expeditious manner. On account of the delays and dangers incident to the doubling of Cape Horn, it was determined to attempt the passage of the Straits of Magellan.

We left port on the 13th of February, and for many days our time passed pleasantly, but rather monotonously, with nothing greatly to sublimate or to depress our spirits. It was discovered, at length, that our vessel needed some running rigging. The more impatient were for going on, and making such headway as we could without it; but a majority of the company decided to run for the nearest convenient port, and replenish. We accordingly run for Portsmouth, and anchored in the outer harbor on the 23th of March. The beauty and security of this harbor are remarkable. It is defended from the sea by a nearly perpendicular bluff, extending three-fourths of the way across its entrance, with an opening of ample width for the passage of vessels to a safe anchorage. Being but eight degrees south of the equator, the town lies continually under the burning rays of a tropical sun. Its appearance is like that of most Spanish and Portuguese cities, abounding in high and massive buildings, with more of the sunlight than of the counting-house or dwelling in their outward expression, built upon narrow, irregular streets, that are constantly alive with men and beasts of divers colors and forms. Men from the country, driving their mustangs, mules and oxen, laden with produce, wealthy and noble citizens borne by servants in palanquins; women bearing water in buckets, tubs and urns, which they balance on their heads without the aid of their hands, and walk off

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under as sweet as so many middlepiece; — all the sights and sounds have a pleasant strangeness, that made our visits on shore highly agreeable. The churches, which are quite numerous, have nothing admirable or attractive outside, but the richness of their interior decoration testifies to the prevailing orthodoxy and fervor of devotion to the Church of Rome. The church is, indeed, the grand receptacle of the wealth of the country. Every house outlies of them, rich or poor, will sooner stint himself and his family in their daily comforts, or even necessaries of life, than stark his due contribution to mother church.

Our stay at Pernambuco was short, which must excuse a more particular description of its notabilities. Having obtained the articles we needed, we stood out to sea. Nothing occurred on our passage to the straits worthy of particular record. We spoke one or two vessels, and spent some time "gaming" with them, — the nautical phrase for visiting. On the 15th of April we made Cape Virgin, and stood in for the Straits of Magellan. In company with us, and bound for the same golden country, by the same course as ourselves, were bark Hebe, of Baltimore, and schooner J. B. Gager, of New York. We were bombed off the mouth of the straits for several hours, and Captain Brownell visited the Hebe. He returned just before night. A fair wind setting in from the eastward, we all stood in, the J. B. Gager, as being best acquainted with the navigation, taking the lead. The three vessels anchored about midnight, within twelve miles of the first narrows.

The next morning, it being calm, some of our men went on shore in the small boat, for a gunning excursion. They

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660 returned early in the forenoon, with a large number of sea-fowl. Not long after, Captain Brownell announced his intention to go ashore, and commenced making preparations. He soon changed his mind, however, and asked me to go, in his stead, to procure some fresh provisions, if they were to be had. Knowing, from the reports of whalers and others, something of the savage character of the natives, I felt reluctant to venture; but afterwards, to oblige the captain, I complied.

609 Taking our guns, a bag of bread, and some tobacco, four of us started for the shore. As we approached the beach, a crowd of black-looking giants came to the water's edge to gaze at us. We did not particularly fancy their looks, and lay on our oars for a considerable length of time. A recollection of the many ugly stories current about the Patagonians, their barbarous and cruel character, did not greatly fortify our confidence, or make us especially anxious for a personal acquaintance with them: We accordingly lay off in our boat, and, hailing them in Spanish, asked them if they had eggs, fowls, and beef. They replied, in broken Spanish, that they had plenty at their houses. I told them to produce their stores, and they should have plenty of bread in exchange. We parleyed with them for some time, till our boat at length touched the shore. I stood in the boat's stern, gun in hand, endeavoring to keep the natives from stealing, and warned the men not to leave the boat. They jumped ashore, promising not to stray from the spot. The Indians offered some skins for sale, which I paid for in bread. While my attention was diverted from them by this barter, the Indians were coaxing my men away. I looked about, and found only

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one man near me. He was despatched in pursuit of the others, and directed to bring them without delay. The tide at this point rises and falls forty-two feet. It was now ebb tide, the boat was fast grounding, and, it being large and heavily loaded, I was unable to get it off. The old chief and several other Indians crowded into it, and once in could not be got out. Persuasion was useless, and they were too many to be driven. In short, I was in their hands, and became immediately conscious of the difficulty and peril of my situation; — my men gone, I knew not where, the boat fast aground and crowded with the savages, while nearly a thousand of the tribe congregated upon the beach. What was before me, at the worst, I could only conjecture from report; and nothing but evil was reported of the creatures that surrounded me. What could I do? A question easier asked than answered.

After a long time, or what seemed such under circumstances that made minutes seem ages, one of my men came down, and asked permission to go to the Indian village, "a little way back from the shore," as they had been promised meat, eggs, and fowls. I ordered him to come immediately back to the boat. He persisted in urging his request, but it was so dangerously absurd that I absolutely refused. He then said he would inform his comrades of my refusal, and return immediately to the boat; but, for some cause, they seemed in no hurry to obey orders. Weary of waiting for them, and not without apprehension, I asked an Indian for the use of his horse, and rode with all speed after the fugitives. In the hurry of pursuit I inadvertently passed them, and tried to turn back my steed; but his inclinations were decidedly against a

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609 retreat. While our opposing impulses kept us stationary for a moment, I descried my men approaching on horseback, behind the Indians. When they came up I urged them to return to the boat. They persisted in going with the savages. I remonstrated with them on the impropriety and danger of their course, but in vain. Their mouths watered for the meat and eggs they were told of. Their cunning guides had completely allayed suspicion, and even laid to sleep their common prudence. The Indians kept on their course, — the men followed, and I felt at my wits' end. I rode from one to another, talking as industriously and as urgently as I could. At last I gave them peremptory orders to return. The Indians had plainly lied to us. Their village, they said, was only a little way off; and yet we were three-fourths of a mile from the boat, and not a house was yet in sight. Determined to go back, if I had to go alone, I turned my horse's head.

At this point the mask was thrown off. The Indians seized my bridle, and arrested my progress. We all dismounted, with a view to retreat on foot, but before I could reach the man nearest to me the Indians had robbed him of his gun. With a mutual agreement to stand by each other in case of pursuit, we hastened our retrograde march, but had made no great distance when we saw the Indians coming after us. They rode in advance of us, halted in our front, and manœuvred to cut off our retreat; but by various zigzag movements, or boldly turning their horses' heads, we made considerable progress. Our foes, however, knew what they were at; it was only a question of time with them. A sudden and decided movement indicated a crisis. I drew my pistols (a pair of single-barrelled ones),

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but before I had time to cock one I was jumped upon from behind by some half-dozen of these monsters. One of them grasping a pistol by the barrel, I pointed it to his head and pulled the trigger. It missed fire, and I thank God that it did! Its discharge would have certainly killed him, and would as certainly have been revenged upon my life, probably upon the lives of my comrades. This is easily felt and said now; but at the moment, when excited by the struggle for liberty, and, as I feared, for life, with such dreaded enemies and at such formidable odds, it was quite another matter. 609

The old chief now came up, took me firmly by the wrist, and said, "Usted no bono! usted habla varmano por me casa, mucho, mala hombre currarbae! mucho montaro hombre!"—by which specimen of choice Spanish he desired to inform me that we promised to go to their houses, and now would not go; that we were bad men and liars. His peculiarly thick and guttural pronunciation did not make the dialect more intelligible; but I was in a situation where criticism would have been rather out of place, and my ears were quickened by the revelations made to sight. I therefore promptly replied, that if he would restrain his men from violence, we would go where he pleased. They, meanwhile, grasped their knives, and looked as if they wanted to use them on our persons; but the chief told them, No, *not then*; he would get rum and tobacco for us first, and kill us afterwards. Whilst I was thus engaged, my nearest companion discovered his gun in the hands of an Indian who stood not far from where I was struggling. Rushing suddenly upon him, he succeeded in recovering his piece,—more by tact than force, for his antagonist, like all the [191]

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609 Patagonians, was very large and muscular. Then nimbly jumping aside, he told me to look out for myself. That was rather more than I felt able to do just at the moment. One Indian seized me by my arms and legs, some of them grasped my body, and others were busy investigating the contents of my pockets, and appropriating the same to their own use. And if he supposed himself able to show as much independence as he recommended me to, he was evidently mistaken. He had not elevated his gun to his face when the Indians were upon him, and wrenched it from his grasp. The old chief, all this time, held me tightly by the wrist, menacing his followers with his half-drawn cutlass, while I endeavored to bid for life and liberty. I told him he should have plenty of rum, tobacco, bread, flour, brass and beads, if he would carry us to the boat. At length he beat off my plunderers, and seemed on the point of yielding to my terms. He mounted his horse, and ordered me to get up behind him. I obeyed with alacrity, and fancied myself in a fair way to get out of trouble.

But, whatever may have been the chief's original intention, I had not gone far before his policy was diverted. One of the most audacious of the troop rode up, and insisted that I should not be allowed to return. I was the captain of the ship, he affirmed, and if I were restored they would get none of the promised rum and tobacco. The old savage seemed struck by this new suggestion, and halted. We then dismounted, and he led the horse up the hill, ordering me to follow. I was next directed to sit on the ground and wait further action. There I sat, looking alternately, with longing eyes, at the boat, and at our vessel riding at anchor in plain view. My three companions were soon

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brought to the spot, and I dismounted. And now began a more earnest negotiation. We offered large ransom, and after some higgling they agreed that three of our number might be released, but one must remain as a hostage; and I was pointed out as the one. I endeavored to have one of the others stay, and one actually agreed to; but his heart soon failed him, and I could see that he was using all his powers of persuasion to provide for himself. I assured him that I would use every effort in his behalf, if he would consent to remain for the present; but he evidently thought of the maxim, "A bird in the hand," &c., and was bent on making sure of his own safety first of all. Poor fellow! I cannot blame him for loving his own life, though, at the moment, it did seem rather hard that, after getting into the scrape by their own headstrong folly, against my entreaties and peremptory commands, they should extricate themselves from it at my expense, and leave me to bear the hardest of it! Very likely I might have done the same, if our cases had been reversed. And, even if one of them had offered to remain, it is very doubtful whether the substitution would have been permitted. The Indians too evidently regarded me as the chief prize, and were bent on retaining me as such. They insisted that I must stay while the other three should go for ransom, and I had nothing to do but to submit.

Three Indians each took a man with him on a horse, and started for the boat. I watched them as they went, with feelings that I will not attempt to describe. It seemed but too probable we should never meet again. A sense of desolation came over me, at the thought of being left alone in the power of these savages, of whose treachery and cunning

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609 I had already had such ample experience, and of whose cruelty I had heard so much. I felt that I was beyond the aid, if not cut off from the sympathy, of my associates. The falseness of the Indians to all their engagements, as I afterwards learned, was signally displayed towards my more fortunate comrades. They evidently had no intention of releasing any of us. Before reaching the boat, they halted, and refused to go any further, or allow our men to leave them. The prisoners, however, struggled desperately, and at length got clear of their captors. One rushed up to his neck in water, the others sprang into the boat, pushed off, and rescued him as he was struggling with the waves. They reached the schooner, told their tale, and represented my desperate situation. All hands commenced breaking up cargo, to get at the rum and tobacco for my ransom. Two boats were forthwith manned, provided with the required articles, and with plenty of arms and ammunition, and started for the shore. They got to the land a little before dark, and pulled into a cove, or slight indentation of the beach.

On catching sight of them, I desired the Indians to conduct me to the shore, and receive the ransom. But this they declined. They ordered me to the summit of an eminence near by, there to beckon the men to come ashore. An old skin was given me to wave as a signal. Perceiving that I was to be used as a decoy to lure the others into their treacherous snare, and secure them all as prisoners, I protested against this new breach of faith, and assured them that our men would not leave their boat, but that, if they wanted any rum and tobacco, they must take me to the shore. To this, after a long palaver, and with visible

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reluctance they assented. The old chief ordered me to mount his horse, — this time reversing our relative positions; he made me sit on the rude apology for a saddle and guide the horse, while he took his seat behind, clasping both arms tightly around my body, and spurring his old nag forward. Thus mounted, and wondering what would be the next trick of the savages, I was conveyed to the shore, near the spot where the boats lay off on their oars. Driving as near them as possible, I hailed the men, — told them by no means to fire on the Indians, but to give them all they had promised. They asked what they should do with the articles. I turned to the chief, told him what the boats had brought, and once more asked if it was a satisfactory ransom. He said, Yes; if those articles were laid down, I should be released. But he was plainly resolved to have his pay in advance; he distrusted us too much to let me go first; and I need not say that my confidence in him was far from implicit. But, "Nothing venture, nothing have," — I directed the men to put the things ashore, which they did. The Indians greedily picked them up, and I claimed my release. The old rascal said, "he had not got *plenty* of rum yet, he must have a barrel." I insisted and struggled, but to no purpose. He kept a tight hold of my body, and when I begged that at least he would not squeeze me quite so painfully, he only redoubled his clasp. He obviously suspected, and I more than suspected, that it would not require a very great relaxation of his embrace to prompt a pretty decided movement on my part, for the effectual resisting of which the vicinity of the water was not altogether favorable. He now began spurring his old horse from the scene of action; I drew upon the bridle

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609 with my whole available force and weight; but the disparity between human strength and horse power, stimulated to its utmost by the spur, was too great. I begged the men in the boats to come again the next morning, and on no account to leave me, which they solemnly promised.

592 I was now hurried back into the country five or six miles, and at last reached an Indian village, and was set down by the old chief at his wigwam. He gave me in charge to one of his squaws, who ordered me into the hut and bade me sit down on the ground. While sitting there, and casting an inquisitive glance around the rude habitation, my attention was suddenly attracted to what appeared to be several pairs of eyes in a dark corner, shining with a strange brilliancy. I speculated silently on the sight, much doubting whether they belonged to human beings or to wild beasts; but, on carefully reconnoitring, I discovered that they belonged to three huge women. Further investigations disclosed a number of dark-skinned boys and girls, of divers ages and sizes, playing and [291] capering about the premises, in a state of perfect nudity. It took a considerable time to make out these, or any other objects, distinctly, owing to the darkness of the hut. Presently the chief, the patriarch of the tribe, entered [595] his habitation, and began a conversation, in his peculiar dialect, with his wives. He spoke in a low, guttural tone, in words the purport of which I could not gather. I was in no mood for conversation, but would have been much gratified by learning his version of the day's "stroke of business."

372 And now a few dry sticks and a bunch of dry grass were brought, mine host drew from a convenient repos-

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itory a brass tinder-box, with a stone and a piece of steel, and soon produced a blaze that brilliantly illuminated the scene. By its light I was enabled to survey the first specimen of Patagonian architecture that had blessed my vision. It was constructed in a *pointed* style, though not very aspiring, consisting of a row of stakes about eight feet high, each terminating at top in a crotch, or fork, with a pole laid across them; two parallel rows of stakes on either side, about two feet high, with similar terminations, and a similar horizontal fixture; and a covering composed of skins of the guanaco, sewed together with the sinews of the ostrich, the only thread used by the people. This covering is drawn over the frame-work, and fastened by stakes driven through it into the ground. For purposes of ventilation some interstices are left, but these again are half closed by skins attached to the outside; so that the air from without, and the smoke from within (in default of a chimney), must insinuate themselves through these apertures in great moderation. In truth, my first survey was rather hurried; the first cheerful gleam had scarcely set my eyes on the look-out when I was fain to shut them against an intolerable smoke. In no long time I felt as bacon, if conscious, might be supposed to feel in the process of curing. No lapse of time was sufficient to reconcile my eyes, nostrils and lungs, to the nuisance; often have I been more than half strangled by it, and compelled to lie with my face to the ground, as the only endurable position. Talk that is "worse than a smoky house" must be something out of date, or Shakspeare's imagination never comprehended anything so detestable as a Patagonian hut. The chief and his numer-

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ous household, however, seemed to enjoy immense satisfaction; and jabbered and grunted, and played their antics, and exchanged grimaces, as complacently as if they breathed a highly exhilarating atmosphere.

My meditations and observations were shortly interrupted by preparations for a meal. The chief's better half — or rather fifth part, for he had four wives — superintended the culinary operations, which were as rude and simple as the hut where they were carried on. And now my fancy began to conjure up visions of the beef, fowls and eggs, the promise of which had lured my men from the boat, — had proved stronger than the suggestions of prudence, and had made me a prisoner. But these dainties, if they existed anywhere within the chief's jurisdiction, were just at present reserved. The old hag threw down from the top of one of the stakes that supported the tent the quarter of some animal; whether dog, guanaco, or whatever, was past imagining. She slashed right and left, with might and main, an old copper knife, till it was divided into several pieces. Then taking a number of crotched sticks, about two feet long, and sharpened at all their points, she inserted the forked ends into pieces of the meat, and drove the opposite points into the ground near the fire; which, though sufficient to smoke and comfortably *warm* the mess, was too feeble to roast it. At all events, time was too precious, or their unsophisticated appetites were too craving, to wait for such an operation; and the raw morsels were quickly snatched from the smoke, torn into bits by her dirty hands, and thrown upon the ground before us. The Indians seized them with avidity, and tossed a bit to me; but what could I do with

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it! I should have had no appetite for the dinner of an alderman at such a time and place; but as for tasting meat that came in such a questionable shape, there was no bringing my teeth or resolution to it. While eying it with ill-suppressed disgust, I observed the savages, like a horde of half-starved dogs, devouring their portions with the greatest relish; seizing the fragments with their fine white teeth, at the same time clenching them with their hands, and giving every sign of enjoyment *except* what one is accustomed to see in human beings. The old chief remarked the slight I was putting upon his hospitality, and broke in upon me with a fierce *Por que usted, no munge usted, usted carna? Esta carna mucho bueno hombre por munge, se hombre, munge!* "Why don't you eat your meat? This meat very good to eat, — very good to eat. Eat, man! eat!" I may here observe that my knowledge of Spanish, like the chief's, was colloquial; picked up here and there in voyages to South American ports, which may account for my orthography being so plainly determined by the ear rather than by any rules of Castilian grammar. Seeing him so much excited, and not knowing what deeds might follow his words if I refused, I thought it expedient to *try* to "eat what was set before me, asking no questions;" thinking, moreover, that if there were any evil spirit in it that the fire had failed to expel, it could not possibly have resisted the smoke. So, being sorely divided between aversion to the "strange flesh" and fear of showing it, I forced a morsel into my mouth. Its taste was by no means as offensive as its appearance had been unpromising, and I managed to save appearances with less disgust than I had feared. This was my first

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meal with the savages, and a sample of many others; though better viands afterwards varied their monotony, now and then.

The eating being over, a large horn, that had once adorned the head of a Spanish bullock, was dipped into a leathern bucket and passed from one to another. Between the bucket and the horn, the fluid had gained a flavor not found by Adam in his first brewing, and, indeed, not far from nauseating. However, it seemed expedient to "conquer my prejudices" so far as to drink with the other guests, and the ceremonies of dinner were over; for which, "with all other mercies," I felt thankful, and turned to my corner near the expiring fire, to chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies, in which the latter ingredient decidedly predominated. The strange and sudden desolateness of my condition, the doubtful chances of escape, the possible sufferings before me, the uncertainty that rested on the designs of my savage captors, all rushed upon my mind, and suggested to my heated imagination a host of terrors.

These painful thoughts were interrupted by an order to prepare for the night's repose. An old skin, about two and a half feet square, was thrown upon the cold ground in the back part of our rookery, and assigned for my couch; I took possession accordingly, and the whole family bestowed themselves in a row near me. The stifling atmosphere was soon vocal with their snoring. My brain was too busy for sleep. Feverish fancies kept me wakeful. I revolved a variety of plans for escape. Could I steal out of the hut unperceived? Could I find my way to the shore? I doubted the first, and more than doubted the

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second; and even if so far successful, there was no boat to take me from the accursed land. And how could I conceal myself from the Indians till a boat should arrive? They would miss me; and, long before any possible communication with my vessel, would be hunting me down with horses and dogs. Not a wood or thicket had met my eye on the dreary waste I traversed the day before. I tried to devise some other plan, but none offered itself. It was this or nothing.—and this was next to nothing. Grown desperate, at last, I determined to make an effort.

After lying some time, listening to the heavy breathing of the sleepers, and satisfying myself that none of the company were awake, I raised myself as noiselessly as possible, and stole towards the front of the wigwam. Casting a furtive glance backward, I could see that the old chief was restless; either he had feigned sleep, or some evil spirit had waked him just at the wrong time. To go immediately back would too plainly betray my purpose; so I walked very calmly and deliberately into the open air, and stood as if star-gazing; the old fellow, as I plainly perceived, all the time watching me from the lodge. In a short time I walked quietly back to my dark retreat, and found him where I had left him, lying very cosely, as if nothing had happened to disturb his slumbers. Once more stretching myself on my uneasy couch, I lay two hours or more, still revolving the same unsolved problem in my mind. At length, all appearing to be sound asleep, I decided to venture a second attempt; and, in the event of failure, to make the best of it for the present. Stealthily as possible I crawled from among them, slid out of doors, and crouched upon the grass. Could I be

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000 mistaken? No — those infernal eyes were fastened on me as before! There was no eluding their vigilance. At
[231] this moment a howling as of a hundred wolves was heard approaching, and about that number of dogs came rushing, pell-mell, towards me. I scampered for the wigwam as fast as my feet could carry me, and in my flight stumbled over a stick nearly eight feet long. I seized the weapon thus kindly lent me, and, swinging it furiously about me, gave all intruders that came within my reach a sufficient touch of its quality. Thus defending myself from the brutes, I backed towards the lodge, glad to shelter myself among its detested inmates. The cunning old Parosilver, as before, had bestowed himself on the ground among his squaws and dirty children, and was, apparently, fast asleep.

This was more than I could compass. Vexation at my fruitless attempts to escape, — dread, inspired by the relentless vigilance and quiet assurance of the chief, — tormenting apprehensions as to the issue of any effort on the morrow to effect my ransom, — all kept my brain upon the rack, and effectually drove sleep from my eyes, till near daylight, when I fell into a disturbed slumber. In my dreams I was at once transported from the savage hut, on board my vessel. Methought she was driving before the wind, all sails set, at full speed, upon a dangerous reef. All on board seemed insensible of the danger; I alone perceived it, but a nightmare spell was on me, and my lips refused to speak, my limbs to move. Rooted to my place on the deck, I stood in dumb agony, while our vessel rushed upon her fate. There came a sudden shock, — our bark had struck, and her total destruction

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was inevitable. Some of the men were dashed violently upon the deck, others precipitated into the boiling surf, where they clung desperately to spars, and fragments of the wreck. While the confusion was wildest, and the dream of effort for escape was subsiding into the calmness of despair, I suddenly awoke, and for some time was unable to comprehend where I was, or how I came there. If I were indeed shipwrecked, I was also, like Jonah, vomited upon dry land. I drew my hand across my eyes to assure myself that vision was unobstructed, cast my eyes right and left;—the lodge, the ashes of the last night's fire, the chief and his motley family, the door through which the "lubber fiend" had followed me with his restless eyes, and into which the fierce dogs had driven me, recalled my distracted senses, and restored consciousness of a reality which, at the moment, I would almost have exchanged for the wildest terrors of my dream.

With the light calmer thoughts succeeded, and I once more addressed myself to the task of effecting my escape. The first thing was to get the chief with me to the shore, in readiness to meet a boat, and to renew negotiations for my liberty. Observing that he was awake, I began to promise him an abundant supply of the articles most tempting to his fancy, on condition of my release. He carelessly replied that he would go with me to the beach by and by. I tried to urge his departure, being anxious to go without the rabble at his heels the day before, but for whose violence he would now hardly be master of me; but there was no hurrying his movements. He took down his little cutlass, drew it from its brazen scabbard, and commenced sharpening it with a rusty file, trying its

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edge with his fingers as the work went on, and casting side glances at me the while. Whether this ceremony was the preface to some act of violence he meditated, or a scene for effect, to fill me with a wholesome dread of his power, I could not guess; but, determined to show no foolish fears, I thought it best to put a bold face upon the matter, and make an equally striking demonstration of courage and presence of mind, qualities which savages generally appreciate. I therefore approached him, tried the edge with my own fingers, praised the beauty of the instrument, and interested myself in the process of sharpening it. Following up my assault on his vanity, I extolled him as one of the best of men, and assured him that when we got to the shore I would amply reward him for his kindness to me; taking occasion, however, to throw in a hint on the vast importance of starting early. This I enforced by the suggestion that, when he got his good things, the fewer there were present, the fewer claimants there would be to divide the spoils.

After much coaxing, he started after his old horse; I mounted behind him, and we moved slowly off. When we arrived at the shore it was blowing a perfect gale. A boat could not live in the billows. All three vessels had dragged their anchors, and lay at some distance from their anchorage of yesterday. Bark Hebe appeared to be dragging towards the Orange Bank, a dangerous shoal. I afterwards learned that the Hebe, after getting into water as shoal as would barely float her, slipped her cables, put up a little sail, and finally succeeded in weathering the shoal and getting safely out to sea. The *J. B. Gager* was dragging in the same direction. My own vessel was

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holding on better than the others, and I hoped she would ride out the gale in safety.

I made my captors understand the reason why we boat had come, as promised; with which they appeared to be satisfied, and we returned as we came. By means of their broken Spanish, which they had picked up from sailors, and in visits to the Chilian or other Spanish American settlements, and by signs, answering at times pretty nearly to a pantomime, I found myself able to understand inquiries or commands, and to make known my wishes.

Early on the following morning we again visited the shore, and I looked eagerly toward the anchorage, where all my hopes of deliverance centred. Not a vessel was in sight! Whether they had foundered, or were driven upon the shoal and wrecked, or had dragged out to sea in a disabled condition,—or whether my shipmates, the gale having subsided, had deliberately proceeded on their voyage, and left me a prey to cruel savages and all the ills of this inhospitable shore,—I was unable to conjecture. I only knew that they were gone, and that I was left alone to the tender mercies of the Patagonians. No present means of escape appeared. The future, wisely hidden from my view, suggested none to my imagination. I told my captors the worst; that the high winds had probably sunk the ships, and all that were in them. At this intelligence they seemed delighted, and laughed immoderately, as if such a calamity were a consolation for the loss of their expected ransom. Their cruel glee could add nothing to the weight of my desolation. My past life was sealed up as if by an entrance on a new state

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of being. I looked round on a black and cheerless region, and forward on a life as barren of human joy, made up of every species of suffering,—hunger, cold, fatigue, insult, torture,—liable to be cut short at any moment by the caprice of my tormentors, and so wretched that death itself, with all the enormities of annihilation, lost its terrors by comparison. Life, for any good or great purpose to be achieved, was over. And then my thoughts turned to far different scenes,—to happy faces, and pleasant voices, and familiar sights;—to hearts that beat with no dread of this day's solemnities, felt no consciousness kindred to my despair, but would, in due time, be rudely awakened from their security. Can help me, for I am helpless now!

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CHAPTER II.

A proposal to go to Port Famine negatived — "Orthood" — Discovery of wreck in the straits — Double disappointment — A whim — Survey of Patagonia — Bounty regulation — Animals and birds — Climate — The people — Their habits and character — Domestic relations — Weapons — Government — Superstition — Conclusion — Their reputation abroad.

Reference to the accompanied, it remained to devise some new way of escape. Some four or five days' ride to the westward would bring us to Port Famine, on the straits, a proud settlement of Chili, and the only settlement in the vicinity by which I could hope to relater the civilized world. A journey thither was suggested to the Indians, as the most likely way of turning my captivity to profitable account; but they refused with a promptness and decisiveness which was rather unaccountable, till I afterwards learned that they had lately visited that part of the country on a horse-stealing expedition, in which their success had been too good to make them desirous of showing their faces there at present. Money, gum, pistols, cutlasses, knives, beads, and everything else that could be thought of to tempt their cupidity, were offered. I was not disposed to be niggard of promises; but in vain. To Port Famine they were determined not to go; but old Paradiver assured me, by way of compensation, that he

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would take me to "Holland," which was a "much better place." Whereabout on terra firma this South American Holland was situated,—if, indeed, there was any such place, and the chief was not indulging in a little extra lying,—was past all conjecture. I inquired the distance. He could not tell exactly. Was it inhabited by Americans or English? There were "twenty or thirty white men there, and plenty of rum and tobacco." They promised to start with me towards Holland the next day. In what direction? They pointed towards the Atlantic. Well, I cared little where it was, or who lived there, provided only they were not Patagonians, and I could once get free of these rascals. But on the following morning the migration was postponed, in consequence of unexpected tidings.

One of the tribe, who had been down to the shore, reported that my vessel had come back. This welcome, though rather improbable information, started me, with about a dozen of them, on the track of his story. On gaining a view of the straits, a vessel was plainly in sight, but it was a strange sail. Yet, if I could succeed in boarding her, my purposes would be answered. She came into the bight of the bay, and anchored about fifteen miles below us. I endeavored to make my smutty companions comprehend that as the tide was then running out they would not make the shore till it turned, which would not be till night. They waited till near night, when hunger and thirst were out their patience, and they ordered me off with them. Against this untimely mandate I warmly remonstrated, and after some dispute it was arranged that the chief should stay with me for the night. The rest returned to their encampment, and we made a good fire.

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which was kept up till nearly morning. Old Parosilver lay down under the lee of a clump of bushes, while I was busy in active exercise to keep warm, and replenishing the fire with dry bushes. At dusk I had observed the vessel hoisting sail, and beating up the bay. On this I began brandishing firebrands to attract notice, and walked to and fro on the beach for hours. The craft gradually approached, till her white canvas became distinguishable through the surrounding gloom. Fresh fuel was heaped on the fire, a bright blaze ascended; I took my station directly in front of it, holding out my coat, and frequently turning round, that my form and features might be more distinctly revealed. And now a thrill of joy electrified me, as I saw a light set on deck, which appeared to be stationary. There could be no doubt that the vessel had come to anchor directly opposite to us. Though hungry and weary with long watching, I hurried about, and gathered sticks and leaves in abundance to kindle a still brighter beacon-fire, in whose light and warmth anxiety began to expand into hope. At dawn of day, as the horizon lighted up, I could distinguish the vessel lying about a mile off, quiet as a sea-fowl on the calm surface. Presently there was a movement on deck, the anchor was hove up, the fore and main sails were hoisted, and the object on which my hopes and ardent prayers had centred through the cold night receded from view through the straits, bound, doubtless, for California. I watched the fast-vanishing sail with tearful eyes; and the old chief, who had been on the look-out, started for his horse, that had been hampered and turned out to crop among the scanty vegetation.

Before I had time to recover from the first revulsion of

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disappointment and grief, *another* vessel, a topsail schooner, came in by Point Dungeness. "Cheer up," I said to myself; "the sun will be shining, the darkness have given place to the clear day, before this vessel can be up and opposite to us." Confident of being noticed, I began active preparations for the approaching visitor. No rod of sufficient length was to be found; but, after some search, a number of short crooked sticks were collected. To lash them together, I tore up my drawers, which I could ill afford, and appropriated my shoe-strings. My flannel shirt was hoisted as a flag; and having replenished the fire, I paced the beach with colors flying, but, as the vessel approached, with increasing faintness of heart; for the wind gradually shifted, so that she could only take advantage of it by heading towards Terra del Fuego. At last she came opposite, but so near the further shore that the chances of success diminished every moment. Dark objects moved on the deck, — fancy painted them as men; — would they not discover me through their glasses, and be drawn by my signal of distress? No; onward she floated away, — the narrows were soon passed, and my vision of deliverance was dissipated.

With this final death-blow to all present hopes of relief, I turned away in despair. Exhausted by hunger, cold and fatigue, and worn out by hours of anxiety, I fell helpless upon the ground, and wept like a child. For the first time I felt *utterly* forsaken, and repined at my lot as one of unmitigated evil. Effort seemed useless; I had neither resolution nor strength to make further exertion. There was nothing for me but listless endurance. I even reproached myself that I had not cast myself into the sea,

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and staked my life on the chance of swimming to the schooner. There was no possibility of doing this; but failure would have been *only* death, and what was life worth to me here? This tempest of self-reproach soon spent itself. My temperament is too buoyant to be long depressed, and calm and stout thoughts took the place of despairing weakness. It was unmanly, something whispered within me, thus to give way before difficulties. It would be time enough to do this when all possible effort had failed. The weak and imbecile might take refuge in despair, but the strength of youth should serve me better. I called to mind examples of courage in greater emergencies, when obstacles that seemed insurmountable had been conquered by fortitude and perseverance. "Heaven helps those who help themselves." The more I reflected on the matter, the stronger grew the impulses of faith and courage, by whose force it seemed possible to win a triumph against the greatest odds. Before rising from the earth, my resolution was fully taken to throw discouragement to the winds; by the help of God to meet whatever impended with the courage of a man; to bear my calamities with patient endurance; and to give up hope and energy only when nothing was left to be attempted, or the power to do and suffer was exhausted.

I rose a new man, — my strength invigorated, my soul fortified by a strong purpose. Though the cold night air had thoroughly chilled my frame, it now felt a warmth kindled by the fires within, and an unaccustomed flush suffused my countenance. The resolve fixed in this memorable crisis of my captivity, though severely tested, was never wholly overborne. Henceforth, the events and scenes

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through which I passed were viewed with a calmness that had been before unattainable, and which is now scarcely credible, on recollection. So true is it that our strength is unknown to ourselves till it is thoroughly tested.

The hope of immediate release, however, was at an end; my savage captors, it seemed, must be looked upon as for an indefinite period my masters and companions; and I had nothing at present to do but to divert myself by a study of their manners and habits; to consult my safety by a close study of their character, and of the ways and means by which so to adapt my deportment to it as to win their confidence, to disarm hostility, and to seize opportunities.

PATAGONIA, as it offered itself to my observation, more than answered the descriptions of geographers, — bleak, barren, desolate, beyond description or conception, — only to be appreciated by being seen. Viewed from the Straits of Magellan, it rises in gentle undulations or terraces. Far as the eye can reach, in a westerly direction, it assumes a more broken and hilly appearance, and long ranges of mountains, extending from north to south, divide the eastern from the western shore. The soil is of a light, sandy character, and bears nothing worthy the name of a tree. Low bushes, or underwood, are tolerably abundant, and in the valleys a coarse, wiry grass grows luxuriantly. Streams of water are rare. The natives draw their supplies principally from springs or pools in the valleys, the water of which is generally brackish and disagreeable.

The variety of animal is nearly as limited as that of vegetable productions. The guanaco, a quadruped allied to the lama, and with some resemblance to the camelopard,

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is found in considerable numbers. It is larger than the red deer, fleet on the foot, usually found in large herds, frequenting not only the plains, but found along the course of the Andes. Its flesh is a principal article of food; its skin is dried with the hair on, in such a manner that, when wet, it retains its pliability and softness. This process of preserving skins seems to be peculiar to the Indian tribes, and is not unlike that by which buffalo-robes, bear-skins, buckskins, and other articles of luxury, and even necessity, among us, are prepared by the North American Indians. Guanaco-skins are cut into pieces of all sizes, and sewed into a thousand fanciful patterns, every workman originating a style to suit himself. The hoofs are sometimes turned to account by the natives as soles for shoes, when they indulge in such a luxury, which is not often.

The enemy of the guanaco is the cougar, or "American lion," smaller than its African namesake, and more resembling the tiger in his character and habits, having a smooth, sleek coat, of a brownish yellow color,—altogether a very beautiful but ferocious creature. His chase is a favorite, though rare and dangerous, sport of the natives. Patagonia likewise boasts of the skunk, whose flesh is used for food. There are also foxes, and innumerable mice. Of birds, the only noticeable varieties are the condor, in the Andes, and the cassowary, a species of ostrich, smaller than that of Africa, on the plains; its plumage is not abundant, generally of a gray or dun color. Its flesh is tender and sweet, and with the fat much prized by the Indians. Like the African ostrich, it is exceedingly swift, only to be captured on horseback, and often fleet enough to outrun the fastest racer.

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The climate is severe. The Rio Negro forms the northern boundary, and nearly the whole country is south of the parallel of 40° south latitude. At the time of my capture, which was in the month of May, the weather corresponded to that of November in the New England States. Its chilliness, however, was greatly increased by the bleak winds of that exposed locality. Along the Straits of Magellan the weather is also exceedingly changeable. Sudden and severe squalls, often amounting almost to a hurricane, vex the navigation of the straits, and sweep over the coast with fearful fury.

The habits of the Patagonians, or at least of the tribe among whom I was cast, are migratory, wandering over the country in quest of game, or as their caprice may prompt them. They subsist altogether on the flesh of animals and birds. The guanaco furnishes most of their food, and all their clothing. A mantle of skins, sewed with the sinews of the ostrich, fitting closely about the neck and extending below the knee, is their only article of dress, except in the coldest weather, when a kind of shoe, made of the hind hoof and a portion of the skin above it, serves to protect their inferior extremities.

In person they are large; on first sight, they appear absolutely gigantic. They are taller than any other race I have seen, though it is impossible to give any accurate description. The only standard of measurement I had was my own height, which is about five feet ten inches. I could stand very easily under the arms of many of them, and all the men were at least a head taller than myself. Their average height, I should think, is nearly six and a half feet, and there were specimens that could have been

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little less than seven feet high. They have broad shoulders full and well-developed chests, frames muscular and finely proportioned, the whole figure and air making an impression like that which the first view of the sons of Anak is recorded to have made on the children of Israel. They exhibit enormous strength, whenever they are sufficiently aroused to shake off their constitutional laziness and exert it. They have large heads, high cheek-bones, like the North American Indians, whom they also resemble in their complexion, though it is a shade or two darker. Their foreheads are broad, but low, the hair covering them nearly to the eyes; eyes full, generally black, or of a dark brown, and brilliant, though expressive of but little intelligence. Thick, coarse, and stiff hair protects the head, its abundance making any artificial covering superfluous. It is worn long, generally divided at the neck, so as to hang in two folds over the shoulders and back, but is sometimes bound above the temples, by a fillet, over which it flows in ample luxuriance. Like more civilized people, the Patagonians take great pride in the proper disposition and effective display of their hair. Their teeth are really beautiful, sound and white, — about the only attractive and enviable feature of their persons. Feet and hands are large, but not disproportionate to their total bulk. They have deep, heavy voices, and speak in guttural tones, — the worst guttural I ever heard, — with a muttering, indistinct articulation, much as if their mouths were filled with hot pudding. Their countenances are generally stupid, but, on closer inspection, there is a gleam of low cunning that flashes through this dull mask, and is increasingly discernible on acquaintance with them; when excited, or engaged in any

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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the oldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook, — if the operation should be dignified with that name, — in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot They are

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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556 231 horses, the stock of which is frequently replenished by stealing from the Spanish and Chilian settlements. These animals are, for the most part, of small size and inferior quality, half wild, coated with coarse, shaggy hair — lean and woe-begone enough, just "fit for the crows." A few valuable specimens of a superior breed are found among them, doubtless "conveyed" there. The rude saddles in 492 use among them are mostly of Spanish origin, obtained at the settlements. They consist each of two boards, an inch thick, six inches wide, and two feet long, rounded at the corners so as to fit the horse's back, and united by two strips of board passing across the back-bone, the several pieces lashed together with leather strings. A piece of guanaco-skin often serves in default of a saddle. The steed is guided by a single rein, tied round the lower jaw; some of them sport a bit of iron or wood, secured by a string round the jaw, attaching the rein to this. Spurs, like the rest of their riding apparatus, are more efficient than elegant. They are indeed rude and cruel things, — straight sticks, six inches long, with a long, sharp iron inserted into the end, secured by a string or strap around the hollow of the foot, and tied at the top, a second strap nearer the heel, and a third passing round the heel. They are all agile and excellent horsemen.

441 For weapons, the chief, and a few of the principal men, had cutlasses or swords. They had no fire-arms, nor could I learn that they understood their use; bows and arrows, spears and war-clubs, appeared to be equally unknown. 441 All the men carried knives; and the *bolas*, a missile 224 weapon used in the capture of all kinds of game. This consists of two round stones, or lead balls, if they can be

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procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

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Though their great size at first sight was fitted to inspire terror, it required no very long observation to discover that they were deficient in natural courage. This, in fact, might be inferred at once, from their habitual deceit, treachery and artifice, which are the defences of the weak and timorous, rather than the weapons of strong and daring natures. They always select the night to inflict injuries; never meet an enemy in open combat whom they can stab from behind, or despatch in the dark; and, when obliged to attack by day, always do so in large numbers. This defect of courage is increased by their superstition; they have great faith in charms, signs and omens, a weakness which I anticipated might exert great influence on my destiny in important conjunctures. Could I by any means so master their secret as to possess myself of its mystic power, it might prove an effective aid to my plans of self-defence, or of escape. Should it, on the other hand, be turned by any accidental causes against me, its impulse might prove irresistible by power or contrivance. There was no appearance of idolatrous worship among them, nor could I observe any allusion to a Supreme Being, or to any superior powers having personal attributes; and, except a single ceremony, of which more hereafter, the nature of which was and is still inexplicable, there was nothing that suggested to my mind the idea of religious worship. Whether they are cannibals or not, has been a matter of some dispute. So far as I know, they have been, heretofore, only casually observed on the beach by voyagers, or vaguely reported of by the people of adjoining countries and neighboring settlements; neither of which is a sufficiently reliable source of information. My own personal advantages on this head

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were greater; but I am obliged, after all, to leave the question about where I found it, so far as *certain* conclusions are concerned. Yet some circumstances occurred, or were related to me, that incline my mind strongly to the belief that such horrible practices are not unjustly ascribed to them. Of the soundness of my conclusions those who follow the course of the narrative will have the opportunity of judging for themselves; if such had been my persuasion at the beginning, it may be readily imagined what effect this last hazard would have had upon my feelings, in contemplating the possibilities of the future. Happily a convenient scepticism on this point preserved me from this dark apprehension.

I came among these people not, certainly, with the best preparation in my previous habits and associations to endure either the climate of the country or the hardships of captivity. I went on shore in my usual ship's dress; thick frock coat, trousers, and shoes, and glazed cap. My undergarments were woollen; though an important item, as before related, was made way with in fruitlessly signalling vessels in the straits. But to live without any change of dress, to sleep without any additional covering, protected from the cold ground only by a fragment of guanaco-hide, and the other discomforts and exposures of life among savages, made, altogether, a harsh contrast to the comforts of our good schooner. To these, however, I gradually became inured, till I was able to meet cold and wet and storm with as stoical indifference as my dark companions, who had known no other lot from infancy.

Of the character of the natives I had little previous knowledge; and that little was not adapted to stimulate

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122 curiosity, or prompt the least anxiety for more intimate acquaintance. It was derived mainly from whalers, in whom it seemed to have produced much the same degree of contentment, — a feeling that ignorance is bliss. Indeed, the greatest caution has always been employed by voyagers in regard to landing on these shores; many experienced seamen cannot be persuaded to land at all; trade with the natives is always carried on in boats off shore, frequently with loaded fire-arms constantly levelled, in readiness for action in case of emergency. But here I was, put forcibly to the study of their character in the school of dame Experience, and can testify to the truth of the saying that she charges roundly for tuition. Let the reader give me credit for the cheapness with which I put him in possession of what knowledge was purchased at so exorbitant a price

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CHAPTER III.

Hard journey — Encampment — Division of the tribe — My new guardian — Story of the capture of a British vessel — Retaken — Gambling — Culinary arts — Hunting — Symptoms of danger — Mutual deceptions — Tough yarns — The fatal ring — An effective ornament — Industrious habits of the Indians.

The reader left me just rising from a half-stupor into which a double disappointment had thrown me, feverish with the excitement of new purposes and resolutions. The first aim was for some fresh water, to allay a burning thirst. After a long and unsuccessful search, I went deliberately to the beach and took a deep draught of the briny waves. Expecting that the chief would shortly return for me with a train of his followers, it occurred to me that I might secrete myself, though there was nothing certain to be gained by it, if I were successful, of which the probability was not great. With this object in view, I walked along close on the water's edge, that my footprints might be obliterated by the waves. After proceeding in this way for some distance, I left the shore, and started towards the interior, in quest of a place where I might dig a hole in the earth and cover myself with grass and bushes. I had gone but a little way inland, when, on ascending a slight eminence, whom should I meet, face to face, but the

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old chief and another of my tormentors! So the scheme came to nothing; but after others more feasible had so dolefully miscarried, it was not in human nature to lay this disappointment very deeply to heart. I made as though I was glad to see the old fellow, though, could I then have had my will of the savages, they would have been safely anchored in the middle of the straits. I told him (Heaven forgive me!) I was looking for them. The chief responded to my greeting only by ordering me to mount his horse. I requested leave to stay a little longer, and was refused. I again requested to be taken to Port Famine;—no, I should be taken to "Holland."

I mounted behind him, and we travelled all day in the direction of Cape Virgin. For two days and nights I had eaten nothing, and drunk nothing but sea-water, and, in fact, had taken very little food for three days. We arrived about dark at an eminence commanding a view of their new squatting ground. Here we halted to take a short survey of the encampment. To them, doubtless, the prospect was beautiful; to me it was heart-sickening, but I strove to keep up cheerful appearances. Down in a valley or deep marshy hollow, covered with tall grass or rushes, an almost innumerable drove of horses were seen grazing; and beyond, at a short distance, the surface was thickly dotted with huts, erected, or in process of erection, by female architects. Children, in swarms like summer flies, and with no more artificial covering than those insects, were capering and shouting in high glee. At length we descended to the rude village; after tacking about, first to the right and then to the left, like a ship against a head wind, we came gallantly into town, and drove up at the

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chief's lodge. I was glad to dismount, sore with bestriding the skeleton of a horse.

Here I again took the liberty of proposing a trip to Port Famine, offering to go alone, if they would not go with me. The chief told me, with emphasis, to say no more about it. He would take me to "Holland," and there get rum and tobacco. "Only get me there," I said to myself, "and much good may your rum and tobacco do your old carcass!"

On the third day of our encampment here the tribe was divided, and I was sent off with one of the chief's lieutenants. A more blood-thirsty rascal could not be found in the tribe. This step was probably taken by the chief to get rid of my importunities to visit Port Famine, the frequent renewal of which had evidently wurried him. My new guardian regaled my ears, from time to time, with stories of his murderous exploits, most likely in order to instil into me a wholesome dread of his power, and a submissive temper under his authority. The details of his bloody yarns are too shocking to repeat. One story, on which he seemed to dwell with peculiar satisfaction, as it was confirmed by more reliable authority afterwards, I will here relate, with such other particulars as I gained by subsequent information.

About two years before, the British brig Avon was in the Santa Cruz river. Captain Eaton, her commander, went on shore with his men, and bought some horses of the Indians, which he paid for in rum, tobacco and trinkets. After receiving their pay, they played the same trick as with me,—refused to deliver the horses. The captain was about getting under weigh, when the Indians, perceiving

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609 his intention to leave them, went down to the shore opposite the vessel, and beckoned him to come on shore, signifying that they would give up the horses, as agreed. The boat was sent ashore, and six or eight Indians returned in it to the brig. They surrounded the captain on the quarter-deck, and told him the horses were coming. He stepped to the rail with his glass, to observe motions on shore; while thus engaged, the savages came up behind, drew out their long knives, and stabbed him to the heart. He sunk lifeless on the rail, and fell upon the deck. Seizing him by the hair, and raising him partly on their knees, they cut his throat, and stabbed him again and again, to make the work of death sure. They then rushed upon the mate and stabbed him, but not mortally; he threw himself exhausted down the hatchway, and had just strength enough to secrete himself among the cargo. The boy was dealt with in the same manner as the captain, and one or two sailors, being wounded, succeeded, like the mate, in getting below deck and secreting themselves. The remainder of the crew were fortunately off in a boat at this time, and escaped the massacre. The savages ate and drank on board, and then plundered the brig of such articles as suited their fancy. Mr. Douglass, of "Holland," being on board the brig, was not murdered, but carried on shore and detained. A gentleman named Simms afterwards endeavored to effect the release of Mr. Douglass. He gave them all that they demanded as ransom, and was then himself detained to keep his friend company. A third embassy was undertaken by Mr. John Hall, of whom the reader will learn more hereafter. He paid a large ransom for his two friends, and was then served as they

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had been. He succeeded in effecting his escape the next 619
day; but Douglass and Simms were carried off, murdered,
and, it is supposed, — I believe with good reason, — that [144]
their bodies were eaten. The Avon, after being plundered,
fell into the hands of the remainder of the crew, and sailed
for Montevideo.

I travelled with this ruffian about ten days. He was a 619
hard master, though I cannot charge him with personal ill-
treatment that amounted to cruelty. Our life was monot-
onous enough. We slept a good share of the time when
we rested, drank pure water when we could get it, and ate
what fell in our way; though the reader may be assured
that we saw some hungry days. At the expiration of ten
days, the tribe was reinstated at a place agreed upon. Here 525
we continued several days, the natives occupied exclusively
with gambling, which was alike their daily labor and
recreation. When the demands of hunger became too
imperative to be longer postponed, they would go out and
hunt, after which they resumed their games.

Gambling is a vice to which they are greatly addicted,
and they pursue it with a perseverance and ardor worthy
of amateurs in more civilized communities. The imple-
ments used are bits of gammon-skin, about the size of
common playing-cards, on which are rudely depicted dogs [125]
and a variety of other beasts, with divers mystic marks and
amuels, done with a stick in a pigment composed of clay,
blood and grease. Unlike their compeers in more en-
lightened circles, they put down stakes on only one side,
for which the opposite players contend. In this way they
rid themselves of their saddles, bridles, boleas, and what
ever other portable articles they may have to hazard

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Sat 5 Nay, I have seen them inflamed to such a passion as to take the mantles from their women's shoulders, telling them to protect themselves from the cold as they could.

Sat 8 But where was "Holland," all this time? They told me at first that we should be only four days reaching it, and already more than ten had passed. On inquiry, they said that the journey would be completed in six days; as we went, for sixteen days more, with the same dull routine, the Indians assigning seven or eight days as the minimum time. The place seemed to be all the while receding. I had long since become aware that there was no truth in them; but persisted in questioning them, to call forth fresh lies, which they uttered with marvellous fluency, as if it were vastly easier than speaking the truth.

After the ruinism of the tribe, I implored the old chief to take me back to his lodge, and to his especial care; to which he consented, much to my satisfaction. With him I felt a kind of security unknown elsewhere; under God, I relied about on his protection. He alone of the tribe had the power to defend me, and I spared no pains to secure his good-will. To this end, I made him large promises of such things as I thought would arouse his cupidity, or stimulate his appetites, as well as an abundance of ornaments for his wives and children, if he would only take me to some place inhabited by white people. This policy was extended to his household; disagreeable as the task was, I forced myself to caress his dirty children, and to tell them what pretty things I intended to give them. By these, and such-like demonstrations, I flattered myself it might be possible to keep on peaceable terms with

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old Parson ver and enlist his authority for me, if circumstances should compel me to appeal to it.

The convicted tribe remained in camp three or four days dividing their time between gambling and hunting. When I accompanied the hunters, as I sometimes did, I was sure to get something to eat towards night, as they invariably kindled a fire and cooked part of the game on the spot where it was killed. Their method of preparing all meats was essentially the same as has been described; toasting large pieces into the fire, or suspending them over it, till they were somewhat smoked and dried, and then devouring them, without salt, or any other condiment but the sauce of hunger. Cooking the ostrich, however, forms an exception: the feathers are plucked out, the bones flattened and removed; hot stones are placed within the body, the skin is tightly sewed together, and the whole is partially roasted on the embers. The beings are then cut, and the meat is served up; it has an excellent flavor, far surpassing that of the domestic turkey. The bird is covered with a layer of fat, half an inch thick, which is melted, and collects in the body, forming a condiment which is relished as the greatest luxury of Patagonian living. If any fragments of the repast remain, they are slung to the backs of the mobility, and so carried home, dangling at the horses' sides, till they are so begrimed with dust as to defy all conjecture as to their quality or origin. These choice morsels are proffered to the home department, are received with smiles of gratitude, and devoured with a gust sharpened by long abstinence. It was noticeable that the plumage of the ostrich, though beautiful, was not at all valued by the Indians; large

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080 quantities of the feathers are blown all over the country without attracting the least regard, while men and women disfigure themselves with paint, and load their persons with the cheapest of all trumpery, brass and copper and beads, picked up from traders, or stolen.

224 The hunting of the guanaco is not only their chief reliance for food, but a spirited amusement, conducted after a fashion peculiar alike to hunters and hunted. Patagonia, as before mentioned, has no trees, but is covered here and there, in patches, with a kind of under-brush of scrub growth, and the plains extend back for hundreds of miles from the Atlantic shore, like a vast rolling prairie. This affords a clear and excellent hunting-ground, with nothing to conceal the game, or hinder the pursuer, except now and then a clump of low bushes, or the tall grass of the marshes. Two to four hundred Indians on horseback, bare-headed, and with their skin mantles about them, and each having the bolas and his long knife tucked beneath his belt, the whole followed by an innumerable pack of dogs of every kind, down to curs of low degree, make up a hunting party; as far as the eye can reach, their gigantic forms, diminished by the distance, may be seen projected on the horizon, their long hair streaming in the wind. Presently a thickness is perceived in the air, and a cloud of dust arises, — a sure indication that a herd of guanacos has been beaten up, and is now approaching. All eyes are fixed intently on the cloud; it soon appears as if several acres of earth were alive, and in rapid motion. There is a herd of from five hundred to a thousand of these animals, infuriated, rushing forward at their utmost speed; whatever di ection they may chance to take, they follow

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in a straight line; and, as soon as their course is ascertained, the Indians may be seen running their horses at break-neck pace to plant themselves directly in the course of the living tide. As the game approach, the hunter puts spurs to his horse and rushes across their track. When within twenty or thirty yards, he jerks the bolas from his girdle, and, whirling it violently above his head, lets fly. The weapon usually strikes the head or neck of the animal, and winds itself about his fore-legs, bringing him to the ground. The hunter dismounts, cuts the victim's throat, remounts, and is again in pursuit. The whizzing missile, unerring in its aim, brings down another and another, till the party are satisfied with their chase and their prey. The dogs fall upon the poor animals, when helplessly entangled by the bolas, and often cruelly mangle them before the hunter has time to despatch them. Seldom does any one miss the game he marks. It is the height of manly ambition among them, the last result of their training, to excel in the chase.

The sport being over, then comes the dressing of the meat. The body is split open, the entrails removed, the heart and large veins opened, to permit the blood to flow into the cavity. The Indians scoop up with their hands and eagerly drink the blood. When their thirst is satisfied, the remainder is poured into certain of the intestines selected for the purpose, to become (to their accommodating tastes) a luxury as highly prised as any surnamed of Bologna. The ribs are disjointed from the back-bone, and, with the head, discarded as worthless. The body is quartered, cutting through the skin; the quarters, tied together in pairs, are thrown across the horses' backs, and conveyed to the camp. Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous

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462 Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous hunters never unlade their beasts, but lean upon the horses' necks till their wives come out and relieve them of the spoil. They then dismount, unsaddle their horses, and turn them loose.

000 Whilst remaining at our present encampment, strong indications of dissatisfaction were apparent, which manifestly had reference to me. There was a large party that had always entertained hostile feelings towards me; and I now found it necessary to exert myself to the utmost to quell their discontent, by making large promises of presents to men, women and children, "due and payable" on arrival at some white settlement; also, by humoring their caprices, and flattering their vanity with the most honeyed words at my command. The reader, I hope, will not harshly judge of the deceptions which are here and elsewhere avowed in this narrative. I was placed in circumstances which, it seemed to me, made this a legitimate and necessary mode of self-defence. It was plain that my only way of escape would be by some negotiation for ransom, and the Indians had conceived expectations of very large profit to be made out of me. They were told, when we landed, that I was the captain of the ship, — an unfortunate error, but one that I could not repair. I was naturally looked upon as so much the more valuable hostage. My only resource was to act in character: to magnify my own importance, to increase their expectations, whenever I found myself sinking in the scale of their favor, — to make them feel, in short, that they had an immense interest in preserving my life, and getting me to "Holland," or some other white settlement, with the most convenient speed. And if some of the fictions appear gross, it is enough to say that they

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were such as seemed, at the time, to be adapted to the grossness of their apprehensions and desires, and to the most sure accomplishment of the purpose in view.

Yet, so false-hearted and treacherous were they, that one could never be for a moment certain what impression was made. Liars in grain themselves, it was only natural for them to distrust every one else. Whenever I spoke, and especially when making promises, the old chief would look me steadily in the eye, as though piercing my inmost thoughts. But, in process of time, I so schooled myself to the exercise, that I could return his look and tell the toughest stories without blinking. Some of them were to the full as credible as those of Munchausen. It was constantly necessary to put memory and imagination to the rack, to call forth something new and astonishing wherewith to divert their fancy, and preoccupy their minds from meditating mischief against me, of which I had continual reason to be afraid. Secure against any detection of the plagiarism, I drew largely from the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor, the marvels of the Arabian Nights, and the cunning devices of Gil Blas, the materials of which served, when duly mixed with my own ravishable experience, to excite their curiosity, if not to awaken awe and superstitious reverence. They would sit around me for hours, as eager as so many children, their eyes and ears all intent, while in broken Spanish, mixed with a few Indian phrases that had been grafted into my speech through the ear, aided by abundant gesticulations, that shadowed forth and illustrated whatever was obscure in expression, I spun yarns of no common length, strength and elasticity. Sometimes, in response to a general call from the company, the old chief

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000 at the end of some marvellous tale, would command me to tell it again. This was no easy task, considering the freaks which my imagination usually played without restraint, in the progress of the narrative. In no long time, however, I learned to imitate the prudence of boys who turn down the leaves of their books, or of Indians who break down the shrubs and twigs along a new path, by taking special note of my deviations, — a sort of mental dog's-ear, or way-mark, interposed at the point of departure. It was not difficult to retrace the way at their bidding, and give them the whole journey, to its minutest turnings.

623 The excitement and dissatisfaction which I had remarked and dreaded appeared to have died away, when one night I had startling evidence that it was still active. At the usual hour of rest, as I was expecting every moment to be ordered, like a dog, to my cold corner of the lodge, a gigantic, ill-favored fellow made his appearance, and exchanged, in an under tone, a few words with the chief. Without comprehending a word that was passing, I could see, by their significant glances, that the colloquy concerned me, and that it boded me no good. The giant soon disappeared. The chief sat a moment in silence, rose, and ordered me to follow him. To the question where he was taking me, no other answer was vouchsafed than "Come along!" We had proceeded but a short distance when I observed a group of Indians sitting in a circle on the earth. The sight almost froze my blood. The most dismal apprehensions seized upon me. There needed no wizard to tell the import of the scene. The *fatal ring*, so much to be dreaded by those who are cast upon the tender mercies of savages was set for me. The suddenness of it aggravated the blow. It

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almost paralysed thought, and arrested my powers of motion. The catastrophe of the tragedy, I thought, is at hand, unless arrested by the interposition of a higher power. In my way to the dreaded spot I sent up a silent supplication that He whose eye marked all my footsteps, and whose power was all-sufficient for my protection against utmost peril, would keep me in that hour of my "extremity," and make it, according to the proverb, His "opportunity."

Arrived at the ring, I found the Indians squatting on the ice and snow awaiting us, with their cutlasses and large knives tucked under their blankets, — weapons they never carry except when they expect to use them. I was ordered within, and seated myself as near as possible to the chief. They presently began talking in rotation, as they sat, in their own tongue. Their words were mainly unintelligible; but the deadly malice that flashed from the eyes, kindled in the features, and animated the gesticulations, of some of them, left no room to doubt the significance of their speech. A part of them were clamorous against my life, as they had constantly been. Others appeared to be irresolute, and said little; but, so far as could be discovered, no voice was raised in my favor. The chief spoke last, — I hung upon his lips, and anxiously scrutinised his face and action. I gathered that he was in favor of holding on a while longer, and using me as a decoy, to lure others within their power; reminding them of my promises, — the quantities of rum and tobacco they were to get from me, the trinkets destined for women and children. He was for getting the booty before cutting the matter short with me. His remarks evidently had great weight with the council,

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623 and exerted a soothing effect on all of them. At this point I thought it a meet season to impress upon their minds that I was of some consequence in the world, and asked leave to speak for myself, which was granted. Thereupon I launched forth in an oration, the chief acting as interpreter, and retailing it to the circle sentence by sentence:

"Buenos Senores! Me mucho grande Americane capitan, mismo commodant mucho mass, mucha barca, mucha galeta, muchos soldados, muchos marinarios. Me tene mucho mucho big guns, bastante poquito mismo bastante, cutlass, pistols mucho bastante. Vuestros hombres buenos per me, mi marinarios, mi soldados, buenos per vos. Othro corso usted malo rumpe me," &c. &c. &c. In such a jumble of Spanish, English and Indian, duly set off with grimace and gesture, I gave them to understand that they were dealing with no inferior personage, but with one who was at home as good as the president; one having at command abundance of steamships and sailing vessels of all sorts, with soldiers and mariners, big guns and little guns, pistols and cutlasses. That if they were good to me they would *receive good from me and mine; but that, if they did me* any harm, men would come from North America in numbers as incalculable as the hairs of their heads, and kill every mother's son of them. Furthermore, if they would take me to some white settlement, whether American, English, French or Spanish, I would order the white people to give them rum, tobacco, flour, rice, sugar and tea. *Of course* the white men could do no less than obey, and they would thus be enabled to indulge themselves in luxuries almost without limit.

It was evident, at a glance, that my speech was seasonable,

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and took effect in the right quarter. Their eyes stood out with wonder, and the sternness of their countenances was relaxed. They acquiesced in the proposal to postpone final action for the present, and see what could be made out of me before doing their worst. In a few days, they said, they would take me to "Holland;" but, no matter what time was limited, that "undiscovered country" seemed continually further off, — "a name" without any "local habitation." Their conduct in this was determined, as I was afterwards assured, by the fact that they were entirely undecided what to do with me. They longed for the good things I had told them of, and their greedy appetites could only be satisfied by taking me to a white settlement. On the other hand, they were painfully suspicious that I meant to give them the slip, and dreaded the result of bringing me into the vicinity of any settlement; while, at the same time, my grandiloquent assumptions and lofty threats made them shrink from the thought of doing me serious harm. The big guns and little guns greatly disturbed their imaginations. In short, I seemed to them an ugly customer — bad to keep, and bad to get *rid* of. They *temporized*, therefore, *promised and* hesitated, and postponed, and promised again. There was no use in trying to hurry their movements. So I gave them line upon line, seeking every opportunity to deepen the troublesome impression that they assumed a mighty responsibility when they made me a prisoner, and that their welfare depended greatly on the issue.

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CHAPTER IV.

Carey Inlet — Another disappointment — A hunting feast with an unpleasant termination — Moving of the camp — Aimless wanderings — Alagra — A marriage treaty and an unsuccessful suitor — Laws of marriage — Qualifications of a husband — Feminine quarrels — A marriage in high life — Dressing meat — Profaneness — Absence of religious ideas — Mysterious ceremony — Reasons for abstaining from religious instruction — The metals — State of the arts in Patagonia — Tailoring — Fashion.

The next move of the tribe brought us within about a mile of Carey Inlet. The day after we halted, in full view of the south Atlantic, on looking out upon the water, two masts were plainly descried, evidently those of some vessel running down to this inlet. On going up an elevation commanding a better view, it proved to be a topsail schooner. She had undoubtedly mistaken this false cape for Cape Virgin, at the entrance of the Straits of Magellan. I pointed out the vessel to the Indians, and requested them to take me to the shore, that I might, if possible, communicate with her and be ransomed. After some delay, they complied; but, as we approached the beach, she was seen suddenly to haul off the shore and stand down the coast, having probably found out her mistake. We made all possible haste to gain the beach before she would have time to pass out of sight. I mounted a tall cliff, where I could distinctly see

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the men on deck, and, standing on the horse's back, waved 000
my jacket, and made every possible demonstration to attract their notice. All in vain. The little vessel sailed steadily on, as if in mockery of my hopes. I watched her receding figure with an aching heart, till she vanished from sight. Thoughts of home and its familiar circle, of lost enjoyments, and of the suffering that must be a guest there, had long tantalized my sleeping and embittered my waking dreams. These were quickened and concentrated in a burning focus, by the light of such a vision from the world of my past existence, only to inflict the keener torture upon my sensibilities. My situation became more intolerable by every fresh disappointment. It was almost enough to drive me mad. Must I, then, give up all hope of rescue?

A few minutes passed, and the tempest of feeling passed with them. Reflection convinced me that the indulgence of such feelings was not only useless, but actually pernicious, as tending to unfit me for rational and successful contrivance. My condition, truly, was dreadful; so much the more necessary was it to exercise the most calm and patient and self-possessed prudence, in order to devise and execute any purpose of escape. Like the surgeon who looks with steady nerve on the quivering frame subjected to his knife, I must nerve myself to look the gloomy problem of my lot, without shrinking, fully in the face, and keep my emotions, in all circumstances, strictly under the control of the calculating judgment; a maxim, like many others, much easier uttered now than to be thought of then, and far easier asserted than accomplished. Fully bent on effecting my deliverance in some way, to the discovery of which all possible ingenuity was to be directed, my resolutions of

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self-control were hercic enough. But to fulfil them, — to repress and disregard all those sympathies to which my whole being was bound, — this was indeed labor, too great, I often feared, to be accomplished. When the stress of inward conflict oppressed me, I would spring from my crouching-place in the lodge, rush into the open air, and seize upon every object that could in any degree divert attention and divide my thoughts. These exertions, with God's blessing, sufficed to restore, in some tolerable measure, the mental equilibrium and to rescue me from the dominion of feelings the unrestrained action of which would have driven me to madness.

During our stay of three or four days at this encampment, I had become so wearied with the monotony of their idleness, broken only by their desperate gambling, — the only thing, besides the chase, with which the Indians occupied themselves, — that for variety's sake, to divert my often-despairing moods, and to kill time, which hung heavily on my hands, I consented to go out on a hunting frolic. Having procured a horse of the chief, and encased my lower extremities in a pair of native boots, much warmer than the ship shoes in which I had endured the cold, I set out with quite a party. We had gone six or eight miles, when I stopped for a short time, the rest of the troop riding off without regarding me. On remounting my charger, I put him to his utmost speed, in order to overtake them. While driving on at a furious rate, he stumbled and came to the ground, throwing his luckless rider over his head twenty feet or more, upon the hard, frozen ground. One ankle was severely sprained, and my whole body more or less bruised. So severe, indeed, was the shock, that I

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have occasional reminders of it to this day. No time was to be lost; and, with considerable effort, and no little pain, I succeeded in remounting. The swelling of my foot soon made my borrowed boots extremely uncomfortable, and I wished myself safely back at the lodge; but, at whatever expense of suffering, I had no resource but to follow the hunters till such time as they should see fit to return. The remembrance of that day's torment will not soon be lost. We arrived at the camp late in the evening; and, having been unsuccessful in the chase, went supperless to bed. On crawling into the hut and removing my boots, a sad sight was disclosed; but there was no present remedy. Dragging myself wearily into my corner, I had just crouched upon the skin, which had served for a saddle during the day and was still reeking from the horse's back, when a great dog came along, and threw his whole weight upon the lame foot, causing me to scream aloud for the pain. I drew back the serviceable foot, and gave him a kick that sent him through the fire and against the front of the lodge. Sleep kept at a distance till near morning, when I gained a brief oblivion of suffering.

Day at last dawned, and with the morning's light came the busy note of preparation for removal. Down came the tents; the squaws packing up the furniture, and the Indians chasing and lassoing their horses. The noise and confusion, disagreeable enough under any circumstances, made the scene no inapt representative of chaos, from which I was glad to be delivered on the most expeditious terms possible; and I was easily persuaded to try my fortune again in the chase, more especially as we had nothing for breakfast. No words can do more than partial

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484 justice to one of these moving scenes. Not only the skin roofs of their wigwams, but the stakes and poles which constitute the frames, are carried along with them. Their furniture gives them little trouble, seldom consisting of more than the skins on which they sleep, an ox-horn tinder-box, a few sticks for roasting meat, and a leathern water-bucket. Tents and furniture are all packed together on
854 their horses' backs. The pappooses in travelling are lashed
484 to a kind of wooden sledge, rounded at the ends like sleigh-runners, and crossed with narrow slats, that bind the parts strongly together. The little brats are bound upon these machines, which are so shaped that their heads and feet are much below the general level of their bodies,—a very uncomfortable position for the youngsters, if they have as much sensibility to pain as other children, of which I incline to doubt, as they are inured from birth to almost every species of hardship. The sledge, with its living burden, is thrown across the horse's back, and made fast to the load. The mother mounts to the top of the pack, resting her feet on the horse's neck, and armed with a cudgel, with which she vigorously belabors the beast, right and left. The pappooses, not liking the quarters assigned to them, set up a general squalling. Mothers and maiden aunts join in full chorus, drawling out, at the top of their voices, "Hóri! mutty, mutty! Hóri! mutty, mutty!" without the least change, to the thousandth repetition.
484 All these arrangements are made with remarkable celerity —in thirty minutes not a tent is left standing, but the whole tribe, their tents and chattels, wives and brats, are all packed upon horses, and the motley cavalcade moves off like an army of beggars on horseback.

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On the present occasion the movement was delayed, while we rode in search of something to eat. The chase was unsuccessful, scarcely enough being obtained to more than sharpen our appetites for dinner. The scanty meal being over, the whole company began their journey, which in its tortuous windings was not unlike that of the Israelites in the wilderness, but unlike that in the respect that we seemed to have no particular destination or object, except to explore new hunting-grounds, and gratify the capricious restlessness of the Indians. One very desirable end was answered, — we got enough to eat, as we were successful in killing a large quantity of game. The Indians, it was noticeable, were never at a loss to find their camps. So familiar did they seem with all their haunts and the general shape of the country, that though the surface presented to my eye scarcely any distinguishable way-marks, they would strike off from any point, however distant, and go with unerring aim straight to their roots. In returning Indian with booty to our new homes, I was surprised to observe our indications whatever of water in the vicinity, a singular departure, at first sight, from their invariable custom, so far as I had noticed. Very soon the squaws issued from their huts, each with her leathern bucket. Curiosity prompted me to follow them a little way, when a spring was discovered, from which they had to dip the water with their on-horn cups till the buckets were filled.

About this time a new phase of life presented itself, to cast light on an important item of the social economy established in Patagonia. Looking out of our wigwam one evening just at dusk, I noticed an unusual concourse of Indians about two hundred yards distant. There were

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584 fifty or more, headed by one of the most ruffianly rascals in the tribe, marching in the direction of our lodge. I spoke to the chief about it, whereupon he went immediately to the back of the hut, and sat down on his little bed, his cutlass hanging beside him from a knot of one of the stakes. This he took down, laid it across his knees, and folded his arms. Something, I saw, was wrong. In anticipation of the worst that might befall me, I had found, a short time before, the handle of an old knife among the chief's trumpery, and also an old blade; these I had put together, and the chief permitted me to carry it about my person, the only weapon he allowed me. I now planted myself on my knees beside him, and prepared to sell my life as dearly as possible, should the mob enter with evil designs towards me. The consciousness that I was in their power, and was sure to have the worst of any serious quarrel, made it my study to keep the peace with them as far as circumstances would admit; but there was a limit to my control of events, a very narrow limit, which I had constant reason to fear would be overborne by the impetuous hatred of my enemies, when nothing would be left but desperate resistance. Such a crisis seemed near, when the chief was himself reduced to a defensive attitude, and was indeed besieged in his own lodge.

The motley throng surrounded the hut, their numbers constantly swelled by fresh arrivals; some were squat upon the ground, others peeping through the crevices. Presently one of the number addressed the chief, and the two conversed for some time in a low and unintelligible, but decided and emphatic tone. The crowd outside op-

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peared to be a good deal excited, and kept up a continuous
hum of rapid conversation. I looked and listened, with
mingled curiosity and dread, while the chief repeated the
same thing over and over again, in a firm, authoritative
tone, tinged with anger. Unable to conjecture what was
on foot, or to bear any longer the agony of suspense, I
patted him familiarly on his naked breast, told him he had
"a good heart," begged that he would not suffer the
Indians to harm me. "You go sleep," was his answer;
"no Indians come into this house to-night." I inquired
what they were after, but no answer was vouchsafed, and
he resumed his mysterious colloquy with the outsiders.
The idea of sleeping under such circumstances was out of
the question; I was wide awake, and bent on keeping
so, — acutely bewildered at the strange goings on, and not
a little terrified, but holding fast by my sole weapon of
defence, and waiting a favorable opportunity to interpose
another inquiry. The chief turned his head; and, per-
ceiving my vigilance, repeated in an angry tone his injunc-
tion to sleep. This was a step too much; and, clasping
my arms about his dirty neck, pressing his breast, and look-
ing (with as confiding an air as I could assume) into his
dull eyes, I begged him to speak to me, to tell me what
if me men wanted. "Do they want to break my head?"

"The men don't want to hurt you," he said; "Indian
wants a girl for his wife; poor Indian, very poor, got no
horses nor anything else. I won't give him the woman."

He spoke; a descent from the height of my fears was not
satisfactory; it was impossible to credit this explanation
of such a formidable scene. I apprehended that it was a
pure fiction, accompanied for the purpose of quieting me;

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583 but, as he seemed more communicative, I swallowed my
584 doubts, and questioned him further. "What does poor Indian say?"

"Says he'll steal plenty horses when we get where they are, and give the woman plenty of grease. Says he is a good hunter, good thief."

These high titles to consideration did not seem to be admitted by the party they were offered to conciliate; on the contrary, the chief pronounced him a sleepy mick-skin of a fellow,—no thief at all; one that would never owe a horse in the world. This opinion, which he was good enough to favor me with, he communicated to the party chiefly concerned, telling him that he was a poor, good-for-nothing Indian, he should not have the woman, and that was the end of it. After a little more jabber, and abundance of wrangling, the mob dispersed, much to my relief. Satisfied, by further conversation on the subject with old Pancalves, whose triumph over the enemy had put him into better temper than usual, that the affair did not imminently concern my safety or welfare, I lay down to rest.

582 In answer to further inquiries,—for I must plead guilty to a good deal of curiosity in respect of the poor Indian and his blasted hopes,—I was informed that without the chief's consent no marriage was permitted; that, in his judgment, an Indian who was not an accomplished rogue,—particularly in the horse-stealing line,—an expert hunter, able to provide plenty of meat and grease, was fit to have a wife on any terms. He never gave his consent for such lazy men to take an extra rib; but, he very considerately added, all the difference it made was that some

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can also lead to support the squaw till her suitor proved 582
himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify
taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his
scarp, he would not be long in earning her; it would make
him a first-rate thief,—the most indispensable title to
favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two
horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was re-
garded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among 584
themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once 587
active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occa-
sion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity
with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the
fury of a wild beast; then comes such a pounding, scratch-
ing and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The gay
dissolves, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands
at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat,
generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency.
A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the
rickety wigwam, under the effect of the squall within,
creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the contract of marriage is so jealously regarded 585
by the chief as to be subject to a vote in every case where
a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the
ceremony is literally nothing at all. Due mention having
been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes
home his bride for better or worse, without any of the
festivity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About 584
this time,—for, as I had no means of journalizing my ex-
perience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and
months, it is quite impossible to assign dates,—a mar-

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ceremonial transaction took place, accompanied by unusual solemnities. The rank of one party, and the extraordinary accessories of the occasion, will justify a particular notice of this "marriage in high life."

One evening, the chief, his four wives, two daughters, an infant granddaughter, and myself, were scattered about the lodge, enveloped in a smoke of unusual strength and density. While the others sat around as unconcerned as so many pieces of boom, I lay flat, with my face close to the ground, and my head covered with a piece of guanaco-skin, the only position in which it was possible to gain any relief from the stifling fumigation. While in this attitude, I fancied I heard the tramp of many feet without, and a confused muttering, as if a multitude of Indians were talking together. Presently a hoarse voice sounded in front, evidently aimed at the ears of some one within, to which the chief promptly replied. I caught a few words, — enough to satisfy me that I was not the subject of their colloquy, but that there was a lady in the case, — and listened curiously, without any of the fright which grew out of the previous negotiations. The conversation grew animated, and the equanimity of his high mightiness the chief was somewhat disturbed. I cast a penetrating glance into the smoke at the female members of our household, to discern, if possible, whether any one of them was specially interested. One look was sufficient; the chief's daughter (who, by the way, was a quasi widow, with one hopeful scion springing up by her side) sat listening to the conversation, with anxiety and apprehension visible in every feature. Her mother sat near her, her chin resting upon her hand, with an anxious and thoughtful expression

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of countenance. The invisible speaker without, it soon appeared, was an unsuccessful suitor of the daughter, and had come with his friends to press his claim. He urged his suit, if not with classic, with "earnest" eloquence, but with success ill proportioned to his efforts. The chief told him he was a poor, good-for-nothing fellow, had no horses, and was unfit to be his son-in-law, or any one else's. The outsider was not to be so easily put off; he pressed his suit with fresh energy, affirming that his deficiency of horses was from want of opportunity, not from lack of will or ability to appropriate the first that came within his reach. On the contrary, he claimed to be as ingenious and accomplished a thief as ever swung a lasso or ran off a horse, and a mighty hunter besides, whose wife would never suffer for want of grease. The inexorable chief hereat got considerably excited, told him he was a poor devil, and might be off with himself; he would n't talk any more about it.

The suppliant, as a last resort, appealed to the fair one herself, begging her to smile on his suit, and assuring her, with marked emphasis, that, if successful in his aspirations, he would give her *plenty of grease*. At this last argument she was unable to resist longer, but entreated her father to sanction their union. But the hard-hearted parent, not at all mollified by this appeal from his decision to an inferior tribunal, broke out in a towering passion, and poured forth a torrent of abuse. The mother here interposed, and besought him not to be angry with the young folks, but to deal more gently and considerately with them. She even hinted that he might have done injustice to the young man. He might turn out a smarter man than he had credit for. He might — who knew? — make a fine chief yet, possess

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584 plenty of horses, and prove a highly eligible match for their daughter. The old fellow had been (for him) quite moderate, but this was too much. His rage completely mastered him. He rose up, seized the pappoose's cradle, and hurled it violently out of doors, and the other chattels appertaining to his daughter went after it in rapid succession. He then ordered her to follow her goods *instanter*, with which benediction she departed, responding with a smile of satisfaction, doubtless anticipating the promised luxuries of her new home, the vision of which, through the present tempest, fortified her mind against its worst perils. Leaving the lodge, she gathered up her scattered effects, and, accompanied by her mother, the bridal party disappeared.

593 The chief sat on his horse-skin couch, his legs crossed
578 partly under him, looking sour enough. Presently the bride and her mother returned, and now began the second scene. The chief no sooner recognized them than a sound — something between a grunt and a growl, but much nearer the latter than the former, and in a decided *crescendo* — gave warning of a fresh eruption. The rumbling grew more emphatic, and suddenly his fury burst on the head of his wife. Seizing her by the hair, he hurled her violently to the ground, and beat her with his clenched fists till I thought he would break every bone in her body, and reduce her substance to a jelly. Perhaps I was a little hard-hearted, but she had been one of my bitterest enemies, and I had a feeling that if some of her ill-will to me could be beaten out of her, I could be easily resigned to her fate. The drubbing ended, she rose and muttered something he did not like. He replied by a violent blow on the side of her head, that sent her staggering to the further end of the hut. This

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last argument was decisive, and she kept her huge mouth closed for the night. There was a silent pause for some minutes, and, without another word, we ranged ourselves for repose. I thought the old heathen's conscience troubled him through the night; his sleep was broken, and he appeared very restless. Early the next morning he went to the lodge of the newly-married pair, and had a long chat with them. They thought him rather severe upon them at first; but, after a good deal of diplomacy, a better understanding was brought about. The young people could hardly get over a sense of the indignities they had received; but in the course of the day they returned, bag and baggage, to the old chief's tent, and made it their permanent abode.

We now moved in a westerly direction, and on the way succeeded in capturing a good deal of game. Their mode of dealing with the carcase of the guanaco is enough to dissipate whatever appetising qualities the meat — in itself very palatable — would otherwise possess. It was no uncommon circumstance, while the squaws were removing the hide, to see the dogs tugging at the other extremity, the women, meantime, crying out "Eh! Ah!" in a dissuasive, though not angry, tone. If the animals become too audacious, the ire of their mistresses is kindled, and they break out with "Cashuraa cashahy!" a phrase equivalent to that which, in English, directs its object to a region unmentionable in ears polite.

The Indians have, strictly speaking, no profane expressions. I never could learn that they worshipped or had any idea of a Supreme Being. The only observance which bore any aspect of religion was associated with something we

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should little think of as an object of adoration — the tobacco-pipe; — though, how far this is, in fact, an object of idolatry in Christian lands, it might not become me to speculate. The only occasions on which the Indians discovered any appearance of devotion were those of smoking. This may have been only a symptom of intoxication, but the reader may judge for himself.

A group of a dozen or more assemble, — sometimes in a wigwam, sometimes in the open air. A vessel made of a piece of hide bent into a saucer-shape while green and afterwards hardened, or sometimes an ox-horn, filled with water, is set on the ground. A stone pipe is filled with the scrapings of a wood resembling yellow ebony, mixed with finely-cut tobacco. The company then lay themselves in a circle flat on their faces, their mantles drawn up to the tops of their heads. The pipe is lighted. One takes it into his mouth and inhales as much smoke as he can swallow; the others take it in succession, till all have become satisfied. By the time the second smoker is fully charged, the first begins a series of groanings and gruntings, with a slight trembling of the head, the smoke slowly oozing out at the nostrils. The groaning soon becomes general, and waxes louder, till it swells into a hideous howling, enough to frighten man or beast. The noise gradually dies away. They remain a short time in profound silence, and each imbibes a draught of water. Then succeeds another interval of silence, observed with the most profound and devotional gravity. All at length arise, and slowly disperse. Now, this may or may not have been a form of worship; but the circumstances attending it, the numbers uniformly engaged in it, the formality with which it was invariably conducted

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the solemnity of visage, the reverential grimace, the prostration, the silence, the trembling,— these, and traits of expression which are more easily discerned and remembered than described, gave me a decided impression that the whole had a superstitious meaning. The natural operation of the tobacco, and of the substance mixed with it, might explain part of the symptoms,— the writhing and groaning, — but these appeared to be a good deal in excess, and there were other features of the case which appeared to require another solution.

I never asked any explanation. The mystery which savage tribes are so apt to throw around their religious rites, and their resentment at any unhallowed curiosity, I was not inclined to meddle with or provoke. If my conjectures were just as to the nature of this ceremony, inquiry might lead to unpleasant consequences. Ignorance appeared, on the whole, safer than knowledge of good or evil, gained at the risk of being caught trespassing on things forbidden. If any one thinks my precaution excessive, he is at liberty to take a different course whenever he finds himself in the jurisdiction of Purrulver, or any other Patagonian chief.

The inquiry may arise, especially in the mind of the religious reader, whether I attempted to impart to my captors any knowledge of God, his attributes and laws. The answer is quite ready,—No, and for a variety of reasons. The writer did not understand enough of either Spanish or Indian to communicate intelligible ideas on any matters beyond the range of the senses, and Patagonia is pretty barren of sensible phenomena, which made my stock of words more limited than it might have been under more favorable circumstances. There was no finding "tongues

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"trees," or "books in the running brooks;" the land possesses neither in numbers sufficient to be conversable. "Sermons in stones," even, must have been of very pebbly dimensions, and of no great weight. Had this difficulty been removed, I confess I had no great desire to surmount it. I was the object of suspicion and hostility. My life was in constant danger. To diminish, as far as possible, the causes of dislike, to mitigate their ferocious hate, to elude occasions of mischief, to delay what I feared could not be very long prevented, was my continual study. If the reader is not satisfied with this account of my conduct, I am sorry for it, but cannot afford any words of contrition. It is vastly easier, I may hint to the objector, to prescribe another's duties than to judge of one's own, especially where the two parties are in circumstances so widely differing. The Patagonians need the gospel—and the law—as much as any people I could name from personal observation. There was no trace of instruction imparted at a previous period, and the reception Christianity would meet with among them is yet to be discovered.

Their pipes are made of a hard red stone, the bowl dug out with whatever iron or steel implement is at command to the dimensions of an ordinary clay pipe, the stem about an inch square, and three inches long, with a small perforation. A copper or brass tube, about two inches long, is fitted to the stem, and serves as a mouth-piece. This is made by bending or hammering a metallic plate about a small round stick, and soldering or cementing it with a glutinous substance thickened with earth.

The copper, brass and iron, seen among them, was probably procured from unfortunate vessels wrecked on their

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coast. I was informed by Captain Morton, of whom the persevering reader will know more hereafter, that he had touched at Sea Bear Bay for a harbor, and saw there great quantities of iron pumps, ships' hanging knees, and other gear, from wrecks of vessels of all sizes. As he was bound for the land of gold, he thought it scarcely worth his while to collect the baser metals. Had he been homeward bound, he might have obtained a valuable cargo.

As ornaments, bits of brass and copper, of silver and German silver, have a high value among the Indians, and when the metals are plenty such adornment is very common. The children's shoes have small oval pieces sewed on in front, and they appear on other parts of their dress. When scarce, they are more seldom seen. Blacksmithing in Patagonia is something of the rudest. Two hard flat stones do duty, the one as anvil, and the other as hammer. Of the effect of heat in making the metals malleable, and of the art of tempering, the people have no knowledge. To make a knife, they take a piece of iron hoop, or iron in any practicable shape, and hammer away upon it at a provokingly slow rate. Their blows are not heavy enough to do much execution; but they keep up a constant tap, tap, tap, hour by hour, till the iron is flattened to the required shape and dimensions. It is then rubbed on a smooth stone till it is worn down to an edge, and finally inserted into a wooden handle. Sometimes melted lead is poured into the handle, but lead appeared to be a scarce commodity. All mechanic arts, if they deserve the name, are in an equally rude and primitive stage. The simplicity of these people's ideas is indeed extraordinary. In invention or constructiveness they are babes. A Yankee boy, six

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401 years old, would be a prodigy among them,—a miracle of genius.

291 294 An opportunity was afforded, while in camp, to see some specimens of their tailoring or mantua-making achievements;—either term is appropriate, as the male and female dress do not differ in form, and but slightly in the mode of adjustment. The mantle or blanket is worn around the shoulders; those of the women are fastened together by the corners under the chin with a stick for a pin; the men hold theirs around them with their hands, except that when hunting they tie a string around the waist.

281 284 The skins of young guanacos are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. When the surface is made tolerably smooth, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively covered with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. The skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of the ostrich. These are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

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Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which if intended to shadow forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "square-dukkies." The garment is now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native tastes require. There is no trial of patience in smoothing obstinate wrinkles. A "genteel fit" is the easiest thing in the world; wherein Patagonian tailors have decidedly the advantage of their fellow-craftsmen in civilized lands.

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CHAPTER V.

Inclement weather — Gusts of my wardrobe — Attempts to deprive us of my clothes — Powwow and horse-killing — Hair-cutting ceremonial — Remedy for rheumatism — Sickness — Turn barter — A cold bath — Fasting — Discovery of my watch, and its effect — I am made showman — Lies-hunt — Successful chase.

[illegible] At our next halt we encamped in a deep, swampy valley. The weather was cold and stormy; rain, snow, sleet and hail, fell alternately, but did not accumulate on the earth to any considerable depth. Fitful gusts of wind came sweeping through the camp, making the wigwams shake fearfully. Our old lodge gallantly rode out the gale; but, either owing to its straining and working in the storm, or to some defects in the original structure, leaked shockingly all night. I was repeatedly awakened by a stream of cold water running under me. Giving the skin roof a few knocks to lighten it of its watery burden, and shaking the wet skin which constituted my couch, I would throw myself down, and resign myself to repose; but before quiet was fairly restored, another inundation would drive me to my feet. The night were away with me, wet, cold and sleepless. After daybreak I rose, and continued for two hours in vigorous exercise to restore warmth to my chilled frame, before the Indians were astir. Firm were

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then kindled, and matters began to assume a more cheerful appearance.

The weather, quite cool on my first landing, had grown gradually colder, and was becoming inclement. I was readily prepared to endure the severity of winter. My under-garments, as before related, were desperately extended in trying to signal passing vessels. Cravat and pocket-handkerchief were appropriated to the adornment of the women in our household, to the no small envy of less favored ones. My sole article of linen was in shreds, and of a color that would afford matter for speculation to a jury of washerwomen. Stockings and shoes were sadly dilapidated; coat and trousers were glazed with dirt and grease till they shone like a glass bottle. The contents of my pockets were all confiscated, — purse, keys, knife, &c., — and a pair of pistols, of the use of which my captors knew nothing, were taken to pieces, and the brass mountings suspended about the necks of the chief's wives. In short, my outer man was sadly perishing, and I had no visible resources to arrest or repair the process of time, while I was not sufficiently inured to the climate to adopt the native dress without serious risk to health. But none of these things were allowed to trouble me. I took no thought for the morrow, but, according to the scriptural injunction, suffered the morrow to take care for the things of itself, answering sufficient unto each day the evil thereof.

At an early period of my captivity, the chief and some other Indians had cast a longing eye on my clothes, and tried to entice me into parting with them. They offered no compulsion in the matter, but resorted to all manner of

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tricks. It seemed that they thought a white man could afford to go without dressing. I explained to them that, having always worn clothes,—having in infancy, even, unlike Patagonian pickaninnies, been externally protected against the fresh air,—it was quite impossible for me to change my habits without the hazard of my life; and, if I should die in consequence of yielding to their wishes, they were reminded they would lose the valuable ransom they expected for me. This reasoning proved convincing: greatly as they longed for my wardrobe, they more desired rum and tobacco, and I was permitted the undisturbed enjoyment of the scanty covering left me.

The storm continued for two days and nights; on the third day it cleared up. About mid-day, observing a crowd of Indians together with a huge jargon of tongues, I learned, on inquiry, that a horse was to be killed; a matter which, it appeared, was always the occasion of a solemn powwow. On reaching the spot, a poor old beast, lean and lank, with a lariat about his neck, stood surrounded by some fifty Indians. The squaws were singing, in stentorian tones, "Ye! Ye! Yup! Yup! Lar, lapely, yapely!" with a repetition that became unendurable, and drove me to a respectful distance. The horse's fore-legs were first bound together, a violent push forward threw him heavily to the ground, and he was speedily despatched with a knife; anticipating, by a few days, the ordinary course of nature. Soon after my return to the wigwam, a huge portion of the carcass was sent to our quarters and hung up, to furnish our next meals! After being duly dressed by the women, with the aid of the dogs, and smoked and cooked according to usage, it was served

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up,—my only alternative to starvation. Famine has no 252
scruples of delicacy; if the reader is disgusted, he is in a
state of sympathy with the writer.

Early the next day we (literally) pulled up stakes, and 00 0
were on the move; and, after journeying all day, encamped
in a situation very like the one we left in the morning.
The Indians spent their time, as usual, in gambling and in
combing each other's hair, with a brush made of stiff dry [342]
roots, tied up together. The operator received as a fee
the guess captured in the process. The reader will excuse
a more explicit statement of what, though less abominable [262]
than cannibalism, is hardly less repulsive.

One evening our family circle were seated round a fire,
which sent up volumes of smoke sufficiently dense to suit
a savage of the most exacting taste, and which drove me,
as usual, to the back part of the hut, where I lay flat on
my face. One of the chief's wives was inveighing against
me, as was her wont, and a second occasionally joined in
the strain, by way of chorus. A third was cracking the
bones of a guanaco, that her son Cohanaco might eat the [263]
marrow. The fourth and last of the women was attending
to a piece of meat for our supper, fixed on a forked stick,
in the smoke. Two sons were engaged, as usual, in doing [159]
nothing, except occasionally begging a little of the marrow,
and cumping their dirty legs with a sheath-knife, by way
of diversion; sundry by-plays, and little pieces of mis-
chief, served to fill up the spare minutes. The old chief, 157
who had been silently regarding the scene, now commenced
talking, in a low, mumbling, guttural tone, to one of his
wives. She was busily eying the toasting-fork, and study-
ing the process of cooking; but, at her husband's instance,

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with them and drew from their repository of tools a sharp-eared nail fixed in a wooden handle, like an awl. The chief stretched himself on the ground, face downwards; a surgical operation was plainly impending. What could the matter be? Had the chief, in the course of his plumpness, burst open, like ripe fruit, requiring to be sewed up? I drew my head from beneath the protection I had provided against the smoke, and rose on my knees, to get a better view; the huge, black, glossy monster lay extended at his full length, his with pinched up the skin on his back, pierced it with her awl, and continued the process till a number of perforations were made, from which the blood oozed slowly. I asked the meaning of this operation, and was told by the chief that he had pains in his back, for which this was the best remedy. Blood-letting, it seemed, is no monopoly of the faculty. I told him that in my country we applied, in such cases, a liquid called opodeldoc, an infallible remedy, and promised to procure him some when we got to Holland. This was henceforth added to my list of inducements.

The old fellow righted himself, and leaned against one of the pillars of his palace; one of his partners pulled up the tussing-fish, and jerked the half-roasted and more than sufficiently smoked meat upon the ground, mixed the knife which the boys had been playing with, and cut the meat into liberal pieces, which were thrown broadcast on either side. The chief's appetite did not appear to be affected either by his indisposition or by the extraordinary remedy applied; his portion of the slaw disappeared behind his great white teeth with a haste that seemed to

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Rheumatic affections, they told me, are very common among them; the chief showed me the arm of one of his wives, which was scarred from the wrist to the shoulder by the awl; and the operation was afterwards performed on other members of the family.

Again we took up the line of march, travelling, as near as I could judge, west-north-west, and killing a quantity of geese, both gossans and ostrich. But the hardship of my life, aggravated by a constant flesh diet, and that eaten half raw, and at irregular seasons,—often going two days without food,—had, by this time, brought on a dysentery. This was no more than I had expected; but I knew of no remedy, and had to endure it as I could. We encamped, on the second day, near the banks of the river Gallegos; a fine spring of water issued from the river-bank into a low marshy ground, skirting the margin of the stream. By this time my illness had increased, till I felt unfit to travel further, and began to think that death could not be distant. No change of diet was practicable, and there was nothing to counteract its effect on my system. The pain and weariness of travelling did their part to aggravate the disorder; and mental discouragement—the sickness of hope deferred—completed my prostration. No human being in that desolate land cared for my sufferings, more than they would for those of a dog. Worn out with the constant irritations of a state of existence odious to every sensibility tired and disheartened, but for one thought I could have gladly laid myself down to die, to get at once and forever beyond the reach of my savage tormentors. The thought of home, of wife and child, of friends and country, and all the unutterable sanctions that

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[illegible] respond to these precious names, at once tortured and strengthened me. Then, and the thought that perhaps, after patient endurance, Divine Providence would restore me to the objects of my fastened affections, made life still dear. These strengthened me to suffer and to strive.

As I crawled out of the lodge, to look upon the sun, and breathe the pure air, and be refreshed by breezes unsalted with the breath of cruel men, it came into my mind that some palatable or even tolerable species of plant or root would be wholesome for me. On looking about, there presented itself a specimen of large dock, such as is common in the United States; a weed of humble pretensions, but why not worthy of a trial? With what strength remained at command, I began a process of "extracting roots," with good success. Taking a quantity into the lyst, and roasting them in hot ashes, they were found to be not distasteful; I filled my pockets with them, and abandoned flesh-flat for a little time, to the sensible, though gradual, relief of my sufferings. Fortunately we had a season of bad weather, which prevented any advance movement for four or five days, and gave me time partially to recover strength. I could not sooner have kept my seat on a horse; and, if the alternative had been presented, the Indians, as I very well knew, would sooner have knocked me on the head than have allowed me to hinder their march for a day. A previous was held over another horse, unsaddleable alive, and therefore marked for dirt; but this time I did not compete for any part of his carcass, my predecessors being quite sufficient, and more attractive. But in the face of the poor beast I read

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a warning to myself, to make haste and get well enough to move at the first signal.

Away again,—this time facing about, and passing down the river. I needed rest; but, at whatever expense of suffering, needs must when a certain old gentleman drives. At the next stopping-place my services were called into requisition in a new department. One forenoon, as I sauntered towards our wigwam, after a stroll among the smutty huts, to kill time and divert painful thoughts, I was hailed from within by the chief, "Arka, Boney!" On entering, he appeared to be conversing, in low, gurgling sounds, with his lately-married daughter, who was running her hands through the shaggy hair of her young hope, as she talked. Something was plainly wrong in the youngster's top-knot, and some unpleasant task in relation thereto was so plainly about to be imposed upon me. The chief resolved my doubts, by ordering me to cut off a portion of the shag; I objected a want of the proper implements, but the mother silenced me by producing an old pair of scissors, in no condition to cut anything. Calling for a file, the rusty edges were brought into a tolerable state, and I approached the task. Such a sight! If the hair now would have obeyed a mesmeric pass, without the need of manual contact,—if the job could be performed with closed eyes, and insensible nostrils, and absent mind! Faugh! I hurried through the penetrae, hiding disgust, and assuming the appearance of good will, and made good my escape into the fresh air. And so I must turn barber, and, in all likelihood, have the dirty heads of half the tribe put under my nose! What would come next!

Our next move took us across the river Gallegos, in

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(68) shoal water, barely up to the horses' knees. The current was rapid, and masses of floating ice were swept along with it. When half way across, my horse took fright, reared, and, in attempting a sudden turn, precipitated me into the water, and fell heavily upon me. The ducking and the bruise together were severe, and, among other disasters, the crystal of my watch was broken by the shock. This I had kept carefully secreted, as a last resort, to assure the savages when other expedients should fail, — when memory and invention could yield no more tales, when promises should have become threadbare with repetition, and when pretensions of greatness at home should have lost their power by the every-day disclosure of present weakness and humiliation.

We — that is to say, myself and the old horse — kicked and floundered a while in the cold water, till at last the creature succeeded in rising, and I followed his example. [192] We waded ashore, dripping, amidst the uproarious laughter of the whole troop. Once more mounted on my Rosinante, we resumed our line of march. The chill from my cold bath so benumbed me that I had to dismount and lead the horse, to reserve, by brisk walking, some portion of animal warmth. Our course was down the river towards the Atlantic. Being unsuccessful in the chase, we pitched our tents at night, supperless, and without prospect of breakfasting the next morning. A small fire was lighted, which I hugged as closely as possible, to thaw my stiffened limbs; and then, cold, wet and hungry, fagged to extremity, cast myself on the ground, to repose as I might. The next morning was stormy. It cleared up in the afternoon, and the Indians sallied out to find some food. My only refresh-

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My only entrance.

sent before their return was a little grease, which one of the squaws scooped out of an ostrich-skin with her dirty thumb and finger. It was so black that its pedigree — whether guanaco, ostrich or skunk, or a compound gathered at random from beast and bird — was a problem defying solution; but Sanitas is not fastidious, and I swallowed greedily what, a few months before, I should hardly have thought fit to grease shoes with. The men came back with a few ostriches and skunks. The chief received as his portion one of the quadrupeds. The associations connected with its name, as related to one sense, were not adapted to prepossess the others in its favor; but I made shift to do justice rather to the Indian than to my habitual tastes.

During the three days we remained here, the long-concealed watch was brought to light. The filth of the natives, the condition in which their huts and their persons were always suffered to remain, the swarms of vermin they housed, had imposed upon me extraordinary care to prevent the natural results upon my own person; but no amount of precaution was sufficient to avert them. The reader will excuse me from speaking more particularly on this head. Enough to say that I found myself intolerably tormented. The chief ordered an examination of the case, and sent for an Indian to deal with it according to their art. While divesting myself of my garments, one by one, for this purpose, the old fellow caught sight of the hidden treasure. I knew that it was useless to attempt any longer to retain it, and handed it over. He was vastly pleased with it. I wound it up, and put it to his ear. He was as delighted at the unexpected sound as a child with its first cattle. I explained its use in keeping the hours of the day, but he

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cord for nothing but the tinkling. The breaking of the crystal was explained, and he was informed that another should be procured as soon as we reached "Holland,"—another inducement, I hoped, to speed our passage there.

The inspection disclosed a state of the ossicle which would be thought dreadful in a civilized land. The chief, however, looked as calm as becomed a surgical examiner, and in a good-natured guttural exchanged a few words with his assistant, who placed himself by my side, and fixing his eyes steadily upon me, began swinging his hands and howling like a wild beast. The companion was not far out of the way, for he gave a sudden spring, fastened his teeth on my neck, and commenced sucking the blood, growling all the while like a tiger! For a moment I thought my hour had come. I wanted the vessel as soon as possible, not knowing what his taste for blood might come to, if too freely indulged. It seemed like a refinement upon cannibalism, but was, in fact, as I soon ascertained, the regular treatment made and provided by Patagonian science for the relief of severe cutaneous affections.

The chief, all this while, received with undiminished pleasure to the tinkling of his new toy. When his curiosity had at length abated, he returned it to me. I wrapped it carefully in a rag, and enveloped it afterwards in a young colt's skin provided for its reception, when, by direction of its present sagacious proprietor, it was suspended among other valuables from one of the stakes of the hut, near the spot where his highness customarily reposed. It was not, however, allowed long to remain quiet. I was ordered to take it down and hold it to the ears of all the visitors to the lodge. Forty times a day it had to come down for this

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purpose, till I got so tired of my showman's duty that I wished the watch in the bottom of the sea. The Indians, as they listened to its vibrations, would stand in every attitude of silent amazement, their eyes dilated, their countenances lighted up in every feature with delighted wonder and then break out in a roar of hearty laughter, the tone of which strangely contrasted with the infantile simplicity of their demeanor. The business was dreadfully annoying, and yet it was plain that a new and almost unbounded power affecting my destiny was hidden in that little machine. It had captivated the chief, and struck an awe over the tribe like the rod of an enchanter. Whether it boded good or evil, was another question.

Our next move took us in a west-north-west direction, and in our progress we not only secured abundant game of the ordinary varieties, but encountered and killed a young lion,—to use the popular term,—the first living specimen I had seen in the country. I had seen their skins in possession of the Indians, and heard stories of their chase. This was a youthful creature, about the size of a well-grown calf of six weeks. I was riding side by side with the chief across a piece of low bushy land, when the dogs gave tokens that they scented something uncommon. We halted, and the chief cried out to the dogs, "Chew! Chew!" They were off in a jiffey, rushing hither and thither through the bushes, barking furiously, and soon drove the beast from his covert. Other Indians, a little distance off, ascertaining what was in the wind, made after the game with a reinforcement of dogs. The chase began in good earnest. Horses, riders and dogs, from all points of the compass, were scampering to the scene of action, hal-

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224 looing, barking, howling, enough to frighten any unsophisticated lion out of his senses. Some were running full tilt to cut off his retreat; while the hunters, bareheaded, leaning forward in their saddles and urging their horses to their utmost speed, whirled the bolas about their heads and let fly with a vengeance, with no other effect than to arrest the furious animal, and cause him to turn in desperation on the dogs, and drive them back yelping with pain. Others of the pack, watching their opportunity, would spring upon his back and fasten their teeth in his flesh. He brushed them off with a single stroke of his paw, as if they had been flies, and was again in motion, halting occasionally to give fight to his nearest assailant. Now and then the bolas is hurled at him, but his lithe limbs, though sometimes entangled, are not fettered by it, and his prowess is hardly diminished. The Indians press around him; the battle waxes fiercer; his whole strength is taxed. "Chew! Chew!" roar the savages; the flagging dogs return fresh to the onslaught, and, after a hard and unequal contest, the animal is fairly overborne by numbers, and despatched by the blows of the Indians. I had kept in the vicinity, but yet at a respectful distance, and now rode up to view the slain, amidst the howlings of the wounded dogs and the boisterous laughter of the hunters. It was a beautiful animal, with soft, sleek, silvery fur, tipped with black; the head having a general resemblance to that of a cat, the eye large and full, and sparkling with ferocity.

After the Indians had eyed their game sufficiently, and talked and laughed and grunted their satisfaction, and congratulated themselves generally on their victory, and severally on the part each had taken, the body was driven off

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on the back of a horse, and the hunters again spread themselves over the country. Some ostriches were soon started up. The chief drew out his bolas, put spurs to his horse, and darted away. His mantle fell from his shoulders; his long, straight black hair, so coarse that each particular hair stood independently on end, streamed in the wind; his hideously painted face and body loomed up with grotesque statelineas, and the deadly missile whirled frantically over his head. The whizzing weapon is suddenly hurled at his victim, the chief still sitting erect in his saddle to watch its effect. His horse suddenly stops, — he dismounts nimbly, seizes the entangled bird by the throat, and swings it violently around till its neck is broken. As I rode up he deposited the great bird on my horse, remounted, and rushed in pursuit of another. That was killed and also placed in my keeping, making me a kind of store-ship. Others pursue the guanaco with equal success, till they are satisfied with their booty. We ride up to a convenient thicket, a fire is lighted, a portion of the prey is cooked and eaten. the remnants of the feast and the residue of the game are duly packed up, and the whole troop is under march for the camp.

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CHAPTER VI.

The chief's oratory — A case of sickness novelly treated — The captive commissioned as physician to the chief — Dr. Bourne's first and last patient — Murder — Cannibalism — Another consultation, showing the perils of medical practice among savages — Sports of the children — Patagonian farriery — Blunder success in the chase — A second struggle for life.

537 THE chief occasionally made a speech to his subjects from the door of his lodge, wherein he invariably inculcated the duty of hunting industriously to procure meat, and a due supply of grease, for their families. He never had an auditor in sight, for his faithful lieges considered the speech from the throne a decided bore, and, if one happened to be passing, he was sure to dodge into the nearest hut till the infliction was over; but the leathern lungs of the orator could not fail to make him audible in many of the wigwams. In length his performances more resembled the official addresses of our republican rulers than those of his royal cousins of Europe, seldom falling short of a full hour. In style, they came nearer the proclamations of a crier. He would proceed in a monotonous rumble to the end of a sentence, and then defy contradiction by repeating several times, "Comole! comole! comole!" after which he paused, as for a reply. No one having the audacity to

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take up his challenge, he would go on croaking the same things with tedious iteration. After listening very patiently to one of his harangues, I inwardly applauded the taste of his subjects in getting as far as possible out of the reach of his voice.

One forenoon, as I was beginning to feel impatient to move, — for every movement seemed to fan the flickering hope that we would soon reach a place affording some avenue of escape, and this restlessness always made camp-life doubly dismal, — the chief informed me that we should decamp that day. Preparations had commenced, when one of his daughters came in with a child crying at a tempestuous rate. The version which she gave of his complaints arrested the marching orders. A messenger was forthwith despatched for one skilled in the healing art. The physician soon arrived, armed with two small packages rolled up in pieces of skin, about a foot long and three or four inches in diameter, which I took to be his medicine-chest. He walked gravely in, laid down the packages, and squatted beside the mother, who held the little patient in her arms. Whatever his ailment might have been, his lungs could not have been impaired, for he was roaring like a young buffalo. Not a word was spoken for some time, the doctor all the while looking him very steadily in the eye. Then came a sudden calm, indicating that the little fellow experienced some relief, or, more probably, that he was exhausted. The doctor ordered an application, — not of hot water, according to the prescription of Sangrado, but of a mortar made of clay. The clay was brought, the anxious mother worked it over with her two hands, spitting upon it to give it the requisite moisture, and having re-

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755 duced it to the consistency of thick paint, bedaubed the little fellow from head to foot, giving him a decidedly original appearance. He evidently took umbrage at this unction, and discoursed in his shrillest tones till he was fairly out of breath. The medicine-chests were opened, but, instead of medicinal herbs, disclosed only a bunch of ostrich's sinews and a rattle eight or ten inches long. The physician commenced fingering the strings, and muttering almost inaudibly. This lasted four or five minutes, at the expiration of which he seized his rattle, and clattered away furiously for a minute or two, and resumed his place by his patient, eying him intently as before. He then turned with an air of importance to the chief, who had been crouching cross-legged on his couch, leaning forward, with his arms tightly folded on his breast, and watching anxiously the progress of the treatment. The man of skill broke silence: "I think he is better; don't you?" The chief nodded, and grunted assent. The same appeal was made to the mother, and received a like response. Another plastering was ordered, another burst of melody followed the application, the mysterious strings were again fingered, duly followed by the rattle. The parent and grandparent once more assented to the leech that the child was better. The chief took out a piece of tobacco, and cut off enough for about two pipefuls, which was tendered and gratefully accepted as a professional fee. The strings were tied up and replaced in their proper receptacle, and the rattle was shaken with hearty good will, whether by way of finale to the cure, or as a note of gratitude for the fee, or of triumph for success, could not easily be guessed. But the practitioner had scarcely evacuated the lodge, before his patient

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looks out more vociferously than ever; which I thought would somewhat shake the faith of his guardians in the treatment he had received. But no; their confidence in their medical adviser was not to be blown away by a breath, or even a tempest. They evidently regarded him as nearly infallible. His remedies were obviously aimed more at the imaginations of his spectators than at the body of his patient, but it was no concern of mine. Patients among us have to endure more disagreeable applications than wet clay. The noisy brat became quiet, to our great relief. He shortly appeared to be quite well, and continued to thrive for some time, as I had opportunity to witness.

The tribe went ahead with alacrity, to make up for the loss of time this sickness occasioned. We moved off another day's journey towards nowhere in particular, and settled there at night. Then ensued another season of camp life, feasting and fasting, gambling and quarrelling, and venting superfluous wrath in an abundance of "Casharan cushaly's." The chief was slightly indisposed, and I amused him with a description of the manner in which our physicians count the pulse of their patients. He listened with considerable interest, and sat thoughtfully ruminating on the matter. He came to an unexpected and alarming conclusion: putting this and my story of the *opadeldoc* together, he made up his mind that I was a physician myself! I protested against this inference, fearing that no good would come of the responsibilities he was inclined to impose on me. But the disclaimer was useless, — he stuck to the opinion; and in no long time it was understood through all the tribe that I was a distinguished doctor.

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Now, it came to pass, at this critical turn of affairs, that a certain widow, of pretty ripe years for a Patagonian, was taken suddenly ill. Her husband had been murdered many [334] years before by one of the tribe. She was possessed of several horses, and, in virtue of this wealth, held an aristocratic position in society. A messenger brought the tidings to the chief, who ordered me forthwith to set the watch, and go with him to her residence. I again assured him I knew nothing of sickness or medicine. He told me he knew better, and bade me come along without delay. There was no resisting his will, and I armed myself accordingly with the "ticking machine," and followed my master on my first professional visit. On approaching the widow's lodge, our ears were greeted with a hideous clamor, which momentarily increased as we neared the spot. A great crowd of Indians, of both sexes, surrounded the wigwam, severally and collectively making the most villanous noise ever heard. The crowd was dense, both within and without, but gave way for the chief and the great foreign physician to enter. The first order I gave was to stop their singing, whereat there was a silence so blank that the fall of a pin would have been audible, — that is, if there had been a floor for it to fall upon. With what dignity I could command, I walked up to my patient. There she lay, crouched on a bit of horse's skin, so withered, shrivelled and contracted, that it seemed as if a bushel-basket might have covered her, bed and all. I knelt by her side, drew forth the watch, grasped her by the wrist, and felt for her pulse. But, to my surprise, I could not feel it. I fussed and fumbled a long time, and finally arrived at the mortifying conclusion that I was so ignorant as not to know the

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position of the artery! The patient was frightened at so 010
unprecedented a proceeding; but I succeeded in quieting her fears, though not, alas! in counting her pulse. However, it occurred to me that it was all one whether I did or not; so, keeping up an imperturbable gravity becoming my office, I continued for some time to look wisely at the watch, holding her wrist in profound silence. When I judged that a due impression had been produced on the awe-stricken spectators, I ventured to prescribe, not a clay plaster, for the patient was dirty enough, in all conscience; nor yet any compound of drugs, for I had none to administer; and as to roots and herbs, I durst not inflict upon her stomach substances of unknown properties; but, after a little thought, I ordered some water heated blood-warm, and the patient to be washed, and thoroughly scrubbed, from head to feet. This, I thought, met the most obvious indications of her case, as I doubt not a whole college of physicians, upon a superficial view, would have unanimously agreed. There could not have been a doubt as to the novelty of the prescription; the respectable relict, it is safe to say, had never been washed so thoroughly from infancy to that hour. Minute directions were given for the bath, that the scrubbing should be particularly smart and thorough. She was furthermore put upon a strict diet, excluding *grease* and all such luxuries, and we slowly retired from the sick room.

My solemnity was not affected, — far from it. Promotion from barber and showman to the dignity of physician to the chief, was too dangerous to be lightly considered. In fact, anxiety drove sleep from my eyes, and I fervently prayed for the recovery of the widow; fearing, from what

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I know of the superstitions of the savages, that in case of her death I should be held responsible. In this particular case, as very soon appeared, I misjudged; but of the general principle I had startling confirmation.

The widow was better,—my prescription worked to a charm,—but her days were shortened. Late one night, after we had all retired to rest, a ferocious-looking rascal came into the chief's lodge; he muttered a few words to the chief, who arose, and went with him to the front of the wigwam. They conversed in a low tone several minutes, and separated, apparently with mutual satisfaction. I sounded the chief cautiously in reference to the matter in hand. Calmly, and without reserve, as if it were a very ordinary transaction, he said that the savages wished to kill the widow, in order to possess themselves of her horses, which they wanted to eat. I asked no further questions, being fully satisfied that he connived at the dark deed, which was consummated without delay. Before this tragic result, I had taken pains to disabuse the mind of the chief as to my supposed medical skill, and was able to relieve myself of the dangerous and burdensome honor.

Strange flesh was eaten by the Indians about this time; I was told it was *lion-meat*, but was not invited to partake of it. The same thing was observed several times; at times, too, when I was positive they had killed no wild animals without my knowledge, or which were not disposed of openly. The nature of my suspicions may be easily conjectured; yet I made no inquiries, in even the most casual manner, as to their disposition of their dead. It was painful to think of the atrocities, that were but too probably shrouded under the mystery they cast over these

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transactions. On one occasion, however, a young Indian, who could speak a few words of Spanish and English, told me that they had killed and eaten three men. Whether he meant to have me understand this as a singular case, or as a common action of the tribe, I do not know; I made no inquiries of him. In fact, the statement was volunteered by him; and so painful was the subject, that I left him abruptly, in the middle of a sentence.

We again moved in a north-westerly direction, taking a goodly quantity of game on the route, and settled in a wretched, marshy spot. The wind was high, and made the tents quiver like a ship in a gale; a storm set in, beating through the reeds, drenching and chilling me through all the night. On the evening of the second day of our encampment here, an incident occurred which fearfully confirmed the wisdom of my decision to renounce all title to medical skill. As I was seated by the dying embers of a little fire, surrounded by our motley household, and tugging manfully at a bit of half-raw meat, which constituted my evening meal, while a large piece was in process of cooking over the fire, we were suddenly startled by a cry of distress, followed by the distinct alarm of murder. The chief drew back to the rear of his lodge, took down his cutlass, and ordered me back from the fire, which was at once extinguished by two of his squaws, while the other two ran to the door, and set up a loud, lamentable wailing. All the women throughout the camp were, in like manner, giving their voices to the air, and "making night hideous;" and not a male Indian ventured to show his head for an hour or more. It was to me an hour of fearful suspense, the agony of which I cannot describe. At last a man came

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and told the chief that a doctor had been murdered. He had visited a woman professionally, and treated her case with charms and spells, but his prescriptions effected no satisfactory result; and her husband went in a rage to his lodge, and stabbed him with repeated blows, to make the work of death more sure. It was a singular circumstance, that men capable of deliberate murder, and who had so recently, with the tacit or open sanction of the chief, strangled a woman for her horses, should have shown so much alarm at the cry of murder on this occasion. The victim was an enormously fat man, weighing, I should judge, nearly four hundred pounds. A horrible sight presented itself the next morning, on going out of our hut; the snow around the doctor's lodge was saturated with his blood. I drew back from the sickening spectacle, unable to look upon it with composure. Beyond their exhibition of stupid terror in the night, no notice was taken of the act; and about noon the camp broke up. We travelled till night, meeting with no success in the chase, and encamped on an extensive plain, near a good spring of water.

It was an occasional diversion to watch the children at their sports, of which a favorite one was throwing ostriches' feet, with the sinews of the legs attached. The toes are cut off, and a pair of the feet are tied together, with a piece of sinew about a yard long. The children begin to practise the sport as soon as they are able to walk, and will continue the amusement all day; one boy throwing them into the air, and others throwing and hitting them as they fly, therein serving an apprenticeship to the grand manly accomplishment of hurling the bolas.

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Young Cohanan, the chief's youngest son, appeared to excel all others; he was looked upon as a remarkably smart and very active lad; and, though he was six or eight years old, was not yet weaned! All the tribe fondled and caressed him; he would practise with the boys, often without any covering to his back, till excited and almost exhausted; then he would run into the lodge, take refreshment at his mother's breast, and speedily return to his sport.

All this time *Holland* was not forgotten, but the chief and his liegm were continually reminded of the urgent reasons for taking me there without delay; the presents which would only be obtained there, the fearful consequence of suffering me to come to harm, the great ships with the big guns, &c. &c., that would assuredly avenge me upon the whole tribe, — with what effect, beyond allaying present irritations and discontents that threatened me, it was impossible to determine.

A novel sample of farriery offered itself to my observation one day, while hunting with the chief; my old horse, on a sudden, began to hobble, and very nearly gave out. I watched him some time, and jolted on, suffering somewhat from his uneven movements, but could not discern the occasion of the difficulty. On dismounting and examining his feet, nothing serious was perceptible, except that the hoofs were worse for wear, and broomed up a little. I remounted, and gave the poor creature a smart drubbing, to overtake his owner, if possible, and consult him on the case, which was one wherein I was content to defer to his wiser judgment. Sufficient steam was raised to bring us abreast of the chief, who, on hearing what was

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492 the matter, got upon to his horse, and told me to come on —"Bueno caballo, es campo, campo." I tried to comply, but it was hard starting the beast, though I used up considerable wood to that end. The chief having got far in advance, and finding me desperately in arrears, here to, and waited for me. I toiled on, and succeeded in working a passage to his position. He dismounted, inspected the horse's feet, and, directing me to wait his return, rode off. He soon reëppeared with a piece of guanaco-skin, which he tied securely about the hoof of the lame foot. I expressed some surprise at this method of shoeing horses; but he said, "Bueno caballo,"— good shoes,— and the event confirmed his words. The lameness nearly disappeared, and we jogged on together without any further trouble.

573 578 While at this camping-ground, the chief one morning arose in a towering passion at some words let fall by one of his wives, and exhibited another sample of the rigor of matrimonial discipline, very similar to that which graced the nuptials of his daughter. He gave her a tremendous beating, which seemed enough to kill her outright; but she took it very calmly, as a sort of necessary evil incident to the married state.

484 Once more on the move, the squaws taking charge of the furniture and baggage, including the pappooses, and the men riding in advance as usual, to chase supplies for the larder. Game was scarce; we got a couple of ostriches and a skunk, — or a couple of skunks and an ostrich, I forget which, and it makes less difference to the reader than at the time it did to me. We cooked and lunched on the ground and turned our faces homeward with the scanty remainder The women were busy erecting the wigwams. The ground

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was frozen, and a large iron bolt, doubtless from some wreck, served as a crowbar to dig holes for the stakes. The encampment was on a hill-side, near a low swamp, which furnished abundance of water, such as it was.

We had scarcely settled down, and I was dreading the stagnant monotony of camp life, when dulness was dispelled in a most unwelcome manner. Knots of Indians could be seen in murmuring conversation, whose glances betrayed the heat of their passions. They were again getting impatient of my life, and caresses and flattery were of no avail to stem the rising tide. On the evening of the third day, I was summoned out of the lodge by the chief, and followed him in silence, with a trembling presentiment of evil. He led me to a spot where twenty or thirty leading spirits in the tribe sat ranged in a circle, — the fatal ring was once more set to encourage me! Once I had escaped. Was it possible to effect a second escape? Everything said no. The chances seemed a hundred to one against it. What had I left unsaid, to tempt their cupidity, to excite alarm, to make them value my safety or dread the effects of harming me? I could think of nothing, and the dismal prospect benumbed every faculty of my soul. But, as I entered the ominous circle, an access of fresh strength, the courage of desperation, enabled me to bear up with energy against perplexity and fear; to resolve that I would meet them with a steadfast eye and an inflexible mind, — a force which, though springing out of weakness, should prove stronger than their utmost malice.

Having seated myself near the chief, the consultation began and proceeded much as before, but with increased vehemence. Their demonstrations were alarming, but, to

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624 my joy, the chief took the same view as in the former council. Would he be able to restrain their savage tempers? His power was great, but there was a limit to its effect, and I feared. In my turn I sought to enforce his views, by arraying all the motives invention could produce, and was able to perceive that they had some weight. Again the matter was canvassed around the ring. There was a hesitation, as if they felt suspicious and unsatisfied. Then they began to cross-examine me; my promises were not explicit enough. What did I mean to give them? The answer did not content them; they wanted more. More or less made no difference to me, and I gave them assurance of all the good things they craved, when we should arrive at *Ildland*. Another talk followed, and brought them to a pretty unanimous conclusion, that they would get the presents first, and decide *sup fate afterwards*; — a "squeeze-your-orange-and-throw-it-away" policy, in which these rascals seemed to be remarkable adepts.

123 The natives had no idea that I could understand their talk, and I was not at all eager to display my acquisitions. In fact, though unable to speak their jargon, my ear had become pretty well trained to interpret it, while my scrape of half Spanish enabled me, without suspicion, to hear, mark and digest, much of their conversation. This was, in part, acquired in teaching some of them, the youth especially, to speak English and to count, — a pursuit in which I engaged partly for their benefit, and partly for my own. Besides aiding me in learning their language, it tended, so far as it diverted their attention, to keep mischief out of their heads, after the manner in which constant employment maintains order in a ship's crew. It added to my knowl-

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edge of their character and traps of thinking, so that, in dangerous emergencies, I was able to detect the first symptoms of evil. More than once it enabled me to elude or to nip in the bud dangerous conspiracies, which, if they had gone further, might have proved fatal to me. Circumspection made self-possession more easy. I will confess — though the narrative may have made confession needless — that I am naturally timid, and inclined to the better part of valor. Yet somehow — God helping me — I early learned to hide my constitutional timidity under a show of fearlessness, even in circumstances of great peril. More than once, when a savage drew his knife at me, have I looked him in the eye and disarmed him by a laugh; perhaps laying hold of the instrument of death, trying its edge and praising its qualities, till its owner was shamed into quiet. One piece of English that tickled the chief was the title of "Old Boy," with which (from a conviction of its appropriateness) I early honored him, and which he appeared to relish as much as if I had called him "His Majesty."

The council, to my great relief, at length broke up, and I returned to my wretched shelter. The chief pointed to my bed, and bade me lie down. I complied, not to sleep, but to adore the Providence that had twice rescued me as from the very jaws of death, to reflect on the past and to speculate on the future. The excitement of the evening kept me wakeful, and the night wore away and the morning dawned, without sleep for a moment visiting my eyes.

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CHAPTER VII.

A new torture — Bloody gossip — An explosion nearly fatal — Plea of insanity — Reconciliation — River Santa Cruz — Naval architecture — Original mode of ferrying — Accident — Ominous demonstrations thereupon — Perilous superstition — Plans of escape — The chief fighting his battles over again — Prospects brighten — A blind hint to naturalists.

361 From this point we moved again in a north-westerly direction, finding game more plenty, and among other animals captured a species of fox, the first I had seen in the country. 000 The camping-ground selected was a waste more desolate than had yet greeted my sight, even in Patagonia, — a low marsh, surrounded by sand-hills destitute of even the semblance or vestige of vegetation, past or present. The horses were let loose to solve the problem of existence as they could, while my landladies, with their canine assistants, served up a skunk and two ostrich-legs for supper. I thought myself fortunate at getting so ample a meal, having been on short allowance the preceding day.

Here a new torture was inflicted. There had been abundance of voluble hatred against me, as I had too good reason to know, but it was around and behind me. Now, presuming, doubtless, on my ignorance of their language, they came to utter their bloodthirsty thoughts in my presence. At night, before retiring, the women began to

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talk against me, as usual; which never gave me much uneasiness, female opinion not having much force, I suspected, in affairs of state. Two of them had always appeared to bear me a mortal grudge, for what cause I could not conjecture, unless they thought I took up too much of his highness' time, or exerted too much influence over him. But, on the present occasion, the conference was enlarged by the entrance of two or three visitors, whose only errand seemed to be to give the chief gratuitous advice touching the disposal of my person. Though perfectly comprehending the drift of their remarks, I looked as stupid as possible, and beat myself to caress and flatter the old fellow with more than common servility; — patting his breast, telling him what a big, good heart it contained, calling him my compadre, and myself his child, his picconiar, his muchacho. So deep was my abasement! To talk of the goodness of a heart beating with cruelty and black with crime! To call that black, greasy, depraved monster my father, and myself his dutiful and affectionate son! It is humiliating to speak of this; — what, let the reader imagine, must it have been to feel it! The bruised reed was well-nigh broken. The courage that sustained me in sharp trials was frittered away piecemeal by incessant irritation. Hope, that kept me from fainting in the fatal ring, vanished with the occasion that invoked it, and a bitter, consuming despair hovered over me. Then came dark and distracting thoughts of home, now more distant than ever, to stab my heart, already faint and bleeding. Again was sleep driven from me, but the night passed, and the blessed light of day stole upon me, as with a benediction from heaven.

I arose and rushed into the open air to warm myself by

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exercise, and when the fire was lighted comforted myself by its kindly heat, and recovered a measure of buoyancy. But the day was wearily spent, and night brought the merciless gossips once more into the lodge. The two squaws led off with words of the most fiendish hate, urging that I should be summarily despatched, and gloating over anticipated vengeance. Tempestuous thoughts and sleepless hours had weakened me in body and mind. The fall of successive drops of water will madden the stoutest brain, and the drop too much had now lighted on my head. I was frenzied; strong passions, hitherto held in check, overmastered me. I rose, threw my cap violently on the ground, stamped, gnashed my teeth, and cursed without restraint. I shook my fists at them, defied their malice, and raved for several minutes, reckless of consequences. What was life to me? They were killing me by inches. Let them do their worst, no matter how soon. The chief was at first startled at such an explosion, and sat looking fixedly upon me, with a dark and clouded brow. It was fortunate that my rage was too impetuous to be contained within the bounds of my Indian-Spanish vocabulary, but breathed itself in good strong Saxon, so that speech could not betray me. For no sooner had the internal pressure been measurably relieved, than a sudden consciousness of error — fatal error — smote me with a new dread. What had I done? Where were my wits, that I should thus toss away life to gratify impotent anger? If my chance of life was worth little to myself, was it worth nothing to others, that I should so trifle with it? With returning sanity of feeling came also a hint of the way to repair my wrong. Without waiting for any questions or wordy explanations,

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I looked piteously at the chief, pointed to my head, and assured him it was disordered. I could not help my actions. I was sorry to make such an exhibition of myself, but it was all my poor head; and holding on to the poor head with one hand, I beat it reproachfully with the other, at the same time giving vent to some unearthly noises by way of corroboration. The old fellow looked rather dubiously at this change of scene, and asked if it was at them I shook my fists? — At them? No, no! they did not understand me. My heart was good, like his, but it was all my head, my poor naughty *cabeza*. Another thump on my cranium, and a second edition of the howl, proved sufficient. The plea of insanity was admitted; he expressed himself satisfied, and explained the incident to the amazed spectators. I drew a long breath with a returning sense of security, scarcely crediting the success of the artifice, and almost doubting whether the whole scene were not a dream. Real or unreal, it was over, and things were apparently on their former footing. Only my feminine foes would not be convinced, and added this crowning indiscretion to the list of my offences.

We moved the next day in a northerly direction, and struck the river Santa Cruz, encamping about an eighth of a mile from its marshy banks, which, at this point, were bent in a broad, horse-shoe curve. We were surrounded, except on the river side, by high abrupt sand-banks, covered in part by underbrush of a stunted growth. The river was narrow, but deep and rapid. The Indians said it was the Santa Cruz, and that it led directly to "Holland;" but their lies about that same Dutch land had long since destroyed all faith in their words. That it was the Santa

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000 Cruz was probable, for I knew of no other river in these parts;—we had passed Corey Inlet and the Gallegos. The rest of the story I could only *try* to credit. I tried to urge them on, but they were not to be hurried. Some of them grumbled that I had no intention of giving them anything, but meant to slip from them the first opportunity. No wonder they thought so; they certainly had not laid me under very great obligations of gratitude. What on earth they wanted of me, unless to fat and eat me, was past conjecture; and my fare had not been of a nature to induce corpulence, so that this supposition was not trustworthy. They *said* they wanted me to help steal horses. They were bound for the Rio Negro, where they meant to steal seven hundred horses, of which number I was to get two. Certainly, I told them, it would be just the thing; and that was a most excellent reason for going to "Holland." They would find me a rare thief; but, however it might be with them, *I* could not steal without a good stock of rum and tobacco. Was I insincere in all this? The reader may smile or may frown, but it was my purpose, if I failed to escape by way of "Holland," to humor them to the top of their bent; to ride, hunt, and even *steal* my way into their confidence;—any way to insure present safety, and keep an eye open for future opportunities.

Three or four days were passed in suspense, which was at last terminated by taking our line of march down the river. We halted at noon, at a point where he banks sloped gently to the water's edge, on either side of the deep and narrow channel. Active preparations were here commenced for crossing. Part of the horses were driven across the river, whilst a portion of the tribe were occupied

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in building boats to ferry their families and goods across. Their boats are constructed after a simple fashion. A quantity of bushes are cut and dragged down to the margin of the water. They take four tent-stakes, and lay them so as to enclose an area eight feet square, lashing them firmly together at the four corners. Four Indians then raise the stakes from the ground, while others place the skin covering of the tent over the frame, allowing it to sag down three or four feet. The edges of the skin are brought over the stakes, and fastened on the inside. The bushes, made ready for the purpose, are placed within, tops downward, round the entire circumference, and secured to the stakes, till the boat is completely timbered up. The bushes keep the skin distended, and give to the vessel an oval shape, so that, though square at the top, it bears a striking resemblance to a large iron pot. Its length and its breadth of beam are of course equal. When completed, it is firmly lashed from stem to sternpost, and from side to side, with a lariat, or green hide rope, forty feet long, to keep it from spreading or racking. I had no hand in modelling this witch of the wave, but, like an apprentice, did as I was ordered in forwarding the structure, and, when nothing else was required, "held on to the slack." It was at last completed, like the temple of Solomon, without the sound of axe or hammer; neither bolts, trenails nor caulking-iron, were required. We carried the barge down, and launched her in the stream. Two paddles were made by lashing two bladebones of the guanaco to sticks. Squaws, pappooses and baggage, were stowed away, till the boat was laden to the water's edge. I was directed to take passage with the family and household effects of the chief, and seated myself

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502 in the centre of the closely-packed craft. One end of a lariat was fastened to the boat, and the other tied to the tail of a horse. A savage mounted, with one rein attached to the wooden bit on the up-stream side. Two others took the oars, one on each side, and a squaw was stationed on
[533 the top-gallant forecastle for the purpose of singing, to
777] insure good luck. All is ready. The old horse wades till the depth of water compels him to swim, and the boat is pushed off. The rider floats on the horse's back, kicking the water with his feet, holding the rein in one hand, and grasping the mane with the other. "Chew! chew!" he shouts, at the top of his voice. The black swan in the forecastle opens her capacious mouth and sings, "Yek yah, youri miti! yek yah youri miti!" The two oarsmen dig away with might and main, while the younger fry swell the chorus with a "Yah! yah! yah!" The boat brings some heavy lurches to the windward, then yaws off to leeward; all owing to those lubberly oarsmen not meeting her with the helm in season. At length, after innumerable shiftings, we reached the opposite shore, and waded up on dry land.

Several boats were constructed after the same unique model, and succeeded in crossing safely. Some of the horses, being better adapted to towing, were swam back to repeat the process, and our craft returned for a second freight. I watched the proceedings from the bank with intense interest, speculating on the probable consequences of an accident to any of the fleet. Such was their superstition, that, in the event of any ill befalling them, they would be quite likely to ascribe it to me, and serve me worse than Jonah was treated by his shipmates. The swiftness of the current, and the rudeness of their navi-

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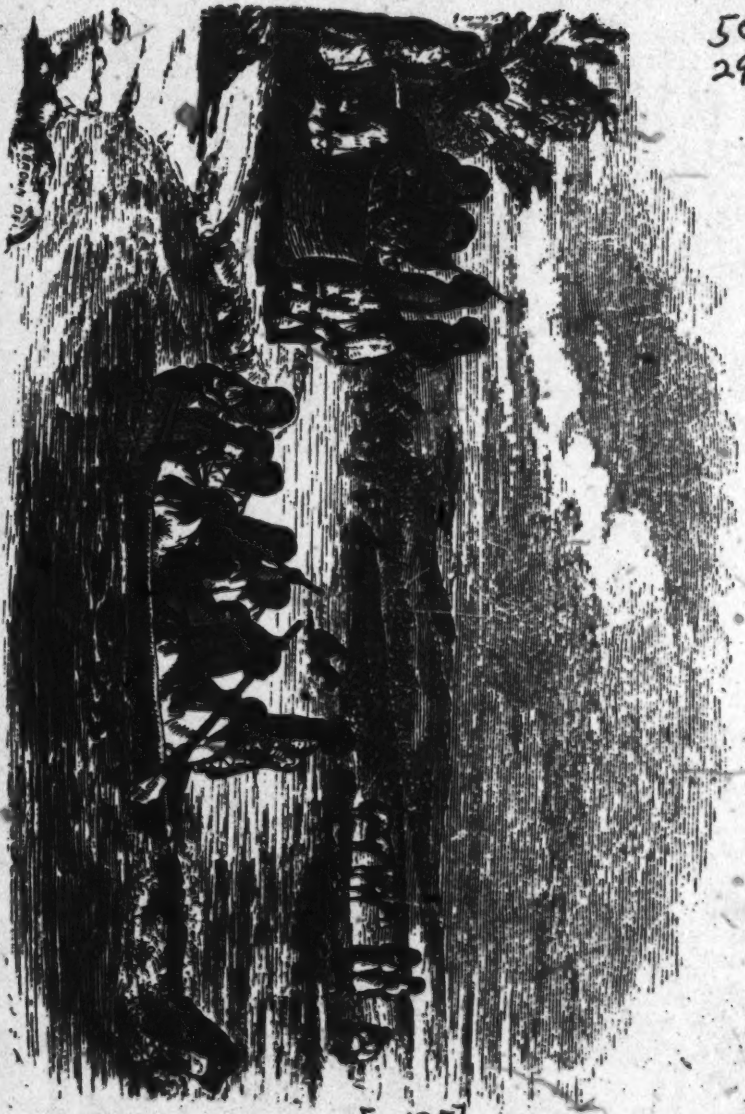

Ferrying the Santa Cona, Page 134.

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gation, made them so liable to mischief, that it seemed wise to prepare for it; and I at once began ingratiating myself with two of the worst fellows in the whole tribe, by professions of special good will and admiration for them, and confidential hints that they would share more liberally in the bounties of "Holland" than any of their fellows. Whilst thus engaged, with cautious glances across the river, to make sure that all was right, I perceived that there was quite a commotion among the people below; some were springing upon their horses, — others, ready mounted, were dashing furiously down the bank. On looking some distance below, a boat appeared to be in distress; the lariat that bound it together had snapped asunder, and the pressure within, and the strain of the horse without, had broken the front stake; the horse, relieved of his freight, pulled for the shore, and could neither be coaxed nor beaten into a return to duty. The horsemen on the banks dashed into the stream, and swam for the wreck, which contained, among other passengers, a young child. It was already filled with water, and was partially turned on her side. The surface of the river was dotted with dark forms, struggling with the mad current; one horseman after another each grasped a floating object, and made for the shore. The craft had drifted nearly half a mile, and nothing could be made out very distinctly. The squaws, on first perceiving the mischance, watched the wreck, and sung in a loud and plaintive strain, all the while casting unfriendly glances at me, and gradually approaching the place where I stood. My apprehensions were so far confirmed by this movement, that I told John (the name I gave one of my present particular friends),

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as he loved rum and tobacco, and expected to get any, not to leave me. John saw at a glance what was in the wind, and appreciated both the immediate danger and the ultimate reward of averting it; namely, the privilege of being gloriously drunk at my expense. He told me to go into his hut, and pointed me to the furthest corner; where, I being duly ensconced, he took his station, cutlass in hand, directly in front of me. The singing grew louder, and the voices more numerous about the door; the song was their regular powwow strain, which invariably preluded the killing of a horse. The Indians began to enter the lodge, and looked unutterable things in the direction where I was crouching; the wigwam was soon filled with them, and they were beginning to crowd towards me, when old John opened upon them, and told them they ought to be ashamed of themselves, to come in there in that manner; they did not even know what had happened, — they did not know whether any lives were lost. They were threatening on account of the death of a child, when, for aught they knew, the child was alive; they had better wait patiently, till they knew more about the matter, before they made any further uproar about it. In this strain he parleyed with them for some time, till they concluded to retire, uttering, as they went, the most horrible sounds. I felt less relief from their absence than if John had not, by implication, fully assented that *if* the brat was drowned, my life should answer for it. News soon came that the children were all safe, but that the boat was lost.

An instant change ensued: the fire appeared to be quenched, but I feared it might break out at any moment afresh. Knowing their treachery, I kept a pretty sus-

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picious watch on their movements; the chief soon came over the river, hurried, perhaps, in his movements by the accident which he had witnessed from the opposite shore. After conferring with John, and giving him some instructions, and seeing that all was right, he reembarked for the other shore, as he made it his special business to see that all were passed across in safety. The ferrying ceased as night came on; the chief was likely to be on the opposite side all night, as there was a good day's work yet to be done before the whole would be transported. I had overheard him giving special orders to keep a good look-out on me during the night. I felt, however, some uneasiness in his absence; he had been my most powerful protector, having twice, at least, saved me from imminent death.

I now began to revolve in my mind the possibility of escape; the thought suggested itself that I might steal one of their boats, and drift down the stream. I was long since heartily tired of captivity; my situation, especially if I was to be held a hostage of Providence for the safe ferriage of the tribe, was desperate. But, on second thought, I did not know that this was certainly the Santa Cruz; if it was, I was furthermore ignorant of our distance from the sea. I knew of no white settlement on or near the river; none, I remembered, was laid down in the chart; if such a settlement existed, I might hope to reach it in a *boat*, but a voyage in such a craft as one of these would be as hazardous as that of the wise men of Gotham. If there was no such settlement, and "Holland" was Patagonian for Utopia, my only chance, short of drifting in my leathern sack out to sea, would be to land on some island, in case an island there were; and then what

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000 should I live on, after landing? Berries I had never seen, except once or twice. Besides, my stolen craft could not be *paddled*, — the Indians had too good ears for that; I must follow the channel passively, through all its course, which was terribly crooked, while its rapidity increased the risk that the ungainly vehicle would be disabled. On the whole, it was so doubtful whether I could reach any particular place, or escape starvation after I got there, and so certain that failure would be death, the project seemed a forlorn hope. But then, again, it was not more forlorn than my present situation; so my poor mind vibrated between dangers, — the danger of remaining where I was, — the danger that I should escape only from the frying-pan into the fire. At last, as I *felt* the frying-pan, and only *feared* the fire, I concluded to try.

Crawling as noiselessly as possible from my resting-place, I stole softly out, and made for the river. Alack! in calculating the chances, I had not once thought of four-footed enemies, and they were upon me before I was half-way to the shore, — a half-dozen dogs, barking loud enough to wake the whole encampment. I retreated incontinently to the lodge, and succeeded in getting quietly into my quarters again, not without some inward spasms. It was all for the best, no doubt, but it was not, just then, easy to think so, or *possible* to *feel* so; and, therefore, after a little time, I once more emerged from the lodge, and stole towards the river by a different track, hoping to elude those infernal dogs; but they, or some others, were on the alert, and came pell-mell upon my rear, barking more uproariously than before. I cursed the dogs, their masters, and my own folly, and gave up the attempt.

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The ferrying recommenced the next morning: and before night the whole tribe were safely landed, with their effects, on the west side of the river, and their wigwams were all pitched. We were short of provisions; but this was a common case, and I was accustomed to it. I got an occasional morsel of grease, sufficient to keep starvation at bay; but illness, with bad and insufficient food, had greatly emaciated me, till I was a spectacle but few degrees above the living skeleton. But hope was still in the ascendant, and I had no idea of lying down to die till I was quite sure my time had come. We continued our wanderings the next day in a westerly direction, slaying every living creature that came within reach, from a skunk to a guanaco. This was a great disappointment, as I hoped we should go down the river, the direction in which they said "Holland" lay, and the only direction in which we were likely to strike a white settlement, if any existed on the Atlantic coast. But my remonstrances on this head were vain; they would go where they pleased, and I must go with them. Time dragged heavily; hours seemed days, and days weeks. But impatience is no virtue, and submission was imperative.

The country hereabout was more broken and mountainous than any we had before traversed, with a more abundant growth of bushes, and some clumps of stunted trees here and there. As we proceeded, keeping still to the north-west, game was more plenty. We came to two ponds, or small lakes, one of not more than four acres in extent, the other considerably larger; the latter was shallow, at least near the shore, as some ostriches pursued

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by the Indians ran into it, and their pursuers waded after, and succeeded in capturing them.

At one time I observed a large scar in the calf of the chief's leg; the mark of a wound that must have been inflicted a long time before, as it was completely healed. Its depression was so great as to indicate a very severe cut, unless the old fellow had grown uncommonly fat since he received it. On inquiring the cause of it, he said it was from a wound inflicted by the Alanagros, a tribe inhabiting a country to the northward. The name he gave them signifies the blacks; and, from the manner in which he spoke of them, I inferred they were in some respects superior to the Patagonians. He said they were armed with cutlasses, and very long knives,—had tobacco, and plenty of horses; and I conjectured that they might have been a party of Spanish Americans, or one of the mixed races of Spanish origin. The fight, he said, arose on occasion of his tribe being on a horse-stealing expedition; they encamped a short distance off, and at night he made a descent on the Alanagros, killed some of them, and plundered their camp, carrying off many of their horses. The plundered tribe rallied, hotly pursued them, and recaptured a part of the booty; in the struggle wounding him with a cutlass, and, as I judged by appearances, cutting to the bone. He told the story with great spirit, slashing right and left, and grunting with extraordinary emphasis, as if to give an impression that good hard blows were given and taken; but I afterwards learned that it was a cowardly running fight, in which more sweat than blood was spilled.

Nothing of importance occurred at our encampment near

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Nothing of importance occurred at our encampment near the lakes, except — what was a very noteworthy fact with me — such an abundance of ostrich that I was surfeited with the delicious fare, and was compelled by the chief to take a horse-rein emetic, — a more precise description of which the reader will have no difficulty in excusing. Had I not so completely disavowed the medical character, the chief might probably have allowed me to feel my own pulse, — if I could find it, — and to prescribe for myself; but the renunciation of professional honors brought me under the sanitary, as well as the political, jurisdiction of Paroeilver.

Our line of march was now in a northerly direction, soon deflecting to the eastward, — a movement that revived my sinking hopes. There seemed to be some prospect of striking the Atlantic coast, and coming within reach of civilised men. On our way we observed the tracks of some animals different from any I had met with. The chief said it was the *limarer*, with which lucid definition I was fain to be content; and, as no specimens were visible, the inquisitive naturalist must trust to his imagination for the rest.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Retrograde march — A look-out ahead — New specimens of birds observed — To the right again — Large inducements to visit Holland — Apparent effect — Council — Other tribes of Indians — Story of a battle — Capture of wild horses — A royal speech worth hearing — Deputation to Holland — A start and a sudden halt — Journey commenced in earnest — Order of arrangements — First view of Holland — A weary day and night — A boat — A short parley — Swimming for life and liberty — A rescue — Farewell to Patagonia.

My hopes were soon cast down, by a decided movement to the westward. Every step, I was convinced, lengthened the distance between me and the spot where my most earnest wishes centred; for, though I knew not of any settlements in this barren region, yet it was pretty certain that if there was one it must be sought in the line of the Santa Cruz. Of our latitude and longitude I could form no decisive judgment; but by the aid of the sun, of which occasional glimpses were caught, it was easy to take note of our direction, and I never retired to rest without taking landmarks, and satisfying myself as nearly as possible as to our whereabouts. At night there was a renewal of the discussions which had once so nearly turned my brain, and now at times came near verifying the plea which then saved me from destruction; but I was enabled to keep my feelings in more equal check. Disappointed and care-worn, I spent the

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night in commending myself to the mercy and good providence of God, praying that he would soften the heart of the savage and open a way of deliverance.

Among other matters that excited my curiosity, I was anxious to know whether the Indians were expert swimmers. The only occasion on which I had seen them attempt it was at the time of the accident in crossing the river. Then two of them swam across, while the others floated on their horses' backs, clinging to the mane. In answer to some questions dropped on the subject, the chief assured me that they were all expert swimmers, and could stretch off a long distance without resting, as they would show me, but that the coldness of the season made the experiment too unpleasant. Others of the tribe told the same story. The question was interesting, for obvious reasons. I had thought a time might come when it would be a very practical one.

Some new specimens of birds made their appearance from time to time. One was a large black bird, resembling the turkey-buzzard, and subsisting on carrion. Another resembled the snow-birds of the north. I had also seen, near the sea-shore and by the lakes, several species of water-fowl,—one not unlike the wild goose, but the chief said they were not good for food.

Our course, the next day, was northward, and the day following turned once more decidedly towards the east, wherent my hopes, varying with the compass, began to revive, though their buoyancy was tempered by experience of the uncertainty of Indian movements. Observing a spot covered with small trees, over which a great number of carrion birds hovered, we approached and found the carcass of a poor old guanaco, which had most likely paid the debt of

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nature without compulsion, and was stripped of its flesh by the birds. The chief broke some of the bones and eagerly sucked the marrow, and then picked up the remainder to add to the domestic stock of grease.

At the close of the next day we brought up at a ravine, and found our camp by following it a short distance to a low flat. Proceeding to the eastward all the next day, we ascended a high eminence, from which the chief pointed in a south-westerly direction, and said that "Holland" lay *there*. I strained my eyes in the quarter indicated, without, however, making any discoveries, and with a strong disposition to think the Old Boy was hoaxing me. At dark we defiled down a steep declivity, and pitched our tents on the border of an extensive marsh covered with ice. Here I renewed my arguments for speeding our way to the promised land, dilating on the qualities of the promised rum in a style that would have astonished the advocates of the Maine liquor law, and impaired the confidence of those who had reasonably regarded me as a strict temperance man. Indeed, the antics and grimace with which I enforced the description, and illustrated the jovial effects of the creature, — the boasts of how I would teach them, by its aid, to throw the lasso, and perform most astonishing feats of horse-stealing and riding, — might have induced a suspicion that I knew more of it than mere observation or fancy could teach. But, however it may affect my reader, it produced unmistakable contentment and satisfaction to my Patagonian auditors; and that was what I aimed at. They looked and listened with watering mouths and hoarse laughter, giving token that the balmy description was appreciated to a most desirable degree. So evident was the impression that I spent

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the next day running about and giving line upon line to the most influential of the tribe, and succeeded, as I thought, in awakening a degree of enthusiasm to move towards the place where all these good things were to be got. In confirmation of this, I had the satisfaction of being called at night to attend a solemn council.

It was a peaceful gathering, — they left their weapons behind, — but it contemplated only a sort of preliminary inquiry; the Patagonians know how to make their forms of procedure as tedious as any of our courts of law, summary as are many of their dealings. They examined and cross-examined very strictly, sifting my story with a severity which showed that they were in earnest, and at the same time a little suspicious. It was necessary to be on my guard at all points; and if they had been more docile learners of arithmetic, and able to stick on questions of number and quantity, it might have been a harder matter to satisfy them. But, on the whole, the old story was stuck to with a degree of consistency that produced the desired effect. Their confidence was perceptibly raised, and, after a good deal of talk, the council adjourned, every one more than ever disposed to visit "Holland."

While at this encampment, I observed on the ground about a dozen large oyster-shells, that appeared to have been recently opened. These were the first and only shells of the kind I saw in the country. I inquired if they were plenty in that vicinity. They said they were not; none of the tribe seemed to know where they came from, or anything about them. The chief said that he and his people did not relish oysters, but other Indians ate them. He did not like fish of any kind; no fish had grease enough for them; and most of his Indians ate fish.

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some of his Indians ate fish. This, and some similar incidents and conversations, convinced me that there were other Indian tribes in the vicinity. On one occasion I had noticed some places where a tribe, probably as numerous as our own, had encamped. Their fires appeared to have been very recently extinguished. Our tribe appeared to be considerably disturbed at these discoveries, and I judged that they were the traces of some enemies. It is certain that my captors had seen some desperate fights, of which they bore the marks on their persons. One of them had a deep scar on his breast, which he said was the mark of an arrow-shot received from the "Yamasheen" Indians, a tribe that use the bow and arrow. His description suggested the probability that these were the Terra-del-Fuego Indians; but, on mentioning the conjecture at a later period to a person I met at the Chilian penal settlement, he informed me that these islanders invariably shoot *poisoned* arrows, which would not leave the victim much leisure to describe their effect. The scar in question was a deep one, in the region of the heart; and while I was examining it, the chief remarked that the arrow passed through his body and came out at his back. On examination, a distinct scar was visible on his back, so far corresponding in form and direction with the one in front, that it seemed likely to have been made by the same weapon. But how the arrow could have transfixed him through the chest, without wounding the vital organs, was not easily to be conjectured. The only explanation I could conceive of was, that the fellow's heart was so much harder than any material used for arrow-heads, that the missile, instead of penetrating that important organ, had glanced aside and passed without mortal hurt.

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Enough had been developed to assure me that the tribe generally had hearts of no ordinary toughness, capable of serving them for all practical purposes wherein impenetrable stuff was in request; but the tale of this miraculous escape gave a new impression of obduracy, and entitled the hero to bear the palm among his fellows. I pretended to pity him for his former sufferings, and went so far as to volunteer,—in case I should ever be permitted to enter the enemy's territory—to make minced-meat of some of them, and so to avenge his cruel injuries. This spontaneous sympathy and forwardness to take up his quarrel was exceedingly gratifying to the sufferer and to the chief, and drew from them a more particular narrative of the combat.

They were out on a horse-stealing expedition,—the usual occasion, it seems, of Patagonian fights,—and made a sweep upon the camp of another tribe. The objects of this felonious invasion asserted title to the horses in their possession by certain tangible arguments, and induced a mortal combat. And now Old Boy waxed eloquent, and especially displayed that prime ingredient, "action." His broad-sword exercise was really animated, and taught us "how fields were won,"—or would have done so, but that, while his right hand was slashing the air with his good steel, his left would hold the bridle-rein, and his heels involuntarily drive the spur;—in short, though it was a part on which he did not linger in the narration say more than in the act, there was some tall running on the occasion. So artlessly was the tale told, that while the hero was cutting and thrusting and grunting, to make due impression of the desperate bravery displayed in the encounter, his subordinate action clearly depicted a running and

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726 retreating fight, and convinced me that they got a sound drubbing for their pains. He said he killed one Indian, with an air that would have done justice to the slaying of a regiment. Shocking to relate, there were found persons who slanderously reported to me that Old Boy's legs had the unhappy propensity of Pat O'Flaherty's, whose heart was as brave as any man's, but his cowardly legs ran away with his body; and they scrupled not to affirm that in this same hard-fought battle he crawled into the bushes, and there secreted himself till the cessation of hostilities enabled him to rejoin his tribe.

101 The reader has doubtless noticed that "the tribe" has been all along anonymous. The explanation comes rather late, but, in point of fact, I never could learn that they had any distinctive name; they never used any. Indeed

551 proper names were very seldom heard. Even in conversation concerning each other, they managed to avoid "naming names" as strictly as so many honorable senators, though for no reason that I could discover. By signs and gestures, and other hints, they indicated the personal subject of remark, and seemed to suffer no inconvenience from what would be felt among us as a serious want.

224 While out hunting one day with the chief, we ascended a slight eminence, commanding a view of an extensive plain. The chief suddenly stopped his horse, and looked steadily forward. I bent my eyes in the same direction, and saw two or three mounted Indians moving towards a common point. There was nothing unusual to be seen, but Old Boy seemed to discover something. I inquired what it was. He answered by pointing; and, on a second view, I observed a horse loose, which I took to be that of some

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Indian temporarily dismounted. But the chief said they were about to catch a wild horse, and forthwith dashed off at a furious rate, bidding me follow. We were rapidly nearing the spot, when the two in advance of us put their horses at top speed towards the lone horse that was standing beside a clump of bushes. It suddenly ran before its pursuers, followed by two colts from the thicket. The colts appeared to be one or two years old, and were doubtless following their dam. One Indian singled out the mare, and another the larger colt. The little one did not lag behind. The chief and myself followed at a pace which would have made a single misstep fatal to our necks; but fortunately our horses proved sure-footed. On we dashed, helter-skelter, in a direction to head off the pursuers, and to place ourselves nearest to the affrighted animals. The mare yet holds the lead, and fairly tears up the soil with her flashing hoofs. An Indian, in close pursuit, presently swings his lariat about his head; but she makes a curve in her course, and springs beyond the reach of his aim. Her pursuer once more gains on her; again the lariat swings through the air, — he lets go, — the noose catches her neck, — the hunter's horse turns suddenly off, and the rope, securely attached to the saddle, brings the poor captive headlong to the ground. The trained horse keeps a strain on the noose sufficient to prevent her from rising, while the hunter dismounts and secures his prize. The colts shared the same fate, and, with the mother, were subdued and made useful to the tribe.

The scenes and reminiscences I have described did not prevent the matter of most absorbing interest to myself — the projected visit to "Holland" — from engaging due

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000 attention The chief came home from the council full of it. He was in royal good humor, and talked about it half the night; but several objections arose, which it was necessary for me to dispose of. These were met, apparently to his full satisfaction. One of the most serious was the fear that the white men would revenge upon him the murder of Captain Eaton. I assured him that so long as I was with him he had nothing to fear on that score; the people were all mine, and would do, or refrain from doing, whatever I should bid them. They would not dare to lift their hands against him contrary to my orders, or refuse to deliver what articles I chose to demand. Nothing, I found, would do, but the assertion of absolute supremacy over all white men whatever, the world around; less than this would not secure the confidence of these savages, and I regulated my speech by the necessities of the case. The chief inquired, half a dozen times over, what I would say to the white men, and I as often rehearsed an address for the occasion. At last his curiosity seemed abated, and we fell asleep.

622 Early the next morning we were up and stirring, and the chief having adjusted his toilet with care, a slight breakfast was made ready. This over, his highness stood forth, and from the door of his lodge made an official address to the tribe, wherein he set out the advantages of a visit to "Holland," and suggested the most expedient style of making it. He advised that a few only of the tribe should be deputed, with himself, to accompany me, and receive the stores of rum, tobacco, bread, rice, tea, butter, beads, brass, copper, and so forth, that were to be forthcoming, as the expression of my gratitude for the distinguished consideration with which they had treated me.

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Though royal speeches seldom excite any jealousy of plagiarism, and it may seem a little captious on my part to make such a charge, it is due to "the truth of history" to declare, that herein the great Parosilver did but repeat a suggestion which he did me the honor to receive with favor over-night. It was not deemed essential to the case to inform his highness of *all* the reasons that led me to wish for as small an escort as the nature of the business would admit. On the contrary, acting upon the profound maxim, that one *sufficient* reason is as good as a dozen, and better than that number of questionable ones, I merely advised, that, after the experience which Captain Eaton and others had had of Patagonian prowess, the sight of too many of his giants would frighten away the whites, and prevent all beneficial communication with them; while the presence of a small deputation would be a pledge of their pacific inclinations. The speech from the throne proved less *moving* than most of the chief's effusions; his lieges listened with great interest, and an earnest debate sprung up, at the conclusion of which it was decided that the chief, with four other Indians and their squaws, should be my body-guard, the rest of the tribe to follow after. Another old woman begged to go with us, which was agreed to. The horse I had been in the habit of riding was lame, and unfit for service; another was procured for me.

Our simple preparations for departure were soon made, and as we were about to start they all began bringing their dirty children to me, and requesting that I would bring brass and beads for them all; which was gravely promised, much to their satisfaction. There remained the last act in the comedy for which I had been long rehearsing, — if, in-

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060 deed, it did not turn out a tragedy. The idea had early occurred to me, that if I had some object to which I appeared very much attached, it might prove to be for my advantage; the Indians might hold it, in my absence at any time, as a sort of surety for my return. A belle from among the beauties of the tribe would be effectual to that end; but, if no sentiments of virtue had restrained me from this expedient, the filth and unsightliness of them all were enough to insure continence. I chose, therefore, a little white dog for a pet,—a dirty, thievish little rascal;—but I fondled him in the style proper to a violent attachment. It is true that when I saw him licking the meat designed for our repast it was not easy to refrain from kicking his worthless brains out; but this was a trifle to other things I had to endure, and I made myself apparently so fond of him that the reality of the case was never suspected. Now and then I indemnified myself by giving him, when unobserved, a smart rapping for his misdeeds, though such chastisement made but a slight impression on the object of it. As we were about setting out, I was asked if I intended to take my dog. No, I told them, he would be better off there, and when I returned he should have some bread and other dainties to eat. The ruse more than answered its expected end, in lulling all suspicion of my sincerity.

At last we were under way. The grand crisis to which all my diplomacy and the utmost license of fiction had tended was near at hand. A strong hope of deliverance braced my spirits, shaded, it is true, by a natural apprehension of possible failure, and of the consequences that might follow. With no great elation of spirits, but with a

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stern. severe tension of all my mental energies, and a concentration of them into one focus of resolve, I waved a farewell which I hoped might be everlasting, to the accursed gang of robbers who had tormented me so many tedious weeks. "Good-by to Patagonia!" I mentally ejaculated, and struck off with my escort; but had not gone more than an eighth of a mile, when the party wheeled about and ordered me to follow them back to the camp! I remonstrated, but it was of no use, and with a heavy heart I found myself once more in my dirty corner of a wigwam. The horses were turned adrift without a word of explanation, and the Indians sat down to a game of cards, with as much indifference to everything else as if the events of the past forty-eight hours had been a feverish dream. What could be the meaning of it? I questioned the chief. He merely replied that he would go by and by, — by and by; which, being interpreted, probably meant when he pleased, and that convenient season might never arrive! After I had teased him for a long time he took me to the door of the lodge, and, pointing to the river, said it was "no good then;" it would be "good" at night. What the state of the river, which was a shallow stream, a branch of the Santa Cruz, had to do with the matter, I could not divine, and was half inclined to vote myself fairly outwitted by the Old Boy.

The day, a long one, at last wore off, and at night we once more set off. We crossed the frozen marsh, and forded the river, and, after going about two miles, stopped for repose. We took no camp equipage, and had to shelter ourselves for the night under the lee of a clump of bushes. We thrust our feet into the thicket, while our heads lodged out of doors. In this interesting attitude I was made to repeat

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000 my wearisome detail of promises, and to rehearse once more my contemplated speech to the white men; which done, we dropped asleep. Waking early the next morning, I found my head and shoulders covered with a fleecy mantle of snow. Would the fortune of my expedition fall as lightly on me? I shook it off, turned up my coat-collar, pulled my poor, more than half worn-out cap over my ears, and so, partially protected from the storm, rolled over, and again sunk into a slumber. The storm ceased at dawn of day. I rose and went in search of fuel, while my dark companions still slept profoundly. In an hour or two they roused themselves, and kindled a fire. Meat, from a store brought along for our provision on the way, was cooked, and served for breakfast. The scanty meal being despatched, our horses were driven in, lassoed, mounted, and we resumed our journey, in a south-easterly direction. At the end of about three miles another halt was called, a fire was built to warm by, and the horses were watered. The order of arrangements was discussed, and a fresh edition of the promises and the speech critically listened to. Changing our course a little to the right, we soon struck the Santa Cruz. The Indians pointed far down the stream, and said, "There is Holland." I strained my eyes in the direction pointed out, and thought I could discern an island with several small huts upon it. A mile or two further on the north bank brought us to the mouth of the river, in prospect of the Atlantic. The island was directly opposite the mouth, and the lower part only appeared to be inhabited. We halted. The Indians pointed towards it, exclaiming, "Esta Holland sarvey! muchas casas, mucho mucho hombres, tene mucho aquadiente, mucho travae, yeruen, arenar, arose!" — This is Holland,

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and has plenty of houses, and abundance of men, — plenty of rum, tobacco, bread, tea, flour and rice! I surveyed the spot in silence. This island was of considerable extent, lying two-thirds across the wide mouth of the river, its surface dotted over with little knolls or hillocks of earth. Could it be that these were dwellings inhabited by white men?

Our horses' heads were now turned from the shore, and we rode back about an eighth of a mile to a large clump of bushes, unsaddled our beasts, and waited some time for the rest of our company, who had fallen in the rear. They came at last, our horses were turned adrift, fire was lighted, and, as the day was far spent, supper was in order. Then ensued a repetition — a final one, I trusted — of the grand present to be levied on the Hollanders, and of the speech which was to draw them out. The Indians arranged that I was to hoist the English flag, — the colors of the unfortunate brig Avon, which they had brought along at my request, — and then to walk the shore to attract the attention of the islanders. On the approach of a boat, I was to be kept back from the beach, to prevent escape; for I found that they were not, after all, as well assured of my good faith as might have been desirable. They thought, moreover, that when the white men saw a prisoner with them, they would come ashore to parley, and offer presents to effect his release; in that case, there might be a chance, if the negotiation proved unsatisfactory, to take bonds of fate in the form of another captive or two. So, at least there was ground to suspect, — and some cause to fear that the rascals might prove too shrewd for all of us!

After talking till a late hour, the Indians threw them

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selves upon the ground, stuck their feet into the bushes, and were soon fast asleep. I consulted the chief as to the propriety of modifying this arrangement, by placing our heads, rather than our feet, under cover, since both could not be accommodated. He declined any innovations, and told me to go to sleep. I stretched myself on the ground, but as to sleep, that was out of the question. I lay all night, thinking over all possible expedients for escape. We had no materials for a boat or raft of any description, and it was impossible to think of any plan that promised success; so that, after tossing, in body and mind, through the weary hours of night, I could only resolve to wait the course of events, and to take advantage of the first opportunity affording a reasonable hope of deliverance from this horrid captivity. Snow, sleet and rain, fell during the night; and I rose early, thoroughly chilled, every tooth chattering. A fire was kindled, and the last morsel of meat that remained to us was cooked and eaten. The weather continued squally till the middle of the afternoon.

After breakfast the chief went with me to the shore, bearing the flag. On the beach I found a strip of thick board, to which I fastened the colors, and then planted it in the sand. The bushes around, which have a kind of oily leaf and readily ignite, were set on fire. I then walked the beach, — but no boat came. When it cleared up sufficiently to see, observed little objects moving about on the island. The day wore away with fruitless attempts to attract their attention. With an aching heart I returned, at dark, to the camping-ground. On this island my hopes had so long centred, — if they were now to be disappointed, how could I endure it? The Indians began to talk of rejoining the tribe

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the following day. I opposed the motion with all the dissuasives at command, assuring them that, at sight of our flag, the islanders would surely come over in a boat, and that, if they would only wait a little, they could go over to the island and enjoy themselves to their hearts' content; representing the absolute necessity that I should procure the rum, &c., we had talked of, and how embarrassing it would be to go back to the tribe empty-handed, after all that had been said, to be ridiculed and reproached. It would never do. Our conversation was continued till quite late, when we ranged ourselves, hungry and weary, for another night. For hours I was unable to sleep. The uncertainties of my situation oppressed me, and I lay restless, with anxiety inexpressible, inconceivable by those whom Providence has preserved from similar straits. It was a season of deep, suppressed, silent misery, in which the heart found no relief but in mute supplication to Him who was alone able to deliver. Towards morning, exhausted with the intensity of emotion acting on an enfeebled body, I slept a little, and woke at early dawn, to a fresh consciousness of my critical position.

The weather had been fair during the night, but there were now indications of another snow-storm. I waited long and impatiently for my companions to awake, and at last started off in quest of fuel; on returning with which, they bestirred themselves and started a fire, which warmed our half-benumbed limbs. There lay the little island, beautiful to eyes that longed, like mine, for a habitation of sympathizing men, about a mile and a half distant; it almost seemed to recede while I gazed, so low had my hopes sunken, under the pressure of disappointment and bitter uncertainty

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000 A violent snow-storm soon setting in, it was hidden from view; everything seemed to be against me. It slackened, and partially cleared up, — then came another gust, filling the air, and shutting up the prospect. In this way it continued till past noon; at intervals, as the sky lighted up, I took a fire-brand, and set fire to the bushes on the beach, and then hoisted the flag again, walking wearily to and fro, till the storm ceased, and the sky became clear. The chief concealed himself in a clump of bushes, and sat watching, with cat-like vigilance, the movements of the islanders. After some time, he said a boat was coming; I scarcely durst look in the direction indicated, lest I should experience a fresh disappointment; but I did look, and saw, to my great joy, a boat launched, with four or five men on board, and pushing off the shore. On they came; the chief reported his discovery, and the rest of the Indians came to the beach, where I was still walking backward and forward. The boat approached, not directly off where I was, but an eighth of a mile, perhaps, to the windward, and there lay on her oars.

The Indians hereupon ordered me to return to the camping-ground; but, without heeding them, I set off at a full run towards the boat. They hotly pursued, I occasionally turning and telling them to come on, — I only wanted to see the boat. "Stop! Stop!" they bawled. "Now, my legs," said I, "if ever you want to serve me, this is the time." I had one advantage over my pursuers; my shoes, though much the worse for wear, protected my feet from the sharp stones, which cut theirs at every step; but, under all disadvantages, I found they made about equal speed with myself. As I gained a point opposite the boat, the Indians slackened their speed, and

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000 looked uneasily at me; the man in the stern of the boat hailed me, inquiring what Indians these were, what number of them, and how I came among them. I replied in as few words as possible, and told him we wished to cross to the island. He shook his head; they were bad fellows, he said; he could not take me with the Indians. They began to pull away! I made signs of distress, and waved them to return, shouting to them through my hands. The boat was again backed within hailing distance. "Will you look out for me, if I come by myself?" "Yes!" was the prompt reply. The Indians, all this time, had kept within ten or fifteen feet of me, with their hands on their knives, and reiterating their commands to come back, at the same time edging towards me in a threatening manner. "Yes, yes," I told them, "in a moment," but I wanted to look at the boat, — taking care, however, to make good my distance from them. At the instant of hearing the welcome assurance that I should be cared for, I drew out the watch (which I had brought, according to promise, to have a new crystal inserted at Holland), and threw it into the bushes; the salt water would spoil it, and, if I *should* be retaken, the spoiling of that would be an aggravation which might prove fatal. At the same moment I gave a plunge headlong into the river; my clothes and shoes encumbered me, and the surf, agitated by a high wind, rolled in heavy seas upon the shore. The boat was forty or fifty yards off; and, as the wind did not blow square in shore, drifted, so as to increase the original distance, unless counteracted by the crew. Whether the boat was backed up towards me, I could not determine; my head was a great part of the time under water, my eyes blinded with the surf; and

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most strenuous exertion was necessary to live in such a sea. As I approached the boat I could see several guns, pointed, apparently, at me. Perhaps we had misunderstood each other, — perhaps they viewed me as an enemy! In fact, they were aimed to keep the Indians from following me into the water, which they did not attempt. My strength was fast failing me; the man at the helm, perceiving it, stretched out a rifle at arm's length. The muzzle dropped into the water, and arrested my feeble vision. Summoning all my remaining energy, I grasped it, and was drawn towards the boat; a sense of relief shot through and revived me, but revived, also, such a dread lest the Indians should give chase, that I begged them to pull away, — I could hold on. The man reached down, and seized me by the collar, and ordered his men to ply their oars. They had made but a few strokes, when a simultaneous cry broke from their lips, "Pull the dear man in! Pull the dear man in!" They let fall their oars, laid hold of me, and, in their effort to drag me over the side of their whale-boat, I received some injury; I requested that they would let me help myself; and, working my body up sufficiently to get one knee over the gunwale, I gave a spring, with what strength was left me, and fell into the bottom of the boat. They kindly offered to strip me, and put on dry clothes; but I told them, if they would only work the boat further from the shore, I would take care of myself. They pulled away, while I crawled forward, divested myself of my coat, and put on one belonging to one of the crew. Conversation, which was attempted, was impossible; it was one of the coldest days of a Patagonian winter, — I was chilled through, and could only articulate, "I ca-n't ta-lk now; I'll ta-lk by a-nd

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by." Some liquor, bread and tobacco, which had been put on board for my ransom, on supposition that this was what the signal meant, was produced for my refreshment. The sea was heavy, with a strong head-wind; so that, though the men toiled vigorously, our progress was slow. I was soon comfortably warmed by the stimulants provided, and offered to lend a hand at the oar; but the offer was declined. The shouts and screams of the Indians, which had followed me into the water, and rung hideously in my ears while struggling for life in the surf, were kept up till distance made them inaudible. Whether they found the watch, whose mysterious tick at once awed and delighted them, and restored it to its place of state in the chief's lodge, or whether it still lies rusting in the sands by the sea-shore, is a problem unsolved.

The boat at last grounded on the northern shore of the island; Mr. Hall, the gentleman who commanded the party, supported my tottering frame in landing; and, as we stepped upon the shore, welcomed me to their island. I grasped his hand, and stammered my thanks for this deliverance, and lifted a tearful eye to Heaven, in silent gratitude to God. I was then pointed to a cabin near by, where a comfortable fire was ready for me. "Now," I heard Mr. Hall say, "let us fire a salute of welcome to the stranger. Make ready! present! fire!" Off went all their muskets, and a very cordial salute it appeared to be. He soon followed me, took me to his own dwelling, supplied me with dry clothing, and, above all, warmed me in the kindly glow of as generous a heart as ever beat in human bosom.

I was captured by the savages on the 1st of May, and landed upon the island on the 7th of August.

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Description of Patagonia

by

Antonio De Viedma

1837

Imprenta del Estado
Buenos Aires

Translated from the Spanish by Mr. Sydney J. Muirden

Human Relations Area Files
1958

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DESCRIPCION
DE LA
COSTA MERIDIONAL DEL SUR
LLAMADA VULGARMENTE
PATAGONICA;
RELACION
DE SUS TERRENOS, PRODUCCIONES, BRUTOS, AVES Y PECES; INDIOS QUE LA HABITAN, SU RELIGION, COSTUMBRES, VESTIDOS Y TRATO;
DESDE
EL PUERTO DE SANTA ELENA EN 44 GRADOS,
HASTA
EL DE LA VIRGEN EN 52,
Y BOCA
DEL ESTRECHO DE MAGALLANES.
REFIERESE
CUANTO EN DICHA COSTA Y TIERRA CAMINÓ Y RECONOCIÓ POR SI D. ANTONIO DE VIEDMA, EN EL TIEMPO DE SU DESTINO EN AQUELLOS ESTABLECIMIENTOS, Y SU PARTICULAR COMISION EN EL DE SAN JULIAN, CON LAS DEMAS NOTICIAS QUE PUDO ADQUIRIR DE LOS INDIOS.

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
SOUTHERN SHORES OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH
COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA;
AN ACCOUNT OF ITS
LANDS, PRODUCTS, ANIMALS, BIRDS & FISH; INDIANS WHO INHABIT IT, THEIR RELIGION, CUSTOMS, DRESS AND BEHAVIOR;
FROM
THE HARBOR OF SANTA ELENA, LATITUDE 44 DEGREES SOUTH
TO
THAT OF LA VIRGEN, LATITUDE 52 DEGREES SOUTH
AND MOUTH
OF THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.
IN WHICH REFERENCE
IS MADE TO
ALL DON ANTONIO DE VIEDMA TRAVERSED AND EXPLORED ON HIS OWN ACCOUNT IN SAID REGION DURING THE TERM OF HIS ASSIGNMENT TO THOSE PARTS AND HIS SPECIAL COMMISSION TO THE SETTLEMENT OF SAN JULIAN, TOGETHER WITH OTHER INFORMATION WHICH HE WAS ABLE TO GATHER FROM THE INDIANS.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and
133 is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found
only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by
[314] a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some
four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small
[137] springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which
[313] there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian
[321] chief who rules this section is called Ayno; his jurisdiction stretches up
to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward
toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but
the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast.
136 Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good
to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo—Translator] also good eating,
[315] have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh
which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of
a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many
[314] ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat,
which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food.
Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call bonisquete
and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

133 The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south.
It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of
[134] Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile
[135] than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called
136 Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but
[316] the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them
and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called
Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian
and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot
[313] of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Mates, which is at the same
133 latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to
cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

[133] many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the [136] other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is [312] not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf [313] continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the [487] region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The [illegible] Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 48′ of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is [312] very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some [313] small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts; [136] there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. [illegible] The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other [135] colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [66] The [illegible] earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. [136] There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21′ of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest [312] source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which [313] also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams, an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses, which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian. This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[119] The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall,
142 their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[194] Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating
195 the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not inter-
537 rupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others
[542] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

391 The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six
[63] feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet nine inches. - Analyst]

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots 291
made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs [492]
are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their fore- 302
heads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves
and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept
upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird.
These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces
of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their 492
horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from
which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually [411]
carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they
allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and be-
ing thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle
as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers
the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur.
Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow
nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed
with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood,
are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat
clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or
down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick
or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end;
it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to
its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the
horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The
reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are 291
the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference
which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins
over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like
the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the
hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This [481]
hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they
gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for any- [834]
thing else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circum-
stance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide,
a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel,
woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of
very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which
those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear [531 554]
sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots
similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but 302

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

462 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 281] In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare, skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing, beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
438 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 283] sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 484 203 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in regard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live. When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent. He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
224 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away. The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On arriving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 462] lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to [462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them [92] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited 622 to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When 721 623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion 721 203 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol- 423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from 484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission [202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "ɛ," "ɛ," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the ablebodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife, although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516]
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 76]
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [756]

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo 756 [776 778]
holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This
person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the [534]
accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which
is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes [781]
petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or
die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his in-
cantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief
or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every
means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The
witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in 755
their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies.
If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often
will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his
occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or
son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful
cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chant-
ing, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these 756
singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few
who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for
the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the [837]
latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have re-
lations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are
families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his [778]
own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families,
there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be [592]
remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man,
wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the
family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who
has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor 755
comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that
the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient
gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his
profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting;
should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held
responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin
and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from
the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over their foreheads up to their eyebrows; they claw their faces, scarify their cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and from all others, and if the old women are asked to reveal the place where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourning goes on for fifteen days, with the same moaning, and every day horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left, as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone, and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was dead because this is a sacred matter [77] for them, and inviolable.

[sic. may sick virgin.- Aunt/st]

755 [534] [782] 764 [765] 765 768 766

Every moon a day of mourning and weeping is repeated, and a horse or 775
mare is slaughtered if a friend or relative can be found who will donate one, since the deceased no longer has any. On the first anniversary a three-day mourning period is observed, with weeping, a bonfire into which offerings are thrown, and as many of the other ceremonies which were done on the day of death as can be, as a memorial to it. After these three days are passed they forget all about the deceased person, and that is the end of the matter. All this funeral pomp and ceremony is done only for young or mature and robust persons, while for those who die in old age there is no mourning or weeping, the belief being [488]
that their death was necessary, and so only one horse is killed, and at that the worst and of least value from among the deceased's herd.

Horses are killed for weddings and deaths, on the occasion of a 782
child's teething, when the menstruation period starts in women, for any minor evil, to placate the idol when it is angry, which they believe is the case when they become sick, when the taking of game is very difficult, when other Indians harass them and they are themselves not strong enough to declare war -- when they are not strong enough to war with others they endure any wrong the others care to do to them. And all this slaughter of horses and mares is the reason why the whole region is not full of horses, for although the mares foal every year, the Indians kill so many mares that they do not have enough horses for their needs and must make up the difference by trading for them with the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires. In order to replenish their stock of horses [439]
they bring hides with them when they come down to the Rio Negro, and exchange them for these animals, from which it happens that the Indians of San Julian have less horses than those of the gulfs of San Jorge and Santa Elena, because they cannot go down to the Rio Negro as often as the former can.

They believe in the transmigration of the soul, and that the souls 775
of those who die pass back into the babies who are born into the same family, and in this way: If a person dies in old age his soul transmigrates without having to wait, and that is why he is not wept for or mourned since they say that the soul is passing into a more fortunate life; but the soul of one who dies young and strong remains detained beneath the earth and is fated to sojourn there a length of time equal to that which would have been required for him to reach old age. Once this time is fulfilled his soul passes into the next-born infant. It is be- 775
cause of this long wait during which it is thought that the soul is cramped 782
and strained, that they make so many sacrifices to the idol, in order that

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 582
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

6: De Viedma SH5 Tehuelche

DIARIO

DE UN VIAGE

DESDE

EL FUERTE DE SAN RAFAEL DEL DIAMANTE,

HASTA

EL DE SAN LORENZO,

EN LAS

PUNTAS DEL RIO QUINTO,

POR

D. ESTEVAN HERNANDEZ;

CON OTROS DOCUMENTOS RELATIVOS AL DESCUBRIMIENTO DE UN NUEVO CAMINO, DESDE BUENOS-AIRES A SAN AGUSTIN DE TALCA, POR LA GRAN CORDILLERA DE LOS ANDES.

Primera Edicion,

BUENOS-AIRES.

IMPRENTA DEL ESTADO.

1837.

DESCRIPCION

DE LA

Costa Meridional del Sur, llamada vulgarmente Patagónica.

El Puerto de Santa Elena es bueno para todo porte de bageles: se halla á los 40 grados de latitud sur. Solo hay agua dulce en una cañada al O, producida de las lluvias del invierno, por una loma baja donde se detienen, y atraviesa la boca ó salida de la cañada en las inmediaciones de la playa. Tierra adentro, á las cuatro ó cinco leguas, dijeron los indios haber algunos cortos manantiales. El suelo todo es peñascoso, excepto las cañadas: en estas hay buenos pastos y abundancia de leña de espinillo. El cacique que señorea este país se llama *Ayuc*: su jurisdiccion se extiende hasta el Puerto de San Gregorio; y manifestó que desde la costa al O hasta la Cordillera habrá 70 leguas de tierra habitable, porque desde aquella parte es la Cordillera un terreno que ni á los brutos abriga. Abunda este terreno de liebres, que son á semejanza de unos pequeños corzos, de muy buena carne para comer: quirquinchos, tambien de buena carne, cuya concha sirve á los indios de tartera ó plato: leones pardos, cuya carne tambien es muy regalada, jugosa y tierna, y se asemeja mucho á la pechuga del pavo: hay asimismo algunos guanacos, algunas perdices y muchos avestruces. De todas estas especies se mantienen los indios, y de carne de caballo que tienen con abundancia, y es la comida que mas les gusta. El pescado, de que abunda el puerto, es el que llamamos *bervigueta*, y *pejerey*, cuyas dos especies son muy sabrosas.

El Puerto de San Gregorio está á los 45 grados, 4 minutos de latitud S: es poco seguro, y malo su entrada por las muchas piedras de su fondo, y débil tenazon para las anclas. El terreno que le cubre es peñascoso y muy quebrado: no hay agua hasta cinco

9

leguas tierra adentro. Dista la Cordillera de este puerto, segun relacion de los indios, lo mismo que del de Santa Elena. Este suelo es mas estéril aun que aquel. El cacique que domina esta campaña se llama *Gorgona*. La caza y pesca son las mismas que en aquel destino, pero los indios no aprovechan la pesca, porque ignoran el modo de tomarla, y carecen de instrumentos para hacerla. En la ensenada que llaman de *Camarones*, hay abundancia de estos, y tambien en San Julian y Puerto Deseado, y algun pez de los llamados *gulo*: pero ninguna de estas especies las aprovechan los indios, como queda dicho. Hay en este terreno bastante leña de espinillo, y la piedra es muy sólida y dura.

El Golfo de San José está al S del Cabo de Matas, que es la latitud de San Gregorio: desde donde empieza su boca hasta Cabo Blanco hay 50 leguas. La costa del N está reconocida con embarcacion menor hasta como 40 leguas al O: en ellas hay muchos puertos, y en sus travesías muchas islas y restingas. El terreno en esta costa no es tan alto, pero es mas estéril que el de los otros puertos, así de agua como de pastos, aunque no falta leña, especialmente tierra adentro. Digeron los indios que el golfo entra al O hasta las inmediaciones de la Cordillera, y que allí desaguan algunos manantiales de ella: que por aquella parte es intransitable tambien á la otra banda: que allí se halla mucha leña de espinillo, marchando del N al S, por donde dichos indios tienen abiertas veredas para transitar, de modo que, si se separan de ellas quedan perdidos. La costa del S del golfo, dicen, es mas estéril que la del N; y en cuanto á caza y pesca hay las mismas que en los anteriores. Los caciques que dominan este suelo son dos hermanos llamados, el uno *Chaiguas* y el otro *Enis*.

Puerto Deseado está á los 47 grados 48 minutos de latitud S: es bueno, pero de muy difícil entrada, por lo estrecho de su boca y violencia de las corrientes en ella: el terreno es muy levantado y peñascoso: tiene leña de espinillo, y en las cañadas hay manantiales chicos de agua dulce aunque gruesa, en número de hasta catorce, la cual puede suplir cualquiera falta. La caza es la misma que en los otros puertos: hay infinidad de leones y de lobos marinos, y abunda mucho esta tierra en guanacos. El cacique que domina este terreno se llama *Ulquiquenque*: dijo que la Cordillera dista al O del puerto 20 dormidas, que serán 70 leguas, y que tambien es intransitable á la otra banda, que ellos jamas han pasado ni han visto á otros indios pasarla. En este terreno hay piedra blanca, negra, colorada y de varios otros colores, y algun mármol en pedazos pequeños sueltos:

la tierra animales de diversos colores, y unos de ella los indios para sus pinturas. En las islas del puerto hay tambien muchos lobos y leones marinos.

El Puerto de San Julian está á los 49 grados 21 minutos S: es el mejor de la costa, bien que difícil su entrada, para el que no traiga práctica, por el bajo de la boca, y otros dos que tiene dentro. El terreno tambien es el mejor de la costa, todo pedregoso y mas fértil, como lo experimentamos cuando estuvimos en él los tres años que duró el establecimiento desde 1781 hasta 1784. La mas inmediata agua dista de la playa como una legua, y con unos pozos formados por los derrames de un manantial, distante de ellos legua y media. Hay bastante leña en todas las ensenadas, las cuales todas abundan igualmente de pasto y de agua, formándose el terreno todo de ellas, y de todas sin piedras. La Cordillera está al O del puerto 70 leguas: á su falda se forman como tres escarpadas, y en cada una de ellas una laguna, de las nieves que se derriten en las cumbres de dicha Cordillera, que por esta parte la cruzan toda, y hallá intransitable; sin que ni á los brutos permita paso para la otra banda, por estar cerrada de nieve, y la mas de ella petrificada: pedidísimos cruzar, mediante esto, á los indios, que aseguran que en la luna pasado jamas por aquí, ni por los otros parages que quedan referidos. De la primera de dichas tres lagunas nace un rio pequeño que desagua en el puerto de Santa Cruz: de la segunda el S nace el arroyo que ellos llaman Chalia, y desagua en el Rio Grande de Santa Cruz: de la tercera y última al S. nace el Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, que desagua en el puerto de este nombre, á los 50 grados 19 minutos de latitud S. Esta tercera laguna, que es la mayor, tendrá de largo 14 leguas, y como 3 de ancho: su agua es muy delgada y buena; su medianía está á los 50 grados de latitud S. El cacique que habita estos terrenos, desde Puerto Deseado hasta el Rio de Santa Cruz, se llama Chanda, y comercia la Ensenada Julian. En de los de mas séquito en su carácter: tiene como subalternos suyo á un su cuñado, llamado Guan, y habita los terrenos de las lagunas de Santa Cruz.

A los 15 leguas del Rio de Santa Cruz hay otro arroyo, nacido de las nieves de la Cordillera, que por allí pasa ya corriendo hácia el Estrecho de Magallanes. Este arroyo desagua en la Ensenada de Gallegos, sin que haya tal rio navegable, como han dicho algunos antiguos viageros. A los 52 grados de latitud S está el Cabo de las Vírgenes, y continuan el Estrecho de Magallanes, corriéndose de tal modo el medio de este la Cordillera, que es imposible pasar por

tierra al otro lado. En este hay bastantes arroyuelos de las mismas aguas y abundancia de leña, y bueno pasto para una infinidad de ganados que aquí viven. El cacique que asistía entre terrenos se llama *Caupan*: es de los que tienen mas indios, pero todos de á pié: los tablan y con alhajuelas los pertrean los perros. Solo el cacique y sus mugeres se sirven de caballos, de que les surte su vecino *Casuhé*, cacique de San *Julian*, donde ahora pasaba, en que les hizo una invasion, y se los quitó todos; con lo que, cuidando de dar á este *Caupan* los que se pierden y mugeres asesinan, y ningun otro indio sirve los tenga, logra mantener bajo su dominio y dependencia al cacique y á ellos. Estos hacen á pié la casa de guanacos, y como hay muchos de estos animales, pueden mantenerse bien en este pago. En Puerto Deseado y San *Julian* tambien se crian bastantes, aunque no tantos: pero aquellos hacen mas facilmente la casa, porque tienen caballos; pero tambien estos otros, aunque carecen de ellos, son mas agiles y robustos. En todos los puertos abunda esta costa de aves marinas ó acuáticas: como son, patos, gaviotas, contramaestres, chorlitos, bandurrias, algunas alcatraces y pájaros-niños: tambien se hallan algunos cisnes, y tierra adentro hay perdices, guerlanas, unos pájaros de color pardo y el pecho colorado; hay avestruces, buitres y toda especie de aves de rapiña. Hay muchos zorros y zorrillos blancos y negros, cuya orina despide el olor mas hediondo que se puede imaginar, y se propaga á enorme distancia. Desde el Rio de Santa Cruz hasta el estrecho se hallan algunos venados.

Este temperamento es frio, pero guarda sus estaciones proporcionadas: llueve poco. Los vientos que generalmente reinan, son del N. O y S, que por lo comun son violentos, y hacen desagradables estas tierras, pero son muy saludables.

Los indios todos son de una misma nacion en esta variedad: su estatura es alta, de dos varas á cuatro palmos por lo comun en los hombres, siendo muy raro el que pasa de esta talla. Las mugeres no son tan altas, pero lo bastante con proporcion á su sexo. Todos son de buenas semblanzas, y entre las mugeres las hay muy bien parecidas y blancas, aunque curtidas del viento y del sol como ellos. No se encuentra hombre ni muger flaco, estan todos con gruesos con proporcion á su estatura: lo que, y usar las ropas del cuello á los pies, habrá contribuido á que algunos viageros los tengan por gigantes.

Su idioma es guteral, y repiten en sus conversaciones tres mismas ves nombre veces. No interrumpen al que está hablando, aunque

su oracion dure todo el dia: comunmente habla uno de mas autoridad ó el mas elocuente. Las mugeres no hablan entre los hombres sin ser preguntadas, y entonces solo contestando á la pregunta: los que hablan mucho sin ocasion ni asunto, no tienen partido entre ellos, ni se les oye.

El vestido de los hombres es un cuero de guanaco, zorrillo ó liebre, de dos varas en cuadro, el pelo para adentro, y la tez pintada de colorado, verde ó amarillo: este los cubre desde el cuello á los pies con tal arte y manejo, que raramente se les vé parte alguna de su cuerpo, excepto los brazos, y estos, cuando usan de ellos para algo. Llevan ademas otro cuero muy sobado, atado á la cintura con una correa por debajo de aquel, con que tapan el vientre y hasta la mitad de los muslos, descendiendo desde aquí en punta hasta los tobillos. En los pies se atan con unas correillas unos cueros de buey, si le tienen, ó de caballo ó del cuero de los guanacos grandes, formando á manera de sandalias. Para andar á caballo usan de botas que hacen de los garrones ó piernas de los mismos caballos ó guanacos grandes; y las espuelas son de madera, que labran ellos con bastante primor. Se ciñen la cabeza con una cinta de lana como de dos dedos de ancho, tegida por ellos de varios colores, con que se sugetan el pelo doblado por arriba, con las puntas al aire como plumage por el lado izquierdo, dándose con la cinta seis ó ocho vueltas, y colgando las puntas de ella con unos cabetes de metal amarillo ó laton. Para montar á caballo sujetan el cuero grande con una correa, que se rodean por encima de todo á la cintura, de la cual cuelgan las bolas y daga, que son las armas que generalmente traen: y cuando necesitan de los brazos para usarlas, dejan caer por las espaldas el cuero sobre las ancas del caballo, quedándose desnudos de medio cuerpo arriba, y hacen de este modo buena vista cuando van de huida ó en seguimiento de la caza, porque el cuero cubre las ancas del caballo, y ofrece á los ojos el pelo que tiene por dentro de varios colores. El aparejo de montar es á manera de un albardon, sin pretal ni grupa, hecho tambien de cuero de guanaco grande, reenchidos los bastos de paja fuerte. Los estribos labrados por ellos de madera, y tan pequeños, que tasadamente cabe el dedo pulgar del pié. Se ponen mal á caballo, pero son muy firmes en él, y lo mismo corren cuesta abajo que cuesta arriba. El freno del caballo se compone de un palito, ó hueso de canilla de avestruz, labrado con dos perillas á los estremos, tan largo como ancha la boca del caballo, y en dichas perillas están sujetas las riendas y dos correitas que atan en la barbada, con lo que queda seguro para que no se le salga de la boca. Las

riendas son cordones de ocho ramales, de correitas de cuero muy sobadas.

Las mugeres tienen el vestido de la misma especie de cueros, puesto del mismo modo, con sola la diferencia de que sobre el pecho lo sugetan, pasándole dos agujetas de á tercia de largo, hechas de madera ó de fierro, quedando las puntas del cuero colgando como las faldillas de los capingotes, hasta lo bajo de la cintura. Las otras dos puntas les cuelgan, y arrastran atras como media vara, estando suelto, pero para andar se lo recogen y afianzan con la mano izquierda, de la que no hacen mas uso que este, y el de cubrirse con ella en alguna urgencia sus partes. Encima de estas llevan debajo de aquel cuero una especie de mandil cuadrado, que cuelga hasta mas de las rodillas; de bayeta, paño ú otro género si le pueden haber, y sino, de cuero sobado muy bien, el cual atan con un cinto de lo mismo que las rodea el cuerpo, el que guarnece las de alguna autoridad entre ellas, con abalorios. No llevan sandalias en los pies como los hombres, pero cuando montan á caballo calzan botas como ellos. Llevan descubierta la cabeza, dividido el pelo en dos partes, y de cada una hecha una coleta, que baja por las orejas y hombros hasta el pecho y cintura; cuya cinta es de lana parda de dos dedos de ancho, guarnecida, si es muger rica, en dias de gala con abalorios, y lo mismo las mugeres de alguna autoridad. Tambien se ponen los abalorios en las agujetas con que sujetan el cuero en el pecho, y en las cañas de las piernas como pulseras, y en el cuello por gargantillas de cualesquiera colores. En las orejas llevan zarcillos de laton, y lo mismo los hombres. Los arreos de las caballerías en que las mugeres montan, que por lo comun son yeguas, se componen de unos sillones de vaqueta ó de zuela, (si la pueden conseguir) muy bien hechos, claveteados con clavitos de laton amarillo, guarnecidos sus extremos con abalorios de diferentes colores, (cuando los tienen) formando dibujos ó labores à su modo y fantasía. La cincha tiene tres argollas, la una en un extremo, y las otras dos en cada tercio una; la evilla con que la abrochan ó ciñen es muy grande. El freno se compone de cabezada, bocado y riendas: la cabezada es rica, guarnecida de abalorios, ó de cuantas cosas tienen ó pueden adquirir al propósito: las riendas y el bocado son del mismo modo que los que usan los hombres. Ponen á la yegua un collar al cuello que cae hasta las rodillas, con cuantos cascabeles y colgajos pueden conseguir. Estos arreos son para gala y fiestas, pero en sus marchas ordinarias no usan estos adornos, y en lugar de dicho collar ponen un cordon de lana azul ó colorado, de un dedo de grueso, con el cual dan tres vueltas al cuello de la caballería, y les sirve tambien de estribo para montar en el sillon,

6: De Viedma SH5 Tehuelche

donde se asientan con la cara á la cabeza del caballo, recogiendo las piernas arriba sobre las faldillas del mismo sillon, en una postura muy violenta y trabajosa, que solo la costumbre puede hacerles sufrir; por lo que están espuestas á muchas caidas. Para andar á caballo y para montar guardan suma honestidad, no permitiendo que se les vea parte alguna de su cuerpo. Las mugeres de alguna autoridad llevan en las marchas sombreros de paja, que vienen á ser un redondel con cabo, sin copa, que se lo atan por debajo de la barba con cualesquiera cosa; y con esto se cubren del sol y agua cuando van á caballo.

El egercicio ó ocupacion ordinaria de los hombres es cazar, para mantener con las carnes sus familias, y hacer del cuero los toldos ó chozas en que viven, y todos sus vestidos: cuidan tambien de los caballos que tienen, y trabajan todos sus arreos. Sus divertimientos se reducen á jugar á los dados y la perinola, y egercitarse en su modo de batallar y correr parejas á caballo.

Las mugeres tienen obligacion de guisar la comida, traer el agua y la leña, armar y desarmar el toldo en las marchas, y cargarlo y descargarlo: sin que para nada de esto le ayude el hombre, aunque esté ella enferma, porque ha de sacar fuerzas de flaqueza. Ademas de esto ha de coser el toldo, que es siempre de cuero de guanaco grande, y tambien ha de coser todos los demas cueros de cama y vestidos, que regularmente se componen de cueros de liebre, zorrillo y guanacos nonatos, ó recien nacidos, de los que hacen prevencion y cosecha en la primavera, para con los sobrantes comerciar con los indios del Rio Negro, por caballos, ropas, frenos abalorios y dagas, que aquellos adquieren del comercio, é invasiones que hacen en las fronteras de Buenos Aires: porque los indios, de que aquí se vá hablando, jamas han tratado españoles hasta ahora, ni han visto ninguna de sus poblaciones, ni estas costas tienen fierro, metal, laton, herramientas ni armas; todas estas piezas y géneros las adquieren mediante dicho comercio. Para coser estas mugeres los expresados cueros, usan de alesnas, que forman del fierro que les dan los referidos indios del Rio Negro, y en lugar de hilo emplean nervios, que adelgazan, segun necesitan, de las piernas de los avestruces.

El cacicazgo es hereditario, su jurisdiccion absoluta en cuanto á mudarse de un campo á otro en seguimiento de la caza, que es su subsistencia. Cuando al cacique le parece tiempo de mudar el campo, el dia antes al ponerse el sol hace su platica á grandes voces desde su toldo: todos le escuchan con suma atencion desde los suyos. Les dice se ha de marchar al otro dia: les señala hora para recoger

los caballos, batir los toldos, y empezar á marchar: nadie lo replica, y á la hora señalada todos están prontos como se les ha mandado. Las mugeres van por veredas que hay hechas para todas las aguadas donde deben parar: son las conductoras de todo el equipage. Los hombres, luego que las mugeres empiezan la marcha, se van apostando en el campo para cercar los guanacos y bolearlos á la travesia; porque son tan violentos en la carrera, que ningun caballo ni perro les puede alcanzar: cuando están con las bolas enredados, les sirven los perros para acabarlos de rendir. El mismo cacique señala los puestos de la batida, por lo que, y en testimonio de señorio, el tributan parte de la caza: así nunca corre, ni hace otra cosa mas que andar de apostadero en apostadero: sus jornadas mas largas son de 4 leguas. En llegando al destino que está asignado, arman las mugeres los toldos, recogen leña, y lo tienen todo pronto para cuando los hombres vengan: estos al ponerse el sol marchan á sus toldos, sin que jamas se verifique llegue á ellos ninguno, obscurecida la noche. Si se ha de continuar la marcha al otro dia, hace el cacique la misma arenga y prevenciones; y si no dice nada, ya saben que por entonces han de permanecer allí, y esta mansion por lo comun es adonde saben que se ha retirado la caza. Aquí, cuando el cacique vé que están escasos de carne al ponerse el sol, y en la misma forma que para las marchas, les dice recojan los caballos á la hora que señala para el dia siguiente, lo que egecutan sin falta: luego que tienen los caballos en los toldos, les hace otra plática, paseándose á caballo, y señalándoles los apostaderos con lo que cada cuadrilla debe egecutar. Van con ellos algunas mugeres para cargar la caza, porque ni aun este trabajo quieren los hombres hacer: los toldos quedan armados, y en ellos las restantes mugeres, muchachos ó impedidos. Al ponerse el sol se retiran otra vez á sus toldos, reduciéndose á solas estas funciones todo el mando de este cacique, el cual por ningun delito castiga á sus indios, aunque en los puntos de obediencia que van expresados jamas se verifica le falten á ella. Cuando quiere hacer guerra á sus vecinos, ó á algunos otros de que hayan recibido agravio, ha de ser con aprobacion de sus indios principales, para lo cual se juntan en el toldo del cacique: este pondera y explica los agravios y modo de vengarlos; fuerzas, facilidad ó inconvenientes que hay en hacer la guerra. Los de la junta confieren sobre el asunto, y aprueban ó reprueban lo propuesto por el cacique: este no se agravia. La guerra, por lo regular, se aprueba, y solo ventilan el modo de hacerla, y cuando; y suele tardar esta resolucion algunos dias. Luego que están convenidos en salir á campaña, el cacique tres noches seguidas desde su toldo á grandes voces les hace saber á todos los indios la declaracion de la guerra, el tiempo para cuando está re-

suelta, la forma en que ha de hacerse, enemigos contra quien, y su motivo; avisan que estén prevenidos.

Una de las principales causas que tienen para declarar guerra es, que como cada cacique tiene señalado el terreno de su jurisdiccion, no puede ninguno de sus indios entrar en el terreno de otro sin pedirle licencia para ello. El indio que vá á pedirla ha de hacer tres humaradas, y hasta que le correspondan con otras tres no puede llegar á los toldos: en ellos dá razon á aquel cacique del motivo que le trae, ya sea de paso, ó ya porque pretenda permanecer allí. Si al cacique le parece, consiente en su pretension, y si no, le manda salir inmediatamente de sus terrenos y dominios. Si el indio vá como embajador de su cacique ó de otros indios, bien pidiendo paso por aquel terreno, ó bien para comerciar con ellos ó para visitarlos, se le señala por el cacique el tiempo, y por donde deben entrar, camino que han de tomar para seguir su viage, ó terreno que han de ocupar donde hagan su comercio. Luego hacen sus tres humaradas, y en habiéndoles correspondido los indios del terreno, entran todos en este, y á cosa de una legua de la tolderia, se detienen todos los hombres, y pasando adelante las mugeres y criaturas, arman sus toldos á donde se les señala, y en estándolo, todos llegan á ellos los hombres. Nadie sale á recibirlos, quedándose así á la vista unos de otros, hasta que despues de mucho rato vá el cacique, ó cualquiera otro que haga cabeza entre los forasteros, á visitar y cumplimentar al del pais, que le recibe en su toldo acompañado de sus principales indios, que acuden allí luego para cortejar al forastero. Esta visita suele durar todo un dia, porque como cada uno habla sin que nadie le interrumpa, si el forastero trae muchas noticias y quiere enterarse de las del pais, suele durar la oracion de cada uno, dos ó tres horas, y aun mas, porque tambien repiten muchas veces ciertas voces. El que oye, y los demas estan con grande atencion, diciendo con frecuencia, *ä, á*, que quiere decir *sí, sí*; y con ninguna otra vez interrumpen al que habla. En estas juntas se hacen las alianzas, se otorgan amistades amplias, y otros contratos, acuerdos ó convenios, para todo lo cual tienen los caciques facultades absolutas. Cuando para entrar en terreno ó tolderia agena, no se observan las expresadas formalidades, es señal de mala fé, y en consecuencia se toca luego al arma.

Tambien se declaran á menudo guerra por robarse algunos caballos, de cuyas resultas quedan los vencidos á pié, y cautivas del vencedor las mugeres moras, y muchachos; que á las viejas y los hombres no se les dá cuartel, como no lo consigan en la fuga.

El cacique tiene obligacion de amparar y socorrer á los indios de su dominio y territorio en sus necesidades, y por lo tal es mas estimado, tiene mas partido entre ellos, y mas preferencia para cacique el que es mas dispuesto á socorrerlos, mas galan, y mas inteligente en la caza; porque si le faltan estas calidades, se van á buscar á otro que las tenga, dejándolo solo con sus parientes, y expuestos á continuas invasiones de sus vecinos: bien que no pierde aquella familia el derecho del terreno, y con el tiempo suele haber otro que restablece la tolderia que su padre, abuelo ó hermano ha destruido por su desgracia, ó mala conducta. Cuando está viejo el cacique, y en estado que por falta de fuerzas no puede cumplir con las obligaciones de su ministerio, deja el mando en el sucesor.

Los casamientos se hacen por compra que el hombre hace de la muger al padre, ó cualquiera otro á cuyo cargo está ella, que segun su calidad, buen parecer, conducta, &a., es mas cara ó mas barata, sin que pueda oponerse á la venta que celebre su padre ó su tutor, quienes no cuentan con su voluntad para otorgarla. Puede cada hombre tener una, dos ó mas mugeres propias, segun tengan haberes para comprarlas, pero raramente tienen mas de una, á menos de ser cacique ó indio de grande autoridad. El que mas llega á tener son tres mugeres, y todo marido tiene facultad de vender las suyas á otros, cuya segunda venta hace poco apreciable á la muger, y se dá por lo mismo en muy poco precio, comprándolas solamente los pobres que se surten de este modo, porque carecen de medios con que adquirirlas de primera mano. No hay tampoco inconveniente en venderlas á cualquiera pariente, como no sea hijo ó hermano de la vendida, porque todos los demas grados los tienen dispensados. Son muchos los casamientos que hacen de esta especie, por lo caro que cuestan las mugeres solteras, las cuales, interin son mozas, y tienen esperanza de casarse guardan la virginidad; pero en perdiendo aquella esperanza, se entregan á todos. Las casadas, cuyo marido que les trató su padre ó tutor ha sido de su gusto, le guardan suma fidelidad, pero en las que no, hay muchos trabajos; bien que el adulterio no es delito, como no sea á vista del marido, y en este caso culpan al adultero y no á ella: y tampoco así se castiga, pues por medio de algun corto interes perdona este agravio el marido. El cacique siempre tiene por muger una hija ó hermana de otro cacique, la cual es la principal entre las demas mugeres suyas, y estas la sirven en todo. Aunque se halle cansado de ella no la puede vender, porque seria agravio y motivo de romper una guerra con sus parientes. Todas estas caciras manifiestan gravedad, hablan poco, se están recogidas en su toldo, ocupadas en algun trabajo correspon-

diente á ellas, y no intervienen en las vulgares conversaciones de las damas indias. Los hombres por ningun motivo castigan de obra á las mugeres, excepto cuando están borrachos; y aun entonces el cacique á la cacica preferente jamas le pega, aunque las otras lleven todas golpes.

Las ceremonias del casamiento solo se reducen, una vez ajustada la muger, llevársela su padre al novio á su toldo, à menos que ella no se adelante á irse con él sin que la lleve nadie, que en esto no hay inconveniente. Entonces el novio hace matar una ó dos yeguas, segun tenga de ellas, y convida á los parientes y parientas, amigos y amigas de la novia y suyos, y comiendo todos de aquella carne, queda concluido el casamiento.

Así hombres como mugeres son muy celosos y amantes de sus hijos, à quienes luego que nacen atan con muchas fajas de cuero que tienen preparadas, muy sobadas y suaves, contra una à manera de tabla, que forman, porque no las tienen, de palitos cruzados y atados, forrados con fajas de cuero, en donde los tienen sugetos mas de un mes, dándoles el pecho sin desatarlos de allí. Así dicen que se crian derechos, y efectivamente tanto ellos como ellas son todos muy derechos, tienen buenos cuerpos; y no se vè uno que sea cargado de espaldas. En quitándolos de estas ataduras, los traen regularmente siempre consigo las madres, metidos en las espaldas entre su carne y el cuero con que van vestidas, con la cabeza sacada por el cogote de la madre. Cuando van de marcha, hacen de cuero y unos palitos una especie de cuna, atumbada y cerrada por todas partes, menos por los pies y la cabeza, las cuales forran y adornan con bayeta, paño ò lo que tienen, guarneciéndolas con abalorios, cascabeles, &c., segun pueden, y las aseguran encima de las ancas del caballo, donde va la madre. Entre estas gentes se vé que los muchachos nunca lloran, sino llevan golpes ó alguna caida.

Su religion viene à ser solamente una especie de creencia en dos potencias; la una benigna que solo gobierna el cielo, independiente y sin poderio en la tierra y sus habitantes, de la cual hacen muy poco caso; y la otra á un tiempo benigna y rigorosa, la cual gobierna la tierra, dirige, castiga y premia á sus habitadores, y à esta adoran bajo cualquiera figura que fabrican, ó que se hayan hallado en las playas, procedidas de algunos navios nàufragos; como son mascarones de proa, ó figuras de las aletas de popa, y estas son las que estiman y prefieren para sus cultos por suponerlas aparecidas. A esta deidad dan por nombre el *Camalasque*, que equivale á "pode-

roso y valiente". De estos figuras, cada uno que la tiene defiende y cree ser aquella la verdadera deidad, y que las de los otros son falsas, aunque no llega el caso de empeñar estas disputas, ni armar quimeras sobre ello, porque se persuaden que la misma deidad vengará sus agravios con las supersticiones que se figuran: creyendo que las enfermedades y las muertes son venganzas de estas deidades, á menos de suceder en los ya mùy viejos, que solo entonces las tienen por naturales. Estas figuras las guardan en sus toldos, muy cubiertas y liadas con cuero, paño, bayeta ò lienzo, segun cada uno puede, y no se descubre à nadie sin dictàmen del santon ò hechicero, que puede ser muger ú hombre. Tiene de continuo dias en que debe egercer su oficio, cantando à la deidad al son de dos calabazas con chinas dentro,—mùsica tan desagradable como su misma voz. Tambien hace en esta forma rogaciones, por que la deidad enferme ó mate à los que tienen por enemigos: pero esto suele salirles muy mal à los tales hechiceros, porque si acaso tienen sus enemigos algun contagio, ó muere algun indio principal ó cacique, procuran por todos los medios posibles haber á las manos á los referidos hechiceros, y los hacen màrtires del diablo. -Tambien deben cantar á la deidad estos hechiceros por los enfermos de sus tolderias, para contradecir á los otros hechiceros sus enemigos, y sino consigue el alivio el enfermo, suelen tambien los amigos de este darle su merecido á aquellos, á lo menos quitàndoles el empleo, y tratàndole en adelante como á infame: y si la muerte ha sido de muger ò hijo del cacique, suele pagar con la vida el hechicero su mala cura, que solo se reduce al canto, porque no usan de otras medicinas en sus enfermedades. Y por tanto tienen muchos contratiempos estos médicos cantores, siendo pocos de ellos los que mueren de muerte natural: pero siempre sobran pretendientes para este empleo, porque tienen facultad de usar de las mugeres de los indios, si ellas consienten, ó de ellos, si el hechicero es muger. De estos hechiceros casi hay tantos como familias, ó como ídolos, porque regularmente cada cabeza de familia tiene su ídolo en su toldo, y si la tolderia se compone de cuatro, cinco ò mas familias, hay otros tantos ídolos y otros tantos hechiceros ó santones: en la inteligencia de que una familia entre ellos se compone no solo del marido, muger è hijos, sino tambien de todos los parientes del dicho marido, que es cabeza y gefe de esta familia, en la cual viene á ser como un cacique subalterno, del que tiene el general gobierno de todos, y derecho en propiedad de aquel terreno.

Cuando enferma alguno en la familia, acude el santon de ella à cantarle al oido, con voces tan fuertes y desentonadas, y tan desagradables, que ellas por sì solas bastarian à matarle. Si se agrava,

convida à los demas de su oficio, y à todas las viejas, para que le ayuden á cantar, á fin de que de noche y de dia no cese el canto: pero nadie queda responsable si el enfermo muere, porque este cargo es solo del hechicero. Cuando el enfermo està ya enteramente postrado, si es doncella y jóven, le forman un toldo de ponchos, separado de la tolderia, la ponen en él, y allí es el canto mas fuerte; porque todas cuantas viejas hay, van á cantarle, y una de ellas arma en un palo todos los cascabeles que puede juntar, y haciendo con ellos gran ruido, da una vuelta al rededor del toldo de cuando en cuando, à cuyo tiempo esfuerzan las de adentro su griteria. Durante la enfermedad se matan yeguas y caballos, en ofrenda ó sacrificio al ídolo para que mejore el enfermo; pero esta ofrenda se la comen entre el mismo enfermo y los cantores.

Si el enfermo muere, bien sea en el nuevo toldo de ponchos, siendo doncella, ò en el suyo mismo, siendo hombre ò muger casada, se trae al toldo el caballo mas estimado, lo aparejan, y poniéndole encima todas las alhajas del difunto, montan en él un muchacho, y le hacen dar una vuelta al rededor del toldo, donde está el cadáver: bajan al muchacho y ponen al cuello del caballo un lazo, de cuyos dos cabos tiran dos indios hasta que lo ahogan. Tienen ya prevenida una hoguera, donde van arrojando à quemar el aparejo y alhajas que lleva el caballo; y la persona que hace cabeza de duelo se va quitando el vestido y cuanto tiene puesto, y lo va arrojando tambien al fuego; como tambien todos los parientes y amigos echan una prenda cada uno, que al efecto traen de sus toldos ó se quitan de su vestidura, compitiéndose en entregar al fuego las mejores, en que denotan mas obligaciones al muerto, ò mas amistad, amor, &c. Luego desuellan el caballo ahogado, y se reparte su carne entre todos los que echaron sus prendas al fuego. La doliente se està en su toldo muy tapada y sin hablar una palabra. Todas las mugeres parientas y amigas las van á hacer compañia, y para ello se cortan del pelo unos mechones, de modo que les caiga por la frente hasta las cejas, se arañan la cara, se sajan los carrillos, y lloran aunque no tengan gana, con unos gemidos y estilo tan lamentable y lastimoso, que parece se les arranca el alma. A la noche se entregan las viejas del cadáver, y ellas lo entierran donde les parece, sin que lo sepan dolientes ni otro alguno, porque ni se les pregunta, ni ellas pueden decirlo á nadie. Sigue el duelo por quince dias, con los mismos gemidos, y se van matando cada dia caballos del difunto hasta no dejar ni uno, porque todos sus bienes han de quedar destruidos sin que puedan darse á nadie, ni menos habria quien los admitiese, sabiendo que eran del muerto, porque este es un sagrado pa-

ra ellos inviolable. Todas las lunas se repite un dia el duelo y llanto, y se mata caballo ò yegua si hay amigo ò pariente que quiera darlo, porque al difunto ya no le ha quedado ninguno. Cumplido el año, se repite el duelo por tres dias, con llantos, hoguera, arrojar en ella prendas, y demas ceremonias, cuantas pueden hacer para que se renueve el funeral, como en el dia de la muerte. Despues de estos tres dias, ya no vuelven à acordarse mas del difunto para nada. Toda esta fúnebre pompa y ceremonias se hacen solo por jòvenes ó personas de buena edad y robustas, pues á los que mueren viejos ni se les hace duelo ni se les llora, ni se acuerdan mas de ellos, creyendo que su muerte era precisa, y se contentan con matar en ella un caballo, el peor ó mas desechado que tenga.

Se matan caballos por casamientos y muertes, por la salida de los dientes á los muchachos, cuando comienza la menstruacion á las mugeres, por cualquiera leve mal, por aplacar al ídolo enojado, que creen lo està cuando tienen enfermedades, cuando les cuesta mucho trabajo el tomar la caza, cuando otros indios los hostigan y no tienen fuerzas suficientes para hacerles guerra, porque en este caso aguantan las injurias que les quieran hacer: y toda esta matanza de caballos é yeguas es la causa de no estar toda la costa poblada de este ganado; pues aunque las yeguas paren todos los años, con todo, como dejan pocas, no hay suficientes caballos para surtirlos, sino fuera por los que los indios Pampas de Buenos Aires les cambian por los cueros que les llevan cuando bajan al Rio Negro, de que resulta tener los de San Julian menos ganado de este que los del golfo de San Jorge y Santa Elena, porque no pueden bajar al Rio Negro con la continuacion que estos.

Creen en la transmigracion del alma, y que las de los que mueren pasan á los que nacen en la familia, en esta forma: el que muere viejo transmigra el alma sin detencion, y por eso no se le llora ni hacen sentimiento, porque dicen vá aquella alma à mejorar de puesto: pero la del que muere jóven ò robusto, queda detenida debajo de tierra, sin destino hasta que se cumple el tiempo que le faltaba para ser viejo, que entonces pasa al primero que nace, y por esta detencion, en que juzgan está comprimida y violenta, le hacen todos los sacrificios al ídolo, para que le dé algun desahogo, interin llega el tiempo decretado. Y son tan supersticiosos en esta materia, que unos se persuaden es conveniente poner en el sepulcro à los difuntos alguna comida y alhajas para que coman sus almas y se diviertan, y otros lo tienen esto por ocioso, creyendo que el ídolo les darà todo lo necesario. Esta materia se gobierna en cada fa-

milia segun el modo de pensar del embustero santon, que se engaña y los engaña como quiere, sin que se repare en sus inconsecuencias, aun cuando sus pensamientos y sus disposiciones varien á cada paso. Estos embusteros les hacen creer que el ídolo hace gestos y habla, haciéndolos ellos conforme les dicen que les vieron hacer; y aunque los mismos indios se hallen presentes al tiempo que el santon descubre el ídolo, y con sus mismos ojos vean que es mentira, como el santon diga que hablò ò hizo gestos, basta para que ellos lo crean así ciegamente.

Júzganse incapaces de poder ofender con alguna de sus operaciones á la deidad que adoran, y así creen que los contratiempos ò castigos que les envia, no es porque ellos los merezcan por sus delitos, sino porque le dà gana al ídolo de tratarlos mal. Así la benignidad de esta potencia consiste en tener buenos caballos, salud y paz, hallar mucha y buena caza, y lograr fidelidad de parte de sus vecinos.

El número de indios que se hallan aquí establecidos, seràn hasta 4,000 personas: ocupan el terreno de la costa que queda señalado. No pueden salir de él, impidièndoselo por el E la mar, por el N el Rio Negro è indios Pampas de Buenos Aires, y por el O y S la Cordillera, imposible de pasar aquí por su altura, y por hallarse en todo tiempo cubierta de nieve, sin que se verifique la habitan en estos parages ni aun las aves.

En todos estos terrenos no hay madera alguna de construccion, pero hay bastante leña en partes, buena para quemar, y lo mas del suelo está cubierto de sabina, torbisco, tomillo y gomieles. Todo el terreno es quebrado, formando lomas, cañadas y valles: uno de estos se halla à 20 leguas de San Julian, es muy ameno: le llaman el *Oenna*, los indios. Hay en él infinitos manantiales de buena agua. En las mas cañadas y valles se encuentran manantiales à la una, dos, tres ò cuatro leguas de la costa. No es probable se hallen metales en este suelo, porque si los hubiera no los dejarian los indios de tener y emplear en su uso; y naturalmente hubieran dado con ellos una ú otra vez, mediante que jamàs paran mucho tiempo en un destino, variando continuamente de asiento para poder subsistir à favor de la caza, que segun las estaciones se mete tierra adentro, ò baja à buscar las playas.

Las armas de que usan, son bolas y lazo, y tambien dagas y sables, que adquieren de los indios Pampas de Buenos Aires, ó los

fabrican ellos de cualquiera pedazo de fierro que se les dá, y estiman mucho por esto, ó del que recogen por las playas, despojos de embarcaciones perdidas. Les cuesta mucho trabajo hacer cada arma de estas, porque sin embargo de que medio caldean el fierro al fuego, como no tienen herramientas se valen de piedras para darle forma, y despues á brazo en una piedra de amolar lo desbastan, sacan el filo y la punta.

En sus batallas pelean à pié, dejando á las mugeres en custodia de los caballos, y se ponen unas como camisas de hombre con mangas cerradas, hechas de diez ó doce cueros de venado, bien sobados, que no los puede pasar el sable ni la daga. En la cabeza se ponen una especie de sombrero, ó casco hecho tambien de cuero de buey ó de caballo, con cuyos resguardos procuran tirarse las cuchilladas á las piernas por ser mas fácil herir en ellas, cortando las botas. Son muy firmes y constantes en la batalla, y no la dejan, una vez que entran en ella, hasta ser vencidos ó muertos. Usan tambien de las bolas, y todo partido que es vencido, ordinariamente son muertos, porque se ensangrientan de manera que ninguno huye: y esta es la causa de no ser mucho mas poblados estos terrenos, porque las mugeres son muy fecundas, y padecen muy pocas enfermedades.

Desde Santa Elena al Rio Negro, dicen los indios que es muy escaso de aguas el terreno, que solo se hallan algunas pequeñas lagunas en tiempo de lluvias, y cuando están secas, se ven obligados para ir al Rio Negro á arrimarse à la Cordillera, donde bajan manantiales: y como para esto suben mucho al O, triplican el camino si han de bajar luego al establecimiento de los españoles, con respecto al que caminarian por la costa, si en esta tuviesen agua.

Los toldos los ponen clavando en tierra dos palos de dos ó tres varas de alto, y una y media distantes uno de otro; al lado de cada palo, y á igual distancia clavan otros dos mas cortos, y al O de los seis, clavan otros seis mas cortos à la misma distancia, y al O de estos con igual distancia otros seis de poco mas de media vara de largo. Sobre estos diez y ocho palos echan el cuero con el pelo para afuera, y lo aseguran á las cabezas de todos los palos, de los cuales cuelgan como cortinas de cuero por dentro, que forman las divisiones segun las necesitan, atàndolas de alto abajo à los mismos palos á manera de mamparos firmes: por afuera llega el cuero hasta el suelo por el N O y S, dejàndole siempre la puerta al E de toda la anchura del toldo, el cual queda como si fuese una cueva ovalada. A la puerta no se le pone cosa alguna con que cerrarla, sino

en el rigor de los yelos, que la tapan, colgando de ella otro cuero. Las separaciones interiores las acomodan desde el centro hasta el fondo para cada matrimonio, y los hijos y demas familia y parentela duermen todos revueltos en el resto, que queda franco hasta la puerta, uniéndose aquí viudos, viudas, solteros, solteras, parientes, criados y esclavos, y en fin, cuantos dependen ò tienen relacion con la cabeza principal ò amo del toldo. Las doncellas aqui, sin embargo de esta ocasion, procuran, como queda dicho, guardar su virginidad, mientras tienen esperanza de casarse: pero si llegan à perderla se dan à cualquiera, y tanto ellas como las viudas pasan buena noche, acomodàndose indistintamente con el que primero se les acerca á dormir con ellas.

Las querellas de los hombres dentro de una misma tolderia se deciden entre ellos à moquetes, sin que puedan usar para ello de otras armas, ni que se atreva nadie à separarlos hasta que ellos se rinden ò separan, y los demas estàn mirando, celebràndolos ó riéndose. Las mugeres cuando riñen se estan muy asentadas, diciéndose palabras ofensivas, hasta que la una echa mano à deshacerse las trenzas del pelo con mucha flema, lo que igualmente hace la otra con la misma, continuando en los improperios: y en teniendo ambas el pelo todo suelto, se lo sacuden, se levantan y se arremeten furiosas, dándose buenos tirones de él, en que se quitan una á otra cuanto pueden sacar, enredado en las uñas, y las demas mugeres y hombres se las estan mirando, sin que se atreva nadie à separarlas; hasta que ellas mismas se apartan en estando cansadas, y se quedan tan amigas de resultas de esto, como si nunca hubiesen reñido, permaneciendo todo aquel dia con el pelo suelto: y en la querella no pueden darse como los hombres moquetes, ni tirarse à romper el vestido, sino solamente el pelo, siendo de lo contrario corregidas de las circunstantes espectadoras.

En tiempos de duelo, en marchas, en dias de mucho viento, muchos frios ó heladas, se pintan el rostro de negro ò morado, tanto hombres como mugeres, para que no se les corte el cutis.

Generalmente tienen estos indios índole muy dulce è inocente, y me tomaron tanto afecto y trataron con tanta sencillez, principalmente el cacique de San Julian, que si hubieramos tenido caballos bastantes, pienso no quedaria un palmo de aquellos terrenos que no pudiese registrar en su compañia.

Buenos-Aires, 10 *de Diciembre de* 1783.

ANTONIO DE VIEDMA.

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PREFACE.

121 IN SUBMITTING the following pages to the public, I am conscious that some readers who desire exact and scientific descriptions of the geography and geology of Patagonia will be disappointed; but it must be urged as an apology that instruments could not be carried nor safely used under the circumstances. The course travelled was as carefully laid down, by the help of a compass, as was possible; and the map of the country is so far accurate, and, if incomplete, at least is not imaginative. To others who may perhaps eagerly expect tales of stirring adventure and hair-breadth escapes, such as are usually recounted as the every-day occurrences of uncivilised life, I can only express the hope that this faithful record of life with the Indians all the year round, if not very sensational, will serve at least to make them really at home with the Tehuelches. It is a pleasanter task to record my thanks to those by whose assistance the results of my journey have been utilised; foremost of whom is the venerable ex-President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir RODERICK MURCHISON, whose kindly

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AT HOME
WITH
THE PATAGONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE STRAITS TO SANTA CRUZ.

Journey Planned—Preparations—Passage from Stanley—The Straits—First Footsteps in Patagonia—The Narrows—Punta Arenas—Commandante Viel—The Colony—The Town—Chilotes and Convicts—Resources—Visit to the Coal Bed—Lieut. Gallegos—The Start—Rio Chaunco—The Patagonian Pampas—Our Party—Cabecera del Mar—Oazy Harbour—A Useless Chase—A Fireless Night—Volcanic Hills—Pampa Yarns—Rio Gallegos—First Indians—Sam Slick—Rio Cuheyli—Meeting with Tehuelches—Caravan of Women—'Anglish' Politeness—Desert—Santa Cruz at last.

122 IN April, 1869, chance took me to our remote colony of the Falkland Islands, with the purpose of taking thence a passage to Buenos Ayres to arrange some business matters. During my stay in the settlement, the coast of Patagonia, in the survey of which H.M.S. Nassau was then engaged, formed a frequent topic of conversation. I had formerly, when stationed on the south-east coast of America, read with delight Mr. Darwin's work on South America, as well as Fitzroy's admirable Narrative of the Voyage of the Beagle, and had ever since entertained a strong desire to penetrate if possible the little-known interior of the country. Now,

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the southern part of Tierra del Fuego, came into sight, 133
appearing to rise out of the water, ninety miles distant, if
not more. Steaming along the coast through numerous beds [137]
of the characteristic kelp seaweed, which in the most forcible
way attracted our attention, by fouling the screw, and hold-
ing the ship as if anchored for about an hour, we passed
Cape Negro, and opened completely different scenery. In-
stead of undulating plains, hills thickly wooded were seen;
at the foot of one of which, on a low piece of flat ground,
numerous horsemen, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, were
visible, careering about.

It was the afternoon of Sunday, which in all Spanish 200
South American countries is a gala day, more or less appro-
priated to horse-racing. However, the sight of a steamer
appeared to cause a diversion, and, in fact, a general race
to the settlement ensued, all being apparently anxious
for anything new or strange. The anchor was soon
dropped, near an American schooner lying off the Sandy
Point, from which the Chilian settlement of Punta Arenas
derives its name.

There was no sign of the Nassau, then engaged in the
survey of the Straits, which we had hoped to find in this
anchorage; but from the Chilian officer, who speedily boarded
us, we learned that she had sailed to the westward a day or
two before our arrival, and was expected to return imme-
diately. The results of the careful observations made by
Mr. Cunningham, of the scenery and natural history of the
Straits, have appeared while these pages were in preparation
for the press; and it affords me pleasure to refer such as
desire more scientific accounts of the botany and zoology, at
least of Southern Patagonia, than it was in my power to
obtain, to his wo...

My own object in visiting Punta Arenas was to proceed 122
thence to Santa Cruz with the Indians, or in whatever way
might prove feasible; but, in truth, it was by no means clear
to my mind how it was to be accomplished; it was, therefore,

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122 with great relief that I learned from the Chilian lieutenant that a small expedition was about to be despatched by the governor to Santa Cruz in pursuit of some runaways from among the deserters who were serving their term of punishment in the colony. He suggested that the Commandante would, doubtless, give permission to accompany this party; and, without delay, I accompanied him on shore, and was introduced to Commandante Señor Viel.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and courtesy with which the Commandante entered into my plans; he at once not only gave me permission to accompany the party, but, unasked, offered me the use of a horse, and told me not to trouble myself about the commissariat for the road. It was possible, however, that the deserters might be overtaken in the Pampas, in which case the party would return without proceeding as far as Santa Cruz; he therefore advised me to secure the services of some one acquainted with the route, who could act as guide in the event of having to proceed without the rest of our companions.

I was afterwards introduced to Señora Viel, a fair Limena possessing all the proverbial charms of the ladies of Lima, and who bemoaned bitterly the isolation and ennui of life at Punta Arenas; she had literally no equals of her own sex, and scarcely any of the other to speak to. Señor Viel had formerly commanded a Chilian ironclad, instead of which he had accepted the government of this distant colony; his zeal and energy in discharging the duties of his office were unceasing, and his naval habits asserted themselves in the strictness of discipline maintained, which was absolutely necessary to keep in order the motley population. But as a residence, viewed from a social point of view, Punta Arenas must have been unimaginably dull. The Commandante kindly pressed me to make his house my home, promising quarters for the night—which his own limited accommodation could not supply—in an adjacent house. So after two days, agreeably spent in the interchange of courtesies and

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visits, I bade adieu to my shipmates, who were to sail at daylight for the Western Straits, and removed myself and traps to a wooden house close to the Cuartel, the quarters of Don Centeno, the engineer in charge of the Government works. The next morning, accompanied by Captain Cushing, of the schooner Rippling Wave, I set out to procure some few necessary supplies, and make inquiries for a guide. We bent our steps to the store of a man named Guillermo, and after purchasing tobacco and other necessaries, the talk turned on gold, of which Don Guillermo showed us some specimens, obtained from the banks of a neighbouring stream. One of the crew of the Rippling Wave grew greatly excited and exclaimed, 'Ah, that's the stuff we used to grub up in a creek in California; I guess if the old boat lays her bones on these here shores, I'll stop and turn to digging again.' Hanging up in the store were some Indian bolas and a belt made of beads, studded with silver bosses, which the owner informed me was a woman's girdle, and, with the bolas, had been left in pawn by the Indians. They had not, however, visited the colony, at least for trading purposes, for several months, as they had taken umbrage about a dispute between a Chilian and an Indian, in which they considered their comrade to have been treated with injustice. The party described by Mr. Cunninghame evidently arrived with doubtful intentions, and the tact displayed by Señor Viel removed their resentment. This information explained what had previously mystified me, viz., that nothing was to be seen or heard of the Indians with whom I had hoped to make acquaintance. My good fortune in arriving on the eve of the departure of the expedition, and the Commandante's courtesy, were now even more keenly appreciated by me, as otherwise I should have been simply stranded in Punta Arenas. The guide difficulty was not long of solution, although, from the natural dislike of most of the unofficial population to take part in the recapture of runaways, it had seemed rather perplexing. After we had quitted the store, we were accosted

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[22 by a man named J'aria, who came to offer his services. A short examination of his knowledge and recommendations proving satisfactory, he was engaged on terms which certainly were far from exorbitant, and he deserves to have it recorded that he fully earned his pay. My equipments and preparations for the journey were now made complete by the thoughtful good-nature of Captain Cushing, with whom I proceeded on board his vessel, where he provided from his stores, and forced on my acceptance, several most useful articles; and it is pleasant to be able to publish my sense of the kindness received from one of our American cousins, who are always ready to sympathise with and befriend a Britisher, at least according to my experience.

A stroll of inspection round the settlement was extended to the saw-mill, not far distant, worked by water-power; where, under the direction of Mr. Wells, an American, the trees when cut down are converted into boards to build the houses that take the place of the forest. Proceeding thence to the half-cleared outskirts, we found the Commandante supervising numerous labourers, principally of the convict class, who were busily engaged in felling trees, clearing stumps, and otherwise preparing the way for the future development of the settlement.

To any one unaccustomed to frontier towns, the *coup-d'œil* of the town presented an irregular and random growth of wooden houses; but the plan which was indicated in outline was laid out after the usual Spanish-American fashion, as originally prescribed by the Council of the Indies. A main street ran near and parallel to the beach, crossing a large vacant square—the Plaza, out of which, and at regular intervals from the main street, ran other embryo streets intersecting at right angles, so that the houses, whenever they should be built, would form blocks or 'cuadras.' In the Plaza were the church and a large unfinished school-house. Chilian ideas as to the public duty of education are advanced, and the schoolmaster is a state

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become opened up, in which case, probably, other sources of mineral wealth will be discovered and made productive.

Our departure having been definitely fixed for the morrow, I proceeded to review and arrange my equipments for the journey, a list of which may gratify intending explorers of Patagonia. Two saddle-bags contained my kit and necessaries, consisting of a couple of shirts and a jersey or two, a few silk handkerchiefs, and soap, lucifer matches, writing materials, fishing lines and hooks, quinine and caustic, and a small bottle of strychnine. The armoury comprised a rifle in case complete, and two double-barrelled breech-loading pistols, hunting-knives, a small ammunition-case of unfilled cartridges, and a supply of powder. The only instrument ventured on was a small compass. My personal equipment was a shooting suit of tweed and a Scotch cap, and a most excellent pair of boots made by Thomas, to which for comfort were superadded a guanaco skin mantle, two ponchos, and a waterproof sheet. In the evening Señor Viel introduced me to my future travelling companion, Lieutenant Gallegos, who was to command our party. He was a short, thick-set man, with a dark, almost Indian complexion, and looked all over what the Commandante declared him to be, 'a man for hard work.' In his native province of Arauco he had been for many years employed in the frontier wars with the Indians, and could handle the lazo or the lance with wonderful dexterity. He spoke with great cordiality of the officers of the Nassau, and seemed well inclined to the company of one of the same service; indeed, I am strongly inclined to believe that he is introduced into the foreground of Commander Bedwell's sketch—at all events, if any reader wishes to know his appearance, the occupant of the fallen tree presents a strong resemblance to the leader of our party. Our arrangements and prospects were fully discussed; and after bidding farewell to Captain Cushing, who was to sail the next day, and to my most kind and courteous host and hostess, we parted, agreeing to meet at daylight ready for the road.

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122 At an early hour in the morning of the 19th of April I was awoke by J'aria, and with him and my small belongings proceeded to the Corral, where the horses were being caught and loaded. Here we were joined by Gallegos, and when everything was nearly ready for the start adjourned to his house close by for a cup of coffee. The Señora seemed to regard me with great commiseration, and recounted various dismal tales of the dreadful cold winds, hardships, Indians, and other disagreeables to be encountered; her consolations were cut short by the entrance of J'aria with the news that all was ready. After a parting glass of something stronger than water, we got into our saddles, and the cavalcade, consisting of Gallegos, myself, one regular soldier, three irregulars or employés of the Government, and J'aria, with twenty-one horses, left the town. As we passed the Cuartel, the guard turned out in the balcony and presented arms, and the bugler executed a musical salute. It was a fine frosty morning, and we rode on in high spirits, accompanied by two or three horsemen, who were going to spend their Sunday festa in duck shooting, and had made an early start to escort us a little way. Scarcely had we crossed the stream when one of the baggage horses kicked his load off; this was soon replaced; but when the bustle was over and the cavalcade reformed, J'aria and one of the employés, to whom I had confidingly entrusted a bottle of rum, were missing, and they did not turn up again for some time, and the bottle never again. We rode along the coast until we reached the outpost called Tres Puentes, where a narrow pass between the forest on one hand and the sea on the other, is barred by a gate-house tenanted by two men, posted there to prevent desertion; they turned out, and we lingered for a farewell chat, during which one of the sportsmen stalked and shot some ducks; at the report of his gun, the regular soldier's horse, not being used to stand fire, shied and threw him, capsizing his saddle-bags, and strewing the beach with tortillas (cakes) and coffee, with which his no

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doubt provident and thoughtful 'she' had stored them. Gallegos sat in his saddle and laughed at the scene; but as the others could not catch the horse, he gave us a proof of his dexterity with the lazo. After this little diversion we pursued our course along the beach as far as Cape Negro, where the forests terminated, and our accompanying friends bade us adieu after taking a parting glass all round; J'aria and the other absentee overtaking us in time for this part of the performance. 122

Our horses' heads were then turned from the coast in a north-north-west direction, and after half an hour's ride a halt was called for breakfast under the lee of a sheltering hill. To the southward we viewed the counter slope of the wooded hills, below which on the other side lay Punta Arenas. A thick growth of shrubs covered the ground, but beautiful glades of luxuriant pasture were visible; one of which opened just to the south of our camping-place, and others appeared east and west like oases of green. Their appearance caused me to remark that as a settler I should choose this location for my hut. Gallegos, however, replied that the pastures could not be used for the cattle of the settlement during the summer, as neither the Indians nor their own men could be trusted; the latter would desert, and the former would steal the beasts. After a pipe we remounted, and having crossed the hill we descended to the valley of a small but deep stream, called the Rio Chaunco, having forded which we ascended the opposite border slope, and entered on the Pampa, which name is universally used in Patagonia to designate the high undulating plains or plateaux, frequently intersected by valleys and ravines, or rising into successive or isolated hills, which generally occupy the crest of the country. The Indians, indeed, who know a little Castilian, apply the word Pampa indiscriminately to any tract of country hunted over by them. After a successful day's sport, and the contentment consequent on a hearty meal, they will ask with great satisfaction, 'Muy buena Pampa? No?' really meaning 133

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The Pampa we were now traversing presented an expanse/33
of undulating or rolling plains covered with a uniform growth of coarse grass interspersed with barberry bushes, and occasional lagoons in the hollows. No living creatures except ourselves appeared on the waste. To the westward the snow-clad peaks of the mountains bordering the Sarmiento Straits greeted us with an icy blast which made my thoughts longingly revert to the cozy cabin and my late shipmates, who were, no doubt, threading the intricacies of its channels. But the good guanaco mantle kept out the wind, and our motley party pushed briskly on in good order. Lieutenant Gallegos has been already introduced; as to the/22
others, J'aria was a small man, of rough exterior, of doubtful extraction, and more than doubtful antecedents, who looked fit for any business except good; but he served me most assiduously and with unlooked-for care. The soldier was a fine-looking fellow, new to the Pampas, whose carbine, which he duly carried, proved a source of great embarrassment to him; and his horse being by no means too manageable, he was considerably bothered, much to the delight of the rest. Two others were hybrids, between gauchos and sailors, having, like our marines, been equally accustomed to service *per mare, per terram;* but, like the jollies, they were unmistakably useful and good men. The las of the party was of the J'aria type. All were well mounted, and provided with a spare horse. We carried for provisions biscuit, charqui or dried meat, roasted wheat meal, and coffee and sugar, and were furnished with an unusual but welcome luxury, a small tent, underneath which we cared little for the bitter frost outside.

After riding over the Pampas for three or four hours, we/80
encamped for the night in a hollow by the side of a lagoon, having selected a suitable spot for pitching the tent on the sheltered slope, well out of the sweep of the wind. The lagoon was covered with black-necked swans and other wild/36
fowl; so, as soon as the horses had been unloaded and looked

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

when, as often happened, he joined our little circle, and in the company of his old friend Mr. Clarke, unbent from his gravity and laughed and talked in a way that seemed quite foreign to the usually serious chief. It must be confessed that he was jealous and suspicious, and a little stingy, preferring to increase rather than lessen his large stock of horses, gear, and arms; but from the time I became his guest his conduct to myself was irreproachable.

In the evening the messenger returned; he had of course completely mistaken his instructions, and informed Don Luiz that the Englishman desired to proceed in the schooner to Buenos Ayres, and accordingly a boat arrived with the morning flood-tide to take me off. Mr. Clarke good-naturedly undertook to go himself and explain matters; and returned with a kind message, offering me quarters and every hospitality if I chose to remain in the settlement for the next two months, at the end of which period the schooner might be expected to return. Lieut. Gallegos strongly urged me to accompany him back to Punta Arena, painting in strong colours the tedium and discomfort of a winter at Santa Cruz. But it was plain that the opportunity of cultivating the acquaintance and securing the confidence of Orkeke would thus be thrown away, and with it the prospect of traversing the country. Gallegos believed that this plan was fraught with danger, and indeed almost certain destruction; but as I was immovable, we took an affectionate farewell of each other. He and all his party had treated me, an utter stranger, with the greatest kindness, and I bade adieu to them as true comrades. They departed on their return journey, taking with them the four prisoners, who, however, are destined to appear again in these pages. These men had undergone much hardship to obtain the liberty of which they seemed again deprived; three of them had managed to secure a horse, and walking and riding in turns had found their way to the Indians. Two of them, Olate and Rosa, the latter, though a mere boy, with a thoroughly evil and murderous coun-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

133 which, invisible to our eyes, lay our destination, viz., the toldos of Cheoeque. For weeks Las Manzanas and Cheoeque had been almost the sole topic of conversation, and the general excitement, which had been intense at starting, now cul-
782 minated at the sight of our distant bourne. As we halted the Indians all raised their hands to their foreheads, saluting the distant river, and inviting the Spirit of the locality to be propitious to our undertaking, as to the issue of which there was great uncertainty. The night before Casimiro had
787 pointed out the redness of the setting sun, and declared it to be an omen of war; but without paying attention to the omen, which indeed was not perceptible to my eyes, the unprecedented visit of 250 Tehuelches ostensibly for peace might very possibly be otherwise understood by Cheoeque: indeed, it afterwards appeared that he, in reality, was by no means assured of our pacific intentions.

122 When all were collected and prepared to descend the mountain, it transpired that Casimiro, who had been missing since the hunt commenced, had, in company with several other Tehuelches and Foyel's Indians, returned to drink. This was very annoying, and all present united in abusing him for setting such an example when about to enter a part of the country whither we were going on sufferance, amongst a not remarkably friendly-disposed set of people. We halted
372 after nightfall in a valley at the side of a small rapid stream, the banks of which, for a short distance, were covered with high tussocks of broad-leaved pampa grass, amidst the shelter of which we bivouacked, although the night was cold and frosty. Firewood was plentiful, supplied by drift-wood brought down by winter or spring floods, so with blazing fires and under the lee of the pampa grass we slept warmly enough. It was necessary, however, to keep a sharp look-out on the horses, as pasturage was scanty. Before daylight, after a
133 slight consultation, Guenalto was given chief command, and we again started; after following a winding valley for a short distance and scrambling up a steep slope, we continued

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

were greater; but I am obliged, after all, to leave the question about where I found it, so far as *certain* conclusions are concerned. Yet some circumstances occurred, or were related to me, that incline my mind strongly to the belief that such horrible practices are not unjustly ascribed to them. Of the soundness of my conclusions those who follow the course of the narrative will have the opportunity of judging for themselves; if such had been my persuasion at the beginning, it may be readily imagined what effect this last hazard would have had upon my feelings, in contemplating the possibilities of the future. Happily a convenient scepticism on this point preserved me from this dark apprehension.

I came among these people not, certainly, with the best preparation in my previous habits and associations to endure either the climate of the country or the hardships of captivity. I went on shore in my usual ship's dress; thick frock coat, trousers, and shoes, and glazed cap. My undergarments were woollen; though an important item, as before related, was made way with in fruitlessly signalling vessels in the straits. But to live without any change of dress, to sleep without any additional covering, protected from the cold ground only by a fragment of guanaco-hide, and the other discomforts and exposures of life among savages, made, altogether, a harsh contrast to the comforts of our good schooner. To these, however, I gradually became inured, till I was able to meet cold and wet and storm with as stoical indifference as my dark companions, who had known no other lot from infancy.

Of the character of the natives I had little previous knowledge; and that little was not adapted to stimulate

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

curiosity, or prompt the least anxiety for more intimate acquaintance. It was derived mainly from whalers, in whom it seemed to have produced much the same degree of contentment, — a feeling that ignorance is bliss. Indeed, the greatest caution has always been employed by voyagers in regard to landing on these shores; many experienced seamen cannot be persuaded to land at all; trade with the natives is always carried on in boats off shore, frequently with loaded fire-arms constantly levelled, in readiness for action in case of emergency. But here I was, put forcibly to the study of their character in the school of dame Experience, and can testify to the truth of the saying that she charges roundly for tuition. Let the reader give me credit for the cheapness with which I put him in possession of what knowledge was purchased at so exorbitant a price

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

the next chapter—the Indians began to arrive, and the hunting was resumed; only, however, when absolutely necessary. Some of the new arrivals proceeded to the wild cattle district, and managed to kill a bull, although—as before—an accident occurred. As my lazo was used to capture the bull, I came in for a share of the meat, which was divided amongst the people in our toldo; but it proved very tough, and rather nasty. Perhaps the palate, having been so long accustomed to guanaco, ostrich, or horse, could not relish meat of a coarser description; but the hide was invaluable for making maneos and other horse-gear. On the 7th of January a messenger arrived from Casimiro requesting me to send him some information, and stating that he was distant some three marches, and wished to wait some time to refresh his horses, &c. After consulting with Orkeke and Jackechan, we sent back a messenger to say that, 'As game was scarce now in the vicinity of Teckel, and all were more or less desirous of pushing forward, he had better make haste and join us, otherwise we should continue our march towards Las Manzanas.' This message had the desired effect, as on the 11th he made his appearance, with several other toldos, a few only remaining in the rear with Crimè, who was reported to be unwell.

On Casimiro's arrival, as he now possessed a good toldo, I changed my quarters to his residence, as agreed on at the outset of the journey. I was sorry to leave Orkeke, and the old man was very much grieved, a present of a revolver only troubling him the more, as he informed me that he had nothing to offer in exchange; however, my assurance that I did not give him a present expecting an exchange, as is customary with Indians, appeared to console him. The usual consultation of the chiefs took place, in which all the preceding arrangements were agreed to, and we remained stationary in Teckel until January 20. As I had by this time become well acquainted with the mode of life and usages of the Tehuelches, and was looked upon as one of them-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

123 selves—and in fact had acquired a position and influence among them—it may be as well to call a halt, and devote a chapter to a description of the manners and customs of the Tsonecas or Tehuelches, as Patagonians call themselves.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

624 my joy, the chief took the same view as in the former council. Would he be able to restrain their savage tempers? His power was great, but there was a limit to its effect, and I feared. In my turn I sought to enforce his views, by arraying all the motives invention could produce, and was able to perceive that they had some weight. Again the matter was canvassed around the ring. There was a hesitation, as if they felt suspicious and unsatisfied. Then they began to cross-examine me; my promises were not explicit enough. What did I mean to give them? The answer did not content them; they wanted more. More or less made no difference to me, and I gave them assurance of all the good things they craved, when we should arrive at *Holland*. Another talk followed, and brought them to a pretty unanimous conclusion, that they would get the presents first, and *decide my fate afterwards;* — a "squeeze-your-orange-and-throw-it-away" policy, in which these rascals seemed to be remarkable adepts.

●123 The natives had no idea that I could understand their talk, and I was not at all eager to display my acquisitions. In fact, though unable to speak their jargon, my ear had become pretty well trained to interpret it, while my scraps of half Spanish enabled me, without suspicion, to hear, mark and digest, much of their conversation. This was, in part, acquired in teaching some of them, the youth especially, to speak English and to count, — a pursuit in which I engaged partly for their benefit, and partly for my own. Besides aiding me in learning their language, it tended, so far as it diverted their attention, to keep mischief out of their heads, after the manner in which constant employment maintains order in a ship's crew. It added to my knowl-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

edge of their character and ways of thinking, so that, in dangerous emergencies, I was able to detect the first symptoms of evil. More than once it enabled me to elude or to nip in the bud dangerous conspiracies, which, if they had gone further, might have proved fatal to me. Circumspection made self-possession more easy. I will confess — though the narrative may have made confession needless — that I am naturally timid, and inclined to the better part of valor. Yet somehow — God helping me — I early learned to hide my constitutional timidity under a show of fearlessness, even in circumstances of great peril. More than once, when a savage drew his knife at me, have I looked him in the eye and disarmed him by a laugh; perhaps laying hold of the instrument of death, trying its edge and praising its qualities, till its owner was shamed into quiet. One piece of English that tickled the chief was the title of "Old Boy," with which (from a conviction of its appropriateness) I early honored him, and which he appeared to relish as much as if I had called him "His Majesty."

The council, to my great relief, at length broke up, and I returned to my wretched shelter. The chief pointed to my bed, and bade me lie down. I complied, not to sleep, but to adore the Providence that had twice rescued me as from the very jaws of death, to reflect on the past and to speculate on the future. The excitement of the evening kept me wakeful, and the night wore away and the morning dawned, without sleep for a moment visiting my eyes.

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 592
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Patagonia SH I

Pa 175 113

Cardiel, Quiroga, Strobel, Camaño, Rejón, García, Querini, and particularly Falkner and Sánchez Labrador, we get for the first time an insight into the cultural and linguistic lay of the Pampean area and into its relations with the Patagonian and *Araucanian*. (Most of cultural data are given in Sánchez Labrador, 1936; Falkner, 1774; Pennant, 1788; and Fürlong Cárdiff, 1936 a).

Pa 113

Some very valuable anthropological information also was contributed by the 19th-century Protestant missionaries: Coan, 1833–34; Gardiner, 1842, 1845; Schmid and Hunziker, 1859–62. (For details, cf.: Gardiner, 1852; Marsh and Stirling, 1874; Coan, 1880; Outes, 1926 b, 1928 c.)

Pa 175

The period came to an end with the military campaigns under Generals Julia Roca and Conrado Villegas in 1879–83, which completely defeated and disorganized the Indian confederates, cleared the Pampa region almost entirely of its Indian inhabitants, and drove most of the survivors beyond the Río Negro and into Neuquén.

Recent period, 1883 to date.—Settlers, following the frontier, have taken up most of the country from the northern limit of the Pampa to the Strait of Magellan. The surviving Indians are found scattered here and there in small groups, mostly south of the Río Negro. The process of Europeanization has been in full swing; the native culture has largely been replaced. Relatively very little field work has been done among the survivors during the last 60 years. The Salesian missionaries, Fathers Milanesio (1896, 1917) and Borgatello (1924), have given us some new light direct from the toldos of the natives. A great deal of attention has been devoted by a corps of Argentine scholars—Canals Frau, Fürlong C., Lehmann-Nitsche, Outes, Serrano, Vignati, and others—and by Fonck and Latcham of Chile, to critical surveys and interpretations of published and manuscript data, a work still in active progress.

Selected annotated lists of the more important of our very numerous first-hand sources on the culture of the *Tehuelche*, *Poya*, and *Puelche* will be given infra under Culture at the beginning of the sections on the culture of the respective three tribes.

There are few more urgent tasks facing anthropological science than thorough studies, as thorough as possible under the circumstances of native cultural disintegration, of the surviving *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, studies made directly in the field, from information that may probably still be gotten from older members of the fast-dwindling remnants of these once numerous and powerful tribes.

CULTURE

T 128

Our cultural data are fullest and most clearly identified for the *Tehuelche*, whose culture will be treated first. Next will follow a

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Puelche SI 10

short account of the *Poya*. Finally, we shall deal with the culture of the *Puelche*. T [128]

In the case of the *Puelche*, were we to confine ourselves to those data which are unmistakably and beyond all possibility of doubt attributable to people speaking the *Puelche* language, we should have to rely almost exclusively on D'Orbigny's extremely brief account. For reasons previously given, we seem to be on fairly safe ground in concluding that the *Puelche* of D'Orbigny's day were the linguistic descendants of Sánchez Labrador's "*Puelche*" ("*Pampa*," "*Serrano*") six or seven decades earlier. If not the linguistic descendants, they were almost certainly the cultural ones. We shall use, therefore, the data from Sánchez Labrador, where we can be sure he is speaking of cultural phenomena peculiar to his and our *Puelche* or shared by them with the contemporary *Tehuelche* and/or Argentine *Araucanians*. P 127

For those who hold with Lehmann-Nitsche to the former existence of a *Het* family on the Pampa, what we shall describe as *Puelche* culture would connote, so far as the description rests on data from Sánchez Labrador, *Het* culture or *Het-Puelche* culture.

Less use can be made of Falkner than of Sánchez Labrador, as the former gives fewer details and discriminates less between *Araucanian*, *Tehuelche*, and *Puelche* cultural features.

TEHUELCHE CULTURE

On *Tehuelche* culture the very early sources prior to 1670 yield only the most meager information, and this almost exclusively regarding the more obvious elements of material culture. About the best of these early sources, such as they are, are Pigafetta (1906) and Fletcher (1854). T 113

The most important later sources are Viedma (1837 b) and Musters (1871, 1872).

Next in importance to these last three publications may be listed: Borgatello (1924), Bourne (1853), Coan (1880), Moreno (1879), Muñiz (1917), and D'Orbigny (1835–47). Some good material is also found scattered through the works of: Cox (1863), Falkner (1774), Fitz-Roy (1839, dependent largely on Falkner), Gardiner (1839), Lista (1879 a, 1879 b), Pennant (1788, data derived from Falkner in England), Reiher (1930), Roncagli (1864), Sánchez Labrador (1936), and Spegazzini (1884). On the linguistic relations of the *Tehuelche*, Lehmann-Nitsche (1913) is basic, while Cardiel (1938) and Camaño (1937) were important pioneer contributors.

Where it is possible or advisable to distinguish between the culture of the foot *Tehuelche* before 1670 and that of the horse-using *Tehuelche* after 1741, in the following account of *Tehuelche* culture the terms "early" and "later" will be used respectively. T 128

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche 985
Patagonia SH 1

THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN HUNTERS

By Jose M. Cuevas

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The section of the Pampa which here interests us (map 1, *Figs. 1D, 1E, 1F*; map 2) extends about 600 miles (960 km.) north to south from about a line between Córdoba and the mouth of the La Plata to a line between the Río Colorado and the Río Negro (pl. 3, *bottom, right*; pl. 4, *top, left*), where Patagonia begins, and thence stretches about 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from north to south to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the mainland. The Pampa is a low-lying plain, nowhere over 1,000 feet (305 m.) above sea level, except for the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana in southern Buenos Aires Province. Apart from the low coastal belt, Patagonia is mostly a broken tableland, one to five thousand feet above sea level (pls. 1 and 2).

Average temperatures at Buenos Aires, near the northeastern limit of the Pampa, are 48.9° F. in July, the coldest month, and 73.8° in January, the warmest month; at Chosle-Chosl, near the border line between the Pampa and Patagonia, 40.1° and 73.4°; at Santa Cruz, in far southern Patagonia, 35.5° and 50.5° (cf. New York City, 30.6° in January and 73.5° in July). The Pampa is marked by frequent steady-blowing high winds; Patagonia, by still more frequent blustery violent winds from the west and northwest.

The eastern, or Humid Pampa, is, or was, treeless grassland (pl. 3, *top, right, and bottom, left*; pl. 4, *top, right*); the western or Dry Pampa (pl. 3, *top, left*), xerophytic scrub-tree and bush land; most of Patagonia has cover largely like that of the Dry Pampa, but considerable grassland especially in the western part. Along the piedmont and eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera, flanking the Pampa and Patagonia to the west, is a broken forest belt (pl. 4, *bottom, left and right*), constituting an extension of the Antarctic flora with its beeches and other characteristic trees and shrubs. (For fuller details on environment, cf.: Jones, 1930; Jones, 1942.)

Of the land fauna, the most important from the native standpoint were the guanaco (*Lama glama guanicoe*: Cabrera and Yepes, 1940,

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

114 tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

131 The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rio Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is 133 an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless [134] herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

101 The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yamenaecanna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Aboniczeka, or Tchenek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Pouck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.

3: Lothrop E-4,5 (1924-1925) 1928

SH4 Ona SH4

Tehuelche SH5

[facing P. 24]

T
O
102
101
131

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Río Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche SHS
Patagonia SH 1

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The section of the Pampa which here interests us (map 1, *Nos. 1D, 1E, 1F;* map 2) extends about 600 miles (960 km.) north to south from about a line between Córdoba and the mouth of the La Plata to a line between the Río Colorado and the Río Negro (pl. 3, *bottom, right;* pl. 4, *top, left*), where Patagonia begins, and thence stretches about 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from north to south to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the mainland. The Pampa is a low-lying plain, nowhere over 1,000 feet (305 m.) above sea level, except for the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana in southern Buenos Aires Province. Apart from the low coastal belt, Patagonia is mostly a broken tableland, one to five thousand feet above sea level (pls. 1 and 2).

Average temperatures at Buenos Aires, near the northeastern limit of the Pampa, are 48.9° F. in July, the coldest month, and 73.6° in January, the warmest month; at Choele-Choel, near the border line between the Pampa and Patagonia, 45.1° and 73.4°; at Santa Cruz, in far southern Patagonia, 35.2° and 50.6° (cf. New York City, 30.6° in January and 73.5° in July). The Pampa is marked by frequent steady-blowing high winds; Patagonia, by still more frequent blustery *violent winds from the west and southwest.*

The eastern, or Humid Pampa, is, or was, treeless grassland (pl. 3, *top, right,* and *bottom, left;* pl. 4, *top, right*); the western or Dry Pampa (pl. 3, *top, left*), xerophytic scrub-tree and bush land; most of Patagonia has cover largely like that of the Dry Pampa, but considerable grassland especially in the western part. Along the piedmont and eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera flanking the Pampa and Patagonia to the west, is a broken forest belt (pl. 4, *bottom, left* and *right*), constituting an extension of the Antarctic flora with its beeches and other characteristic trees and shrubs. (For fuller details on environment, cf.: Jones, 1930; James, 1942.)

Of the land fauna, the most important from the native standpoint were the guanaco (*Lama glama guanicoe:* Cabrera and Yepes, 1940,

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'Is not the wild life the best?' But English readers, who have derived their idea of a Pampa from Head's delightful work, or from other experiences of the unlimited grassy or thistle-covered plains which roll away for miles in the Argentine States, and offer no obstruction to the stretching gallop of the untiring gaucho, must not transfer that pleasing picture to Patagonia. The Pampas, properly so called, of Patagonia, occasionally indeed present a tolerably even and uniform succession of rolling plains covered with coarse grass, but more frequently the surface, even when unbroken by hills and suddenly yawning ravines, is sterile, with a sparse vegetation, consisting of stunted bushes and round thistle clumps; and even these are often wanting, and nothing clothes the bare patches of clay or gravel; elsewhere it is strewn with huge round boulders, and again rugged with confused heaps or ridges of bare sharp-edged rocks, many of them of volcanic origin: this more particularly applying to the northern part of the country. The only uniformity of appearance is afforded in the winter, when the white sheet of snow covers rocks, grass, and shingle; but one accompaniment is the same, whatever be the nature of the soil or surface; and the word Pampa invariably recalls to one's shuddering memory the cutting blasts which sweep almost without intermission from various points, but chiefly from the west, over the high country, till, reaching the heated atmosphere of Buenos Ayres, the cold Patagonian wind becomes the Pampero, the sudden and terrific blasts of which cause so many disasters among the shipping. The descent from these Pampas to the valleys, or more sheltered and fertile level ground bordering the banks of the streams and rivers, is commonly termed 'Barranca,' or bank, from the scarped slopes, varying in depth from fifty to two or three feet, and in angle from an easy to an almost perpendicular descent, but often fissured by ravines or gullies, affording roads, down all of which, however, the native riders gallop with equal recklessness.

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but, as is often the custom, left the slain animals concealed in bushes, with a poncho or something over them. During the interval of our absence severe weather set in, and on returning to examine our *caches* the foxes and birds of prey had accounted for the meat. The foxes are a great trouble to the hunters, as, frequently, whilst they are encircling the herds of guanaco, and taking the greatest care to keep out of sight, one of these brutes will jump up, the dogs give chase, and then good-bye to all chance of sport. Fitzroy remarked the number of guanaco bones found in his ascent of the river Santa Cruz, which appear to have puzzled him, but the cause is not far to seek. During the very severe winters which occur I believe about once in three years, these animals, finding no pasture on the high lands, which are covered with snow, are necessarily driven down to the plains fringing the river, where they die from starvation. There is also a disease prevalent amongst them something similar to scab in sheep. On one occasion a hunting party killed ten guanacos, all of which were scabby, or, as we called it, 'sanoso;' and, consequently, unfit for food. Mr. Clarke told me that after one severe winter he found ostriches lying in heaps, dead under the bushes, and also guanacos. The difficulty of getting the horses across the swift and deep stream, with its banks encumbered by ice, prevented us from making frequent excursions to the northern side of the river. A level plain extends from the banks for about a mile, bounded by a chain of irregular hills; near the foot of these I picked up many specimens of a spiral shell, apparently a Turritella, which appeared to have been vitrified; and some were as translucent as glass, and of different colours. Beyond these hills rolled a succession of uneven plains diversified by ridges and hills; the general slope of the ground being apparently from west to east, and the hills towards the west often assumed the form of abrupt lofty cliffs. Near a laguna at the foot of a cliff a hundred feet high I found boulders incrusted with sulphate of iron, such as had been

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with us towards the boat, following the river bank, which was strewn in many places with cornelians and flint-agates, and occasionally with fossilised shells. On our arrival at the boat we launched her down the beach, and as the wind had by this time risen to a severe gale and the tide was rapidly ebbing, watched anxiously for the return of the two defaulters; for the navigation of the river is at no time very easy, and when the tide is low, even in daylight, nearly impracticable. At length, after dark, when the squalls of bitterly-cold wind had become very violent, we saw fires in the distance, and almost half an hour afterwards our missing men appeared, each with a load of meat on his shoulders. They arrived considerably exhausted, so we gave them a rest, and then dogs and all got into the boat, and we shoved off, Mr. Clarke steering. We proceeded all right for a few yards, and then struck on a bank; after several ineffectual efforts to shove the boat off, we all jumped into the water and fairly hove her over the bank until the water was up nearly to our shoulders, and then got in and pulled across. Owing to the violence of the wind and the strength of the current, we only succeeded in landing fully three-quarters of a mile from the house; here we secured the boat, and ran up as fast as we could to get our now frozen clothes off and a drink of hot coffee. We all agreed that on another expedition it would be advisable either to encamp on the northern shore until daylight, or come back early enough to be able to get across while it was possible to see the banks. But the general conclusion was not to go again at all.

132 The weather in July was intensely cold, the lowest reading of the thermometer, which was duly examined every morning, being 8°. Washing our clothes became impossible, as during the process the water froze and the garments became stiff as boards. When crossing the ford, if the potro boots of the rider happened, as was not unfrequently the case, to get filled with water, in a few minutes not only were the boots coated with ice, but the inside resembled an ice-pail.

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The effect of the river ice piled up on the shore by the tides was very striking. Huge floes had accumulated to the height of fifteen feet and upwards, and besides rendering the passage difficult, had buried the carefully-stacked wood-pile under a small mountain of ice. This was in the comparatively sheltered valley. On the Pampas, when the fierce south wind blew, as it almost invariably did, it seemed impossible to face it and live. One attempt made nearly resulted in Gonzalez being overcome by the sleep which is the forerunner of death, and the horses of all the party absolutely could not advance. The snow lay eighteen inches deep, and we had flattered ourselves that the guanaco and ostrich would prove an easy prey. *They* could not run—but *we* could not chase, and were thankful to make our way, slowly and laboriously, down from the desolate and storm-swept Pampas.

The Indians from the Rio Chico occasionally visited us, and Orkeke's objection to my company was gradually giving way. He had probably feared that an English Señor would require a considerable amount of attention, and give constant trouble; but during our intercourse he found that the stranger could (and did) groom his own horse, and wait on himself generally, as well as take his part in whatever was being done, even to sleeping out with no shelter but the ample guanaco mantle. Casimiro also, according to promise, visited the camp, and argued in my favour, finally obtaining from the chief a somewhat reluctant permission for me to join his party. Towards the end of July some of his Indians had come to the settlement to inform us that the scarcity of game in their vicinity had compelled them to shift their quarters to a place higher up the Rio Chico. They anxiously inquired if the schooner had arrived; we were as eagerly looking for her, but day after day passed, and the looked-for boat did not appear.

On the 24th of July everybody had gone hunting, except Juan Chileno (who was cook for the week), and myself, whom a hurt received in my foot had compelled to remain

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routine of hunting, as we made our way slowly up the valley of the Rio Chico, which was still frozen over. The weather was cold, and occasional showers of snow accompanied the strong piercing westerly winds which blew every day. The valley sometimes opened out into wide grass-covered plains, dotted with incense-bushes, then rose again in huge bare ridge and furrow-like undulations. Occasionally there occurred patches of swampy ground with frozen lagoons, and here and there open springs, the resort of numerous waterfowl. The hills on the northern side appeared bare and rugged, rising abruptly out of irregular forms, while the southern heights were lower, and presented more of the steep declivities known as barrancas, interrupted at intervals by high rugged hills of basalt, often assuming the appearance of ruined castles, closing in at the bends of the winding river. To one of these—a remarkable hill under which we were encamped on August 28, about 120 miles from Santa Cruz—I gave the name of Sierra Ventana, from a window-like opening through its peak; the Indians called it Mówaish. (See Illustration.) In many places the bases of these hills were formed entirely of a description of lava, and one of the Chilians informed me that whilst passing over a ridge, he had observed [illegible] of pure iron: this, however, I was inclined to disbelieve, as although farther up the country iron ore exists in large quantities, I only observed in this part a species of ore similar to that common at Drobak, in Norway.

On one occasion, while marching, we observed smoke in our rear, which was thought to be caused either by a messenger in search of us announcing the arrival of the schooner, or else by a party of the Southern Indians who had some idea of marching north. However, no scout was sent back to discover the truth, so we remained in ignorance. On the 26th we halted, and encamped by the side of the river in a broad opening of the valley; here there was a lagoon, not completely frozen, in which grew a description of flag, of

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heavily up; and shortly about twenty or thirty more spread 224
their huge wings, sailed away, and perched on a neighbour-
ing rock. As for the guanaco in the short half hour of my
absence it had been literally to n to pieces; so, after extract-
ing and eating the marrow-bo es, we returned to camp, on
our way capturing two armadil os. During the past day or 132 ●
two the temperature had consid rably risen; the wind, though
westerly, was mild and genial, nd the Indians affirmed that
farther north it would be so arm that I should require
some covering for the head. We found on our return that 000
Arica during our absence had one off somewhere on foot.
As he had that morning asked and obtained some tobacco
from me, it seemed probable hat he had determined to
attempt to make his way alone o reach civilisation at some
point or other. During our tay in this valley Casimiro 202
requested me to write a letter r him to the commandante
at the Rio Negro, inquiring wh ther the Argentine Govern-
ment still allowed him his rati and pay as a lieut.-colonel
in their service. I also wrote some letters to my friends,
but without much hope of the r being 'mailed;' though
Casimiro assured me that whe we joined the Northern
Indians they would forward the n to the Araucanos, whence
they might go on by the people w o went to Rio Negro to fetch
[illegible]; remote, however, as were
all these contingencies, still it was a pleasure to write. We 133
quitted the valley after three days' rest, during which Arica
had not appeared, and he was concluded either to have fallen
a prey to a puma, or to have gone off on his own account. We
journeyed all day over a rough hilly country, encumbered with
large stones and occasional patches of scrub of considerable
height; ostriches abounded, and large quantities of eggs
were found. During a long march of about thirty miles no
water was seen until we reached the camp at sunset, situated
in a cañon; but along the route an occasional patch of snow
sufficed to quench our thirst. As I rode along in company 521
with an Indian named 'Tchang,' he began asking me ques-

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started to hunt, but came back shortly almost empty-handed, fairly beaten by the driving sleet and snow. During our stay most of us had refitted all our gear, and were well provided with bolas; many were the necks of guanaco stripped to obtain the hide for them, and for making 'manéos' (straps for securing horses' legs), whips, cinctas (girths), lazos, &c., &c. The work that I preferred was plaiting ostrich sinews for thongs for the ostrich bolas. The ostrich sinews are abstracted by dislocating the lower joint of the leg, the first sinew is then pulled out by hand, and the other drawn out by main force, using the leg bone as a handle. This bone is then separated from the foot, and the sinews left adhering to the foot; they are slightly dried in the sun, after which the extracted bone is used to separate the fibres by drawing it sharply up the sinews. When sufficiently separated, they are cut off from the foot, split into equal sizes and lengths, and laid in a moist place to soften; when sufficiently soft, they are made into thongs, cooked brains being used to make them more pliable, and lie better in the plaits. These thongs are plaited in four plaits (round sinnet) well known to every sailor, but the ends are doubled in a peculiar manner, which requires practice to manage well. Before leaving Chiriq another disturbance was nearly taking place, caused by one of the Chilians quitting Tchang's toldo and joining that of a man commonly called Santa Cruz, an Indian well known at Patagones, and allowed a ration of mares from the Government. Tchang, immediately on hearing of his departure, put on his revolver and collared the Chilian's horse. To this Santa Cruz objected, but Tchang kept the horse, and, revolver in hand, defied anybody's claim to it. After this little incident the camp was broken up, and the two parties divided—Hinchel marching S.W. and our party to the N.W.

After a very cold and hungry march in the face of a bitterly piercing wind, we encamped on the shores of a lagoon of some extent, called 'Hosbelkaik,' which signifies 'Windy-

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hill,' and certainly is worthy of its name; for during our stay 132
a succession of S.W. winds blew with great violence. After
our arrival a small boy cut his finger, and, according to 752
custom, a mare was killed. Some of the meat sent to our
toldo was thankfully received, as we were all half starved.
Having strolled through the camp and visited Cayuke's toldo, 800
I found that Casimiro had not arrived, having started, to my
great disgust, with the party travelling to the S.W., and
taken with him a specially good horse, which he had given
me in exchange for a revolver. I was, however, glad to find
that Jackechan, the Pampa chief, was there, and we had a
confabulation and smoke together. On the 23rd, the pre- 224
vious day having been too rough, the Indians started to
hunt the enclosing grassy basin before mentioned as existing
at the foot of the mountains. Immense herds of guanaco
were driven down, and being encircled by men and fires the
sport soon commenced. The Tehuelches had for some reasons
set light to the grass in every available part, and the wind
rising to a furious gale, the fires soon spread and joined in an
advancing line. Jackechan, myself, and several other Indians
were in the centre of the circle, each employed in skinning
the guanaco we had already killed, when suddenly we found
that we were encircled in flame and smoke, and that if we did
not want to be well scorched we had better look out for means
of exit. Leaving our game, we galloped at the spot where
the smoke appeared thinnest, but after riding three or four
minutes with our faces covered up, found an impassable
barrier of flame; so, half-maddened with the hot sand dashed
in our eyes by the gale, and nearly suffocated with smoke, we
galloped down the line of flame to a spot where, the grass
being stunted, we managed to get through without injury,
although our horses' legs were singed a little. We were very
thankful to breathe pure air, though the atmosphere was still
thick with smoke, and nothing could be distinguished of
valley or anything else. Jackechan, with unerring Indian
instinct, led the way to a stream of water, where we were

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able to drink and wash some of the hot sand out of our eyes. After a quarter of an hour's rest and a smoke, as the flames had passed on, we determined to ride back over the still smoking ground, and endeavour to discover the bodies of our guanaco. We accordingly emerged from the hollow where we had sheltered ourselves, and once more plunged into the thick of the driving smoke and heated sand: holding our mantles over our eyes, we penetrated the murky atmosphere till Jackechan discovered two of his animals; but as they were both roasted, or rather burned, and ourselves and horses were nearly suffocated, we beat a hasty retreat. I was very thankful when at length, ascending a steep declivity, we emerged at the top into the pure air. 'Ah!' said Jackechan, looking down on the plains still full of smoke, 'it has been a rough time, but "we are men, not women," though we were fools to remain to the last.' I fully agreed with him in this, as my eyes still smarted very painfully. How he found his way through the smoke was perfectly inexplicable to me: if I had been alone, my travels would have been concluded then and there. Towards the evening of this eventful day the wind abated in violence, and during the night snow fell, and all the ensuing day there were passing squalls of white water or snow, and furious blasts of wind. About this time I came to the conclusion that summer was unknown in these regions, and that the Patagonian year consisted of two seasons—a hard winter and a bad spring. The Indians, however, declared that the climate had grown colder during the last two years. On the 28th of November we broke up camp and marched to a valley situated under one spur of the wooded hills, previously mentioned as bounding the northern side of the valley—killing some young guanaco by the way. I was astonished on galloping up to two, to find they did not run away at first, although their mothers had already gone, and taken up a position on a rocky eminence some distance off. Whilst watching them, however, and meditating on the necessity and cruelty of killing them, the two little things

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feet in height, when we looked down on a broad plain in the form of a triangle, bounded by the river flowing through the ravine on the north side, and on the southern by another coming from the south, which two streams united in one large river at the western apex, at a distance of about perhaps a league. Above and around, on all sides excepting to the west and the ravines through which the rivers flowed, rose the unbroken wall of the lofty mountains of the Cordillera, many of their peaks snow-clad. No sound was to be heard except the rushing of the river in the ravine, and no animal life to be seen except a condor or two floating high above us in the clear sky. The scene was sublime, and I viewed it in silence for some minutes, till the pipe, being handed to me, dispelled all nascent poetic tendencies. The Indians remained silent and looked disgusted, as a herd of cattle had been expected to be viewed on the plain below. We descended to the flats, and crossed the river, on the banks of which 'Paja' or Pampa-grass grew in abundance, as well as the bamboo-like canes from which Araucanian Indians make their lance shafts, and a plant called by the Chilians 'Talka,' the stalk of which, resembling rhubarb, is refreshing and juicy. On the northern edges and slope of the ravine behind us towered graceful pines sixty feet high, which, though an impassable barrier of rock prevented close inspection, appeared to be a species of Araucaria; the bark was imbricated and the stems rose bare of branches for two-thirds of their height, like those figured by M. Gay. Many had been carried down by landslips, and lay tossed and entangled on the sides of the ravine. The increase of temperature after passing the watershed was sensibly great, amounting to from seven to ten degrees, and the vegetation far more luxuriant, the plants presenting many new forms unknown at the eastern side. After leaving the plain and crossing the shallow stream, we left our mantles, and girthed up near a tree in a thicket festooned with a beautiful creeper, having a bell-shaped flower of violet radiated with brown. The

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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting
in the surrounding country (where horses abounded), we ob-
served a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate
leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to
about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were
bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter,
reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific,
being administered to the invalids with great success. In
133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended
on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swell-
ing eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly
overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a
calling was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself
being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner,
determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the
quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been desti-
tute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but
to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
[36] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the
supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.

132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather
had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much
lighter: indeed whilst in Teick some warm days were ex-
perienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously de-
scribed as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in
abundance, and was collected by the women and children.

[36] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the
neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but
the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being
so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel
pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling
that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

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had been further diminished by several deaths. One of this day's victims to the epidemic being Algo, Tankelow's youngest daughter, the father was in great distress and anger, as he attributed the death not to the distemper, but to witchcraft. /65 [76]

The warm and tolerably fine weather experienced since our departure from Telck had been succeeded by a heavy, murky, still atmosphere, and the clouded sky promised a downfall of rain, which speedily came. The next day more children and the old deaf and dumb woman died; over her little moan was made, but the lamentations over the children were terrible to hear, and on all sides mares were slaughtered. The abundance of meat, and the general confusion, combined with the rain to defeat Cazimiro's anxious desire to proceed. The accumulation of miseries had rendered all the Indians gloomy and ill-humoured; and since our departure from Geylum we had had ample experience of the wretched side of Pampa life. /32 /65 /52

This district is always dreaded by the Indians, who assert that they invariably are attacked by a similar sickness when in it, notwithstanding that some considered it to have been occasioned by poison or deleterious drugs administered by our late neighbours. The marches had therefore been forced and prolonged, and the increased fatigue had doubtless aided the distemper in its fatal effects. Nearly half the children and several of the elder people died during our progress to Margenaho, and the utter misery and discomfort cannot be described. The rain had continually drenched us; the women, distracted with their endeavours to soothe the sick children, and their grief over the dead, could not attend to their domestic duties; our mantles were unmended, and proved but a poor shelter from the rain, no small misery in this climate, and the arrangements of the toldos were utterly devoid of their customary care and comfort. The usual good temper and cheerfulness of all had fled, and grief, sickness, and angry suspicion cast a gloom over every countenance, /64 /65 /52

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One misery, starvation, had certainly been avoided by the abundance of horse-flesh, but it can easily be imagined that we could have borne hunger better. We had endured cold, and hunger, and fatigue, as well as danger, before, but nothing has left so indelible an impression of a thoroughly bad time as that march from Geylum to Margenaho.

At last Casimiro issued orders to march, and with two or three more of us started in advance. While waiting under the shelter of a mass of rocks for the remainder to overtake us, I fell asleep, and on waking up found the rain pouring down in torrents, and the chief just directing Mefia to return and see what the women were about. Our page arrived a little later to say that the Indians had refused to march, the occupants of our toldo alone being on their way to join us: these soon appeared, so we proceeded in the storm, having agreed that to return, after having once started, would be an ignominious proceeding.

We followed for some distance the valley, or rather the plain, into which it had opened out, and then ascended some abrupt rocky heights at its eastern extremity; crossing these hills, in the valleys or ravines of which incense bushes grew almost like a forest, we halted for a time by the side of a rivulet flowing from a spring on the hill side.

After kindling a fire to warm our bodies, wet as we were and chilled by the wind, which, originally west, now blew from the south with cutting violence, the sight of numerous guanaco on the heights above determined us to encircle a herd; we accordingly mounted the heights, and having completely failed in our attempt, descended to the other side. A large lagoon lay at our feet, and away to the east a succession of plains extended to the encampment called Margenaho.

These plains were bounded for a short distance on the north side by a range of hills, which came to an abrupt termination at the end of the lagoon, on the south side by another range gradually sloping to the eastward, and on the

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western side by the rocky heights we were descending. The [53]
view would have been enjoyable on a fine day, but in such a Patagonian tempest of rain and wind, landscapes were by no means appreciated. Near the lagoon was another herd of guanaco, some three thousand strong, who tempted us to a vain endeavour to encircle them, but they descried us before we could approach within a mile, and were soon lost to sight on the plains leading towards Margensho. Whilst riding down the edge of the hills Casimiro pointed out some [57]
thyme, a little of which we gathered to flavour our soup with in the evening. We then descended, and sheltered under the overhanging bank of a dry watercourse leading to the lagoon. The women and remainder of the cavalcade shortly arrived, and loading my page with firewood, to his intense disgust and the extreme delight of every one else, we proceeded a little farther to the south, where the pasture was good, and established ourselves for the night.

The following morning early we all started to hunt, and [32]
were more successful than on the previous day, though the wind was blowing a fearful gale from the S.W., with occasional storms of sleet. Towards the afternoon, by which time, having finished our hunting, we were snug enough under the toldo, it rained hard, and with the rain the Indians commenced to arrive, till before dusk a town of toldos occupied the borders of the hills.

Casimiro this evening sent for volunteers to go in with [49]
me as messengers or chasquis to Patagones, on our arrival at Margensho, now but one march distant. But of those previously so desirous to go on, not one appeared, nor would any one Indian consent to lend his horses for so long a journey. The chieftain was sadly put out, and cursed the casiquillos all round. He then tried to dissuade me from going myself, saying that it was a great distance, that the desert or travesia was a fearful place, that I should probably lose my horses, that many people had starved, at the same time wishing me to lend my horses to some other Indian.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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The climate is severe. The Rio Negro forms the northern boundary, and nearly the whole country is south of the parallel of 40° south latitude. At the time of my capture, which was in the month of May, the weather corresponded to that of November in the New England States. Its chilliness, however, was greatly increased by the bleak winds of that exposed locality. Along the Straits of Magellan the weather is also exceedingly changeable. Sudden and severe squalls, often amounting almost to a hurricane, vex the navigation of the straits, and sweep over the coast with fearful fury.

The habits of the Patagonians, or at least of the tribe among whom I was cast, are migratory, wandering over the country in quest of game, or as their caprice may prompt them. They subsist altogether on the flesh of animals and birds. The guanaco furnishes most of their food, and all their clothing. A mantle of skins, sewed with the sinews of the animals, hung loosely down the back and extending below the knee, is their only article of dress, except in the coldest weather, when a kind of shoe, made of the hind hoof and a portion of the skin above it, serves to protect their inferior extremities.

In person they are large; on first sight, they appear absolutely gigantic. They are taller than any other race I have seen, though it is impossible to give any accurate description. The only standard of measurement I had was my own height, which is about five feet ten inches. I could stand very easily under the arms of many of them, and all the men were at least a head taller than myself. Their average height, I should think, is nearly six and a half feet, and there were specimens that could have been

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds; both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

139 142 The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall, their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[illegible] 143 Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not inter-
[illegible] day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others
[illegible] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

[illegible] The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six
[illegible] feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and those only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[illegible]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Patagonia SH1

THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN HUNTERS

By John M. Cooper

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The section of the Pampa which here interests us (map 1, *Nos. 1D, 1E, 1F;* map 2) extends about 600 miles (960 km.) north to south from about a line between Córdoba and the mouth of the La Plata to a line between the Río Colorado and the Río Negro (pl. 3, *bottom, right;* pl. 4, *top, left*), where Patagonia begins, and thence stretches about 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from north to south to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the mainland. The Pampa is a low-lying plain, nowhere over 1,000 feet (305 m.) above sea level, except for the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana in southern Buenos Aires Province. Apart from the low coastal belt, Patagonia is mostly a broken tableland, one to five thousand feet above sea level (pls. 1 and 2).

Average temperatures at Buenos Aires, near the northeastern limit of the Pampa, are 48.9° F. in July, the coldest month, and 73.6° in January, the warmest month; at Choele-Choel, near the border line between the Pampa and Patagonia, 45.1° and 75.4°; at Santa Cruz, in far southern Patagonia, 35.2° and 58.6° (cf. New York City, 30.6° in January and 73.5° in July). The Pampa is marked by frequent steady-blowing high winds; Patagonia, by still more frequent blustery violent winds from the west and southwest.

The eastern, or Humid Pampa, is, or was, treeless grassland (pl. 3, *top, right,* and *bottom, left;* pl. 4, *top, right*); the western or Dry Pampa (pl. 3, *top, left*), xerophytic scrub-tree and bush land; most of Patagonia has cover largely like that of the Dry Pampa, but considerable grassland especially in the western part. Along the piedmont and eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera flanking the Pampa and Patagonia to the west, is a broken forest belt (pl. 4, *bottom, left* and *right*), constituting an extension of the Antarctic flora with its beeches and other characteristic trees and shrubs. (For fuller details on environment, cf.: Jones, 1930; James, 1942.)

Of the land fauna, the most important from the native standpoint were the guanaco (*Lama glama guanicoe:* Cabrera and Yepes, 1940,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870;1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

at length, a favourable opportunity seemed to have arrived for carrying out the cherished scheme of traversing the country from Punta Arena to the Rio Negro, Valdivia, or even to Buenos Ayres. The accounts given me of the Tehuelche character and of the glorious excitement of the chase after the guanaco, graphically described by a seaman, Sam Bonner, who had been much on the coast and had resided at the Santa Cruz station, made me more than ever anxious to prosecute this plan; and, having a tolerable acquaintance with Spanish, which language many of the Indians know well, it seemed to me possible to safely traverse the country in company with some one or other of their wandering parties. Accordingly I bestirred myself to obtain information as to the best way of getting such an introduction to the Indians as would probably secure their consent; to which end most material assistance was afforded by Mr. Dean, of Stanley, who kindly provided me with letters of introduction to Captain Luiz Piedra Buena, an intelligent Argentine well known in Stanley, the owner of a schooner, in which he worked the seal fisheries on the coast, and also of a trading station at the Middle Island, on the Santa Cruz river. Mr. Dean was of opinion that I should be almost certain to meet with Don Luiz in the Straits of Magellan, and that he would willingly exert his influence with the Indians to enable me to carry out my plan of travel. I was furthermore provided with letters of credit to the firm of Messrs. Aguirre and Murga, at Patagones, or, as it is most commonly called at Stanley, the Rio Negro.

Thus armed with credentials, and equipped with a guanaco skin mantle, lazo and bolas, I availed myself of the offer of a passage to the Straits made by an old friend who was bound to the westward coast.

●133 In the first week of April we sailed from Stanley, and, after a boisterous passage of eleven days, anchored in Possession Bay, just within the entrance of the Straits, to wait for the turn of the tide, as the extreme velocity with which the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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tides ebb and flow through these channels renders it im- 133
possible for any vessel not possessed of great steam-power to proceed except the tide is favourable. Our first view of the Straits did not impress me favourably. On either hand the shores looked bleak and barren, though far away to the south and west the mountains of Tierra del Fuego could be distinctly seen. As we anchored early in the afternoon, a descent on the coast of Patagonia was proposed, and a party speedily volunteered—well provided with guns and other arms, for the purposes of sport and self-defence in case of necessity—and were soon in the boat. As the tide was out, the shoal water did not permit us to reach the shore, so we had to wade some two or three hundred yards over beds of sharp-edged mussels, and, after a climb up the steep cliff, found ourselves on the verge of a barren plain which seemed perfectly destitute of life.

After a tramp of some distance we came to the edge of a 136
gully running down to the coast, where finding the torn carcase of a guanaco, we stopped to examine what was to most of us an unknown animal; and our speculations as to the curious hybrid form of the odd-looking 'camel-sheep' were put an end to by the discovery close by of the fresh foot-prints of a puma. These were eagerly tracked, in the hopes of a little entertainment; but after some tedious searching we abandoned the pursuit, and again resuming our excursion, tramped along through high, coarse grass, and sparsely scattered thorny bushes; some of the sportsmen varying the monotony by an occasional shot at a snipe. The day was very genial, the warmth of the bright sunshine was tempered by a wind just cool enough to make a walk pleasant, and the Patagonian climate was pronounced by all hands to be agreeable. Whilst we were beating a rough bit of ground, to our utter amazement and delight our friend the puma jumped out of a bush; but the first surprise was so great, that the opportunity of giving him a long shot was lost. Away we all started in chase, hoping to be able

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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136 to keep him in sight from a small adjacent eminence; and after a good breather two of the party succeeded in viewing him to somewhere near the edge of the cliffs, mainly guided by a retriever dog, which seemed as anxious as anybody to see what the catamount hide was made of. On arriving at the cliff, a seaman observed his tracks on the soft clay of the shelving brow, and soon proclaimed his discovery of the puma in a hole or small cave just below, by the exclamation of 'There he is!' at the same time thrusting the stick he had been beating with nearly into the mouth of the 'lion,' which had set our dog, and appeared about to spring on him. Two shots were fired in quick succession, but apparently without effect, as he made good his retreat, affording us a fine view as he went off, springing in great bounds, along the beach. Pursuit was of course organised, but night being near failed to afford us an opportunity of a closer study of this specimen of the feline race; and we accordingly started again for the ship, after firing a shot or two into the numerous flocks of oyster-catchers and shags which were domiciled on the rocks and about the cliffs. The number of these and other sea-birds was incalculable; the numerous beds of mussels furnishing them with constant food.

133 Next morning we were under weigh with the flood-tide, and rapidly ran through the narrows at a speed of eighteen miles an hour. The scenery on the northern side of the Straits offered little variety until we sighted the Barrancas of San Gregorio, a range of somewhat picturesque hills, rising near the north shore of the bay of the same name, and running along for some miles in an easterly direction. On the southern or Fuegian side of the Straits the land was low for some distance from the coast, and resembled the northern shore, but high mountains were visible in the background. After passing the second narrows, an hour or two's run with the flood-tide and a good head of steam brought us opposite to the 'Island of San Isabel,' or Elizabeth Island; after passing which, the snow clad peaks of Mount Sarmiento, in

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the southern part of Tierra del Fuego, came into sight, appearing to rise out of the water, ninety miles distant, if not more. Steaming along the coast through numerous beds of the characteristic kelp seaweed, which in the most forcible way attracted our attention, by fouling the screw, and holding the ship as if anchored for about an hour, we passed Cape Negro, and opened completely different scenery. Instead of undulating plains, hills thickly wooded were seen; at the foot of one of which, on a low piece of flat ground, numerous horsemen, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, were visible, careering about.

It was the afternoon of Sunday, which in all Spanish South American countries is a gala day, more or less appropriated to horse-racing. However, the sight of a steamer appeared to cause a diversion, and, in fact, a general race to the settlement ensued, all being apparently anxious for anything new or strange. The anchor was soon dropped, near an American schooner lying off the Sandy Point, from which the Chilian settlement of Punta Arenas derives its name.

There was no sign of the Nassau, then engaged in the survey of the Straits, which we had hoped to find in this anchorage; but from the Chilian officer, who speedily boarded us, we learned that she had sailed to the westward a day or two before our arrival, and was expected to return immediately. The results of the careful observations made by Mr. Cunningham, of the scenery and natural history of the Straits, have appeared while these pages were in preparation for the press; and it affords me pleasure to refer such as desire more scientific accounts of the botany and zoology, at least of Southern Patagonia, than it was in my power to obtain, to his work.

My own object in visiting Punta Arenas was to proceed thence to Santa Cruz with the Indians, or in whatever way might prove feasible; but, in truth, it was by no means clear to my mind how it was to be accomplished; it was, therefore,

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doubt provident and thoughtful 'she' had stored them. 122
Gallegos sat in his saddle and laughed at the scene; but as the others could not catch the horse, he gave us a proof of his dexterity with the lazo. After this little diversion we pursued our course along the beach as far as Cape Negro, where the forests terminated, and our accompanying friends bade us adieu after taking a parting glass all round; J'aria and the other absentee overtaking us in time for this part of the performance.

Our horses' heads were then turned from the coast in a 133
north-north-west direction, and after half an hour's ride a halt was called for breakfast under the lee of a sheltering hill. To the southward we viewed the counter slope of the wooded hills, below which on the other side lay Punta Arenas. A thick growth of shrubs covered the ground, but beautiful glades of luxuriant pasture were visible; one of which opened just to the south of our camping-place, and others appeared east and west like oases of green. Their appearance caused me to remark that as a settler I should choose this location for my hut. Gallegos, however, replied that the pastures could not be used for the cattle of the settlement during the summer, as neither the Indians nor their own men could be trusted; the latter would desert, and the former would steal the beasts. After a pipe we remounted, and having crossed the hill we descended to the valley of a small but deep stream, called the Rio Chanuco, having forded which we ascended the opposite border slope, and entered on the Pampa, which name is universally used in Patagonia to designate the high undulating plains or plateaux, frequently intersected by valleys and ravines, or rising into successive or isolated hills, which generally occupy the crest of the country. The Indians, indeed, who know a little Castilian, apply the word Pampa indiscriminately to any tract of country hunted over by them. After a successful day's sport, and the contentment consequent on a hearty meal, they will ask with great satisfaction, 'May buena Pampa? No?' really meaning

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133 'Is not the wild life the best?' But English readers, who have derived their idea of a Pampa from Head's delightful work, or from other experiences of the unlimited grassy or thistle-covered plains which roll away for miles in the Argentine States, and offer no obstruction to the stretching gallop of the untiring gaucho, must not transfer that pleasing picture to Patagonia. The Pampas, properly so called, of Patagonia, occasionally indeed present a tolerably even and uniform succession of rolling plains covered with coarse grass, but more frequently the surface, even when unbroken by hills and suddenly yawning ravines, is sterile, with a sparse vegetation, consisting of stunted bushes and round thistle clumps; and even these are often wanting, and nothing clothes the bare patches of clay or gravel; elsewhere it is strewn with huge round boulders, and again rugged with confused heaps or ridges of bare sharp-edged rocks, many of them of volcanic origin: this more particularly applying to the northern part of the country. The only uniformity
132 of appearance is afforded in the winter, when the white sheet of snow covers rocks, grass, and shingle; but one accompaniment is the same, whatever be the nature of the soil or surface; and the word Pampa invariably recalls to one's shuddering memory the cutting blasts which sweep almost without intermission from various points, but chiefly from the west, over the high country, till, reaching the heated atmosphere of Buenos Ayres, the cold Patagonian wind becomes the Pampero, the sudden and terrific blasts of which cause so many disasters among the shipping. The
133 descent from these Pampas to the valleys, or more sheltered and fertile level ground bordering the banks of the streams and rivers, is commonly termed 'Barranca,' or bank, from the scarped slopes, varying in depth from fifty to two or three feet, and in angle from an easy to an almost perpendicular descent, but often fissured by ravines or gullies, affording roads, down all of which, however, the native riders gallop with equal recklessness.

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The Pampa we were now traversing presented an expanse/33
of undulating or rolling plains covered with a uniform growth
of coarse grass interspersed with barberry bushes, and
occasional lagoons in the hollows. No living creatures
except ourselves appeared on the waste. To the westward
the snow-clad peaks of the mountains bordering the Sarmi-
ento Straits greeted us with an icy blast which made my
thoughts longingly revert to the cozy cabin and my late ship-
mates, who were, no doubt, threading the intricacies of its
channels. But the good guanaco mantle kept out the wind,
and our motley party pushed briskly on in good order.
Lieutenant Gallegos has been already introduced; as to the/22
others, J'aria was a small man, of rough exterior, of doubtful
extraction, and more than doubtful antecedents, who looked
fit for any business except good; but he served me most
assiduously and with unlooked-for care. The soldier was a
fine-looking fellow, new to the Pampas, whose carbine, which
he duly carried, proved a source of great embarrassment to
him; and his horse being by no means too manageable, he
was considerably bothered, much to the delight of the rest.
Two others were hybrids, between gauchos and sailors,
having, like our marines, been equally accustomed to service
per mare, per terrum; but, like the jollies, they were un-
mistakably useful and good men. The las of the party
was of the J'aria type. All were well mounted, and provided
with a spare horse. We carried for provisions biscuit,
charqui or dried meat, roasted wheat meal, and coffee and
sugar, and were furnished with an unusual but welcome
luxury, a small tent, underneath which we cared little for
the bitter frost outside.

After riding over the Pampas for three or four hours, we/34
encamped for the night in a hollow by the side of a lagoon,
having selected a suitable spot for pitching the tent on the
sheltered slope, well out of the sweep of the wind. The
lagoon was covered with black-necked swans and other wild/35
fowl; so, as soon as the horses had been unloaded and looked

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after, a fire lit, and all arrangements made for camping, two or three of us went out to try and shoot some wild fowl; but our sporting endeavours were not crowned with much success, and a little before dark we returned to a supper of charqui, and after a talk over the fire, turned in, and slept sound and warm, though outside the frost was severe. My mind was much disquieted, first by the discovery that the box of rifle ammunition which J'aria carried had been dropped by that worthy at the scene of the baggage horse escapade, and secondly, by the mysterious absence from my shot-belt of all my coin, consisting of an onza and a few sovereigns. I said nothing, however, until next morning, when I proceeded quietly to search, remembering that I had taken off my accoutrements before the tent was pitched, and dropped in the grass I found the missing coins. The story afforded J'aria a great theme for jokes, and he often adverted to the chance of inheriting my onza, in a way that might have made a timid traveller expect foul play, though nothing was farther from my guide's thoughts. At seven o'clock, after coffee and a biscuit, we were again *en route*, and about ten arrived close to the head of Peckett's Harbour. Here one of the party discovered a horse, which was chased into our troop, but as it appeared lame, was not pressed into our service; it had probably belonged to the Indians. As in a long voyage, so in a journey of this description, the slightest novelty serves to relieve what it is needless to say becomes the slightly monotonous task of trotting along behind the troop of horses over barren wastes, so we were always on the *qui vive* for something to chase. One of the men had a dog with him, and shortly after the excitement about the horse we started some ostriches, which, however, proved too swift for the cur, and escaped over some muddy plots close to the 133 'Caboceva del Mar.' This is a large inlet or arm of the sea, running up some miles from Peckett's Harbour, with which it communicates by a very narrow channel, which can only be crossed at low water; it was our good fortune to arrive at

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this period, thus escaping a long *détour* round the inlet. 133
But our crossing was not effected without trouble; the flood-tide rushing up like a mill-race, and proving almost too much for the steadiness of one of the baggage-horses. After clearing the channel, in our farther progress we passed several small streams with swampy ground, all of which probably discharge themselves into Oazy Harbour, and arrived towards evening at an old Indian encampment situated under a range of hills, running more or less north and south, forming one barrier of a broad and well-watered valley, bounded on the eastern side by the well-known 'Barrancas' of San Gregorio.

Our station was just within the opening of the valley, [361]
which, being sheltered from the wind, is the favourite winter quarters of the Southern Tehuelches, whose encampment is usually pitched near Oazy Harbour, called by them 'Oazy Saba.'

Westward the low flats which bordered the shores of the Cabecera del Mar terminated in irregular hills, beyond which higher peaks rose, and they in their turn were overlooked by distant snow-clad summits on the horizon. Among the blue
hills of the middle distance floated wreaths of light haze so much resembling smoke that Gallegos, ever on the alert for signs of the deserters, proposed to deviate from our route to investigate, and only my strongly pronounced opinion in favour of haze *versus* smoke induced him to give up the idea. The Argentine Government formerly planned a settlement in this valley, which was not carried out, and the missionaries also proposed to fix a station hereabouts, with Oazy Harbour as a depôt, but the Chilians of Punta Arena set up their claims and compelled the missionaries to desist.

After camp was arranged, the weather, which since our start had been bright with cold winds and moderate frosts at night, changed to rain, and Gallegos proposed to me that, in the event of its continuing bad, we should remain under the shelter of the tent. However, though the night was

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Quillota (parched corn meal and water), we resumed our route north. After leaving the lagoon, a scarcely perceptible slope ascended from the valley, and a more undulating course was traversed until we reached a small cañon, which after a gradual descent dipped down between walls a hundred feet high, sloping up at either hand, and finishing in a rounded summit leading to the high plain. 'Here,' said J'aria, 'there is no firing, and those *stupid* Indian women actually carry loads of it from the next stage.' But the event proved that the Indians were wiser than ourselves. Following this, we arrived at another cañon running at right angles, east and west, on one of the grass-covered sides of which we observed a couple of horses feeding in a hollow which looked more verdant than the rest of the ground, but the animals being caught and examined proved unsound and useless. In the bottom of the cañon there flowed a small but deep stream spreading into lagoons in places. We crossed this and encamped on the northern side, and found J'aria's words, as to no fuel to be found about this valley, verified, much to our discomfort. Towards evening we went out and shot some ducks, but having no fire to cook with, were content to turn in on meal and water. During the night the tent pole, having been first soaked with rain and then frozen, snapped in two, and down came the spread of wet canvas; and altogether we did not spend a very pleasant time.

Misfortunes never come single; at daylight no horses were to be seen, and we had to wait until near ten o'clock before they turned up. During this interval we burnt the tent pegs and some chips from the tent pole, and raised sufficient fire to make coffee. J'aria informed me that this cañon extends from the Cordillera to the sea, but runs in a tortuous manner, and we afterwards again struck either the main line or some cañon leading from it. Having scaled the precipitous banks, we headed towards a range of peaked hills, curiously resembling one another, and after passing down one or two more cañons, where we refreshed ourselves with the berries

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133 of a barberry (Berberis axifolia), called by the Chilians calafate, and also saw plenty of the red and white tea-berries, so common in the Falklands, we entered a wide plain or valley, at the farther end of which rose a peculiar pointed hill, one of a range that stretched away east and west, pierced by a pass. In the midst of it a huge square flat rock shone white in the sunlight, forming a striking object: it looked like a megalith, deposited by giants to cover the grave of some deceased hero. Others of less dimensions lay strewn here and there, giving somewhat of a graveyard aspect to the scene. As we advanced the ground was encumbered with rocks and scoriæ, lying in heaps in all directions, making it very difficult travelling for the horses, and on arriving at the hills themselves their appearance was decidedly volcanic. The whole immediate vicinity of this range of hills presented a peculiarly wild, blasted, and weird appearance; nevertheless ostriches and guanaco were observable in great quantities. My first thought on passing one hill, where, among the other fantastic forms into which the rocks had been tossed, was a natural corral, or circle of huge fragments, built with apparent regularity, but of superhuman dimensions, was, 'What a hell this must have been when the volcanoes were in an active state, belching out the streams of lava and showers of rock, and that perhaps at no distant period!' While at Santa Cruz, Casimiro told me of an active volcano situated at a distance and in a direction which would fix it as belonging to this range. Formerly its neighbourhood had been frequented by the Indians, as the guanaco resorted thither in great numbers during the winter; but the Indians' horses most of them had been poisoned by
133 drinking the water of a stream close to the range, and soon
731 after all the toldos were shaken down by an earthquake or the vibration of an explosion, and since then they had not ventured to go near the place. Casimiro and Gonzalez had, however, subsequently ascended the volcano, and had killed numbers of guanaco in the neighbourhood. It was also

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mentioned that when they were encamped on the Cuheyli, or 135
Coy Inlet River, tremendous volumes of thick black smoke, 731
rolling from the west, enveloped the Indians and terrified them exceedingly. No signs were afterwards found of burned pasture, and it was conjectured that the Canoe Indians of the Chonos Archipelago had fired the western forests, but it was much more likely to have been due to volcanic eruption. While trotting along the defile through these hills formed 133
by a chasm, with perpendicular walls of rock rising on each hand, as evenly scraped as the sides of a railway cutting, I observed several caves, which J'aria had a tradition the Indians formerly used as dwelling-places. This pass led into another valley still more rugged, and strewn with sharp angular fragments of rock, amongst which stunted shrubs began to appear; and lagoons, some of which were encrusted round the edges with saltpetre, and contained brackish water, might be seen at intervals. Towards evening we encamped by the side of a small lagoon of circular form with wall-like cliffs rising some 200 feet from its banks, and nearly surrounding it. I took a stroll, rifle in hand, whilst the men were getting firewood; and plenty guanaco were visible, but I only succeeded in wounding one, which escaped on three legs. Traces of pizna, in the shape of carrion, were also there, but Leon himself was hidden. So I returned empty-handed to the fire, where I found a cheerful supper of wild duck and guanaco meat just ready. The moon was beautiful, and the air just frosty enough to be bracing and exhilarating, so some of us staid smoking and spinning yarns until the small hours. The stories were chiefly of adventures on the Pampas. José narrated how, when in pursuit of a party of runaways in the depth of winter, when the snow lay thick on the ground, he and his comrade rode into a valley where countless guanaco had taken refuge from the storm in the upper heights, and stood huddled together, too benumbed by the cold to attempt to escape, and were slaughtered like oxen in the shambles. In

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On another hunt the party overtook the deserters, housed in the tolde of an Indian, and a fight ensued, ending in the death of one of the pursuers; the deserter who shot him was pistolled, and *J'aria* and *José* carried the dead body of their comrade on horseback to the settlement, sixty miles distant, proceeding without a halt all through the night, and accomplishing their ghastly journey by the next morning. *J'aria* related how he had been drifted in a launch among the ice in the Straits, and carried over to Tierra del Fuego, where they found rocks so magnetic that iron nails adhered to them. He further amused us by a short dissertation on his domestic arrangements; how, when his last wife died, he married a Chilote to be mother for his children and wife for him, and he always called her in conversation the 'Madre Mugar'—wife mother.

[133] [134] Next morning we started early, and varying our march with one or two races after foxes, which generally met their death in a very short time, and an engagement with a female puma, which one of the men despatched by a splendid revolver shot through the head, traversed some uneven Pampas, with occasional hills, and arrived at the descent of the valley of the Rio Gallegos, where the very remarkable bench formation, afterwards observed on a smaller or larger scale in other Patagonian rivers, first arrested my attention. To the west, some miles away, a high hill, apparently of basalt, the square summit of which, with seemingly regular walls and towers, mimicked the distant view of an extensive fortress, served as a landmark for the bench in the foreground, which formed a natural road, by which we reached the first or upper bench, a mile and a half in width; from this a deep or swamped slope of fifty feet and upwards descended to another terrace or plain of equal extent, and terminating in another hill, at the bottom of which lay the bed of the river; it is fordable in the summer months, I believe, in many places, but when we crossed the water about reached where one's saddle flaps would be if riding on

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an English saddle. After crossing the ford, a halt took place [133] ●
to smoke a pipe, whilst doing which we watched the gyrations of a large vulture of the condor species; he hovered [134]
for some time, and at length boldly settled on a point of rock about a hundred yards distant; as the soldier, whose carbine was always ready, took a shot, but missed, much to the grief of Gallegos, who asserts that the heart of the vulture is a good remedy for certain diseases. We then [135]
mounted, and riding about a mile halted for the night by a spring, gushing out of a ravine in the slope between the upper and lower benches, where the pasture was good, as Jemmy declared that water was scarce for some leagues further on. The horses arranged, José and myself proceeded to try and shoot a guanaco, but the plain was too open, so, after lighting up a bit of dry grass to inform any neighbouring Indians, we very foolishly indulged in a bathe in the river. The water was intensely cold, and the ill effects of this ill-timed indulgence were felt for a long time after. The soldier meanwhile was away on horseback, chasing a large herd, but he returned about dusk empty-handed. Next morning we started about nine o'clock, having been, as usual, delayed by the horses having strayed some distance. Ascending the slope, we crossed the higher bench, a barren, dreary waste, for about a league, until we came to a lagoon covered with upland grass, and lying just below what may be termed the barranca of the Upper Pampa. Halting here for a smoke and warm to dispel the effects of the intensely cold wind, we were about resuming our route to ascend the steep slope of the upper plains, when large columns of smoke, in answer to [202]
the signal fire we had left behind us, rose up to the sky in a N.E. direction. We waited on, and arriving at the summit of the ascent, looked eagerly round for signs of the fire, but nothing was visible. The plains lay before us apparently destitute of life, excepting a stray guanaco here and there. Jemmy then set light to a neighbouring bush, which gave out dense clouds of black smoke, and in a few minutes this was

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of women and laden horses; and this, combined with the want of landmarks on the Pampas and the confusing succession of hills closely resembling each other, renders it only too easy to lose the right direction. As examples of this, out of ten deserters of whom the party were in search, six were never more heard of. Our guide J'aria himself, when travelling from Santa Cruz to the colony, lost his way, and would inevitably have starved had he not fortunately been fallen in with by a party of Indians. Sam having agreed to come with our party, we bid adieu to the Indians, who, in return for their presents of meat, were gratified with a little tobacco, and rode off. Suddenly a fox started up from a neighbouring bush. The soldier gave chase, Sam shouted, 'Stop, I'll show you:' at the same time putting spurs to his horse, and cutting Reynard off, he put his hand to his waist-belt, drew out his bolas, gave them two turns round his head, and in another minute the fox was lying dead, with his ribs crushed completely in where the metal ball had struck him. Under the directions of our new guide, who rode ahead with me, we traversed a succession of high barren plains, sinking into frequent irregular hollows, without streams, but usually containing lagoons of salt or brackish water, until, about 4 P.M., we descended into the valley of Rio Cuheyli, or the river, which debouches at Coy Inlet. The beach formation, though noticeable, is not here so decidedly marked. For some time we pursued the trail in an orderly march; but an ostrich springing nearly under our horses' feet, and escaping over some marshy swamp, where horses could not follow, roused Sam's hunting propensities, and he proposed to myself, the soldier, and José to leave the path—which he said, with emphatic disdain, was good for women, not for men—and ride up the barrancas to see him bolt an ostrich; so having regained the Pampa, we formed into line, about two hundred yards apart, to drive a certain area of ground down to a point where there was a gentle slope to the valley, so as to meet the advancing cavalcade of

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the rest of our party. We saw nothing except one ostrich vanishing at great speed towards the valley at another point, and a pair of doves, which I remarked with interest; so we returned to the track, and as night was closing in, pushed on, wishing to cross the ford of the river and encamp on the other side. At seven o'clock, having reached a nice spring flowing from the barrancas, where there was firewood in profusion, Gallegos ordered a halt, although Sam wished to proceed, observing that the moon was so bright it was 'all the same as day.' We accordingly encamped for the night, after making a good supper off guanaco meat, which was a pleasant change after our previous charqui. The valley of the Coheyli slightly indicates the bench formation, though it does not present so distinctly marked terraces as those which border the Gallegos River; but the lowest or river plain, which is nearly two leagues wide in the neighbourhood of the ford, is of a more fertile character, the pasture being luxuriant and good. One or two of the springs—notably the one the water of which, contrary to our guide's advice and example, we drank—had a strong taste of iron, which caused all the party to suffer from internal derangement; and Sam stated that near our encampment there was a deposit of the black earth with which the Indians paint their bodies. Starting early, after a night of severe frost, we soon struck the ford. Our guide had vanished; but while rearranging the packs, we saw a volume of black smoke rising to the east, caused by Sam, who, having thus signalled his countrymen, rejoined us on the march across the slightly ascending plain. We then observed numerous Indians galloping in our direction, and crossing the stream at various parts, as J'aria remarked, quite regardless of fords. We halted, and were soon surrounded by about forty or more, most of them riding useful-looking horses barebacked. As they appeared very friendly, Gallegos gave them some biscuit and charqui; their chiefs—the head cacique being a nephew of Casimiro—forming them into a semicircle, in tolerably good order, to receive the present.

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tolerably good order, to receive the present. There were undoubtedly some very tall men amongst them, but what struck me particularly was their splendid development of chest and arms. Although the wind was very sharp, many of them had their mantles thrown back in a careless way, leaving their naked chests exposed to the air, and appeared not the least inconvenienced. They readily recognised me for an Englishman, coming and examining me closely, and asking for tobacco with a broad grin on their faces, exposing a wonderfully clean and regular set of teeth. My gratifying their importunate requests for tobacco made them very jealous, and for some time he bothered me with remarks such as 'Me very cold, no got poncho,' 'Me no got knife, me no got "pellon"' (saddle-cloth), until, finding it useless to beg, he relapsed into sullen silence. A smoke of the pipe, however, brought him back to his usual cheerful temper, and as we galloped along he chanted an Indian song, which consisted of the words 'Ah go lay loo, Ah go lay loo,' expressed in various keys.

After a ride of some leagues in a rather more open but still undulating country, a break in the Pampas was reached. Hills of irregular and picturesque outlines, with labyrinthine valleys or ravines, not running in parallel order, but communicating with each other, occupied an extensive district, and though travelling was considerably more difficult, yet the change in the aspect of nature was grateful after the barren monotony of the plains.

We halted in an Indian encampment, situated in a valley underneath a peaked hill called 'Otiii,' where there were pools of fresh and salt water in close proximity. Amongst the incense and thorn bushes, which grow at intervals in these regions, we passed to-day another description of shrub with a thick rough bark, which is readily detached, and leaves a long rattail-like sort of twig. From the Rio Gallegos the soil had become generally of a yellower colour than on the south side of that river, although in the valleys and hollows

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dark peaty earth was generally to be found, and the surface of the Pampas had assumed a more desolate appearance, being strewn with small pebbles, and studded with bushes—generally of a thorny species. Round clumps of prickly thistles—which burn like tinder on applying a lighted match—and a few stray tufts of withered grass, only made more desolate the hungry barrenness of the deserts, over which the wind blew with cutting violence, yet they are the home of large herds of guanacos, ostriches, pumas, and armadillo, though the latter were at this period comfortably hybernating.

Next morning no horses were visible, and as time went on till ten o'clock without any appearance we all began to suspect Indian treachery. Sam volunteered the remark that if they (the Indians) had played us such a trick, he would go and clear all their animals out the following evening. This threat there was fortunately no occasion for him to put into execution, as the troop proved only to have strayed into another valley. As we were now nearing Santa Cruz, which the last of the Indians were just leaving, having completed their trade and finished all the grog, we saw numerous columns of smoke, caused by their hunting parties. After passing the broken ground and reaching the high Pampa, Sam and myself rode on ahead, amusing ourselves by fruitlessly chasing guanaco or ostrich, but Sam's dexterity with the bolas was frustrated by his being mounted on a horse belonging to the expedition and unused to this work. Towards evening, after again passing numerous salt lagoons, we came to a descent of 300 or 400 feet leading to a valley containing a large saline, and halting, made our fire by the side of a spring, near which, Sam informed me, were the graves of two Indians, which he mentioned with the deepest respect and in an awe-stricken undertone.

Our signal smoke, which was as much to attract Indians as to give the direction of our route to Gallegos and J'aris, was soon responded to from the opposite hills on the northern

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[57 (55)] their company this evening was 'Pedro el Platero,' mentioned in Mr. Gardener's mission book; also an old squaw rejoicing in the name of 'La Reina Victoria' (Queen Victoria), who was the occasion of much chaff, my Chilian friends declaring I ought to salute the sovereign of the Pampas in due form; but having obtained a charge and a light for her pipe, all she required, she was soon lost sight of in the dark. We gladly left the camp early the ensuing morning, the cold continuing unabated; the wind blew strong in our faces, and though from the northward, was so keen that Sam and myself kept galloping on and kindling fires at intervals.

● 133 Thus we rode on over a tract of country surpassing in desolation all the districts hitherto traversed. As far as the eye could reach stretched a level waste unrelieved by even an eminence or hollow; the aspect of the low withered shrubs, coarse parched grass, and occasional patches of pebble-strewn ground which for thirty miles wearied the eye with dreary sameness, produced an extraordinary feeling of depression, which was afterwards recalled when journeying through the Travisia, bordering on the Rio Negro, which this district resembles, though on a smaller scale. Occasional frozen lagoons, doubtless supplied by rainfall, only added to the desert aspect of this trackless wilderness. The situation was not improved by Sam pulling up and remarking that he was by no means sure that he had not lost himself. The only variety was afforded by an unlucky fox which we chased till he escaped, as he thought, on the ice of a lagoon, but the treacherous surface gave way, and poor Reynard, after a vigorous struggle, sank out of reach of a lazo. At last, about two o'clock, the desert terminated in a cliff rising from the valley at our feet, and we looked down upon the winding river of the Santa Cruz.

Having waited till the rest came up, we descended by a gorge to the valley, when, after refreshing ourselves by a drink of water, we struck into a trail which followed the river downwards. We were all in high spirits at the prospect

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of a speedy and felicitous conclusion to our journey; and J'aria was continually questioned as to the distance of the settlement. His answer was invariably 'a league;' and we rode along vainly expecting every moment to see the place, rounding innumerable promontories or points where the barranca advanced into the valley. Each of these projecting cliffs, which stood like outposts of the Pampas, J'aria declared in succession to be the last, Sam all the while maintaining a dignified silence, until at length, at 7.30, when we had almost despaired of ever arriving, we came to the ford opposite the island of the settlement, and a barking of dogs saluted our ears. After Sam had hailed, an answer came back, that if we were going across that night we must look sharp, as the tide was flowing. We accordingly proceeded to cross at once, narrowly escaping having to swim our horses, which on a cold frosty night would have been anything but a pleasant business. 33

My ideas as to the size and extent of the settlement—and it must be confessed my visions of 'cheerer,' and even of wine, to put some warmth into my chilled frame—were sadly dispelled by the reality; the thriving, though small, town of my imagination being represented by one house, and all wine and liquor proving to have been exhausted. But this was fully made up for by discovering in Mr. Clarke—or, as the Indians called him, 'Clakalaka'—an old acquaintance, whom I had known some years previously in the Falklands. His utter surprise at the sudden appearance of one whom he thought far away may be imagined. But, to my great delight, he thoroughly approved of the proposed excursion. His cordial welcome and hot coffee soon cheered up our spirits, and when warmed and rested we discussed my plans. It appeared that the Indians had not reported wrong as to Don Luiz Buena's movements and the intentions of the northern party; but Mr. Clarke believed that the schooner was still detained in the river mouth waiting for a fair wind, and undertook to send off a messenger to communicate with him: my object

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and civilisation of the Indians. They resided for some time in 1868 at a spot near Weddell Bluff, about ten miles from the mouth of the river. To quote Mr. Sterling's description, the station[1] was at the mouth of the valley which 'retreats towards the south-west for a considerable distance inland; a stream of pure water flows perennially through it, and a broad belt of grass, offering fine pasture for cattle, gives a cheerful, fertile aspect to the low land; the hills on either side are intersected with ravines, or lift up their bronzed faces out of some intervening dale, and refresh the air with the aroma of shrubs and plants growing everywhere about them.'

This was written after a visit in the summer month of January, and the picture drawn presents the landscape in its fairest colours; very different from its bleak aspect as viewed by myself in the winter. This valley still bears the name of Los Misionarios, but this is the only existing trace of their settlement. Mr. Schmid, however, during his sojourn and journeys with a party of the Indians, compiled a vocabulary of the Tsoneca language, as spoken by the southern Tehuelches. Their plan for establishing trade at Santa Cruz, in order to secure the regular visits of the Indians, was not approved of by the managers of the mission, and they were obliged to abandon the scene of their praiseworthy but unsuccessful efforts—to instruct at least 'the little bright-faced Patagonian children,' of whom they speak in their journals with warm affection.

The counter attractions of rum supplied by a trader who visited the river were felt by Mr. Schmid to be very destructive of his influence, but it cannot be doubted that their store, if established, would have had no chance against any rival that supplied rum to his customers; for though there are many exceptions, the Indians too eagerly expend the spoils of their hunting and industry in liquor. Their wives, however, when they accompany them, take care to manage their business with discretion, and reserve sufficient stock

[1] [i.e. Santa Cruz trading station--Analyst]

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discovered smoke behind a clump of trees, and, to our great delight, there was our friend before a good fire, nicely sheltered from snow and wind, within an arbour neatly cut out of a bush. We adjourned to the fire and had breakfast; invigorated by which, and encouraged by a lull in the storm, we started off to renew the chase, but soon got separated by the thick snow-storm. Mr. Clarke, El Sourdo, Gonzalez, and myself, who were together, came close upon a herd of guanaco, making for the coast to escape the gale. The dogs gave chase and killed some, others were balled; in fact a regular slaughter took place, and eight or ten carcases were soon lying on the plain. Now came the tedious job of cutting up. I found myself standing alone by a dead guanaco, none of the others being visible, though not fifty yards distant. I proceeded as best I could to arrange the meat, and was about half through the task, with fingers nearly frozen, when I discovered Mr. Clarke and El Sourdo, and shortly after it cleared up, and the remainder of our party, all loaded with meat, arrived. Thus supplied, we turned our faces homewards, and arrived at Santa Cruz a little before sundown, where a steaming kettle of coffee soon dispelled our cold and put us into good spirits.

133 Mr. Darwin and Admiral Fitzroy have thoroughly described the configuration of the Valley of Santa Cruz and its surroundings, so that a lengthened attempt to portray it is not necessary. I would particularly refer the reader to the accurate and picturesque description by the former of the bench formation which causes the western part of the environs of the river to present the appearance of the shores of former successive estuaries—of a vast river or fiord.

Near the settlement the ascent of the Southern Barranca immediately leads to a level plain extending for the space of a couple of miles; then there is another rise of perhaps fifty feet, and another plain, which extends for about the space of a league to a range of successive ridges, which we called the Blue Hills from their peculiar appearance on clear days.

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These, eastwards, lose their elevations, and merge into the [133]
undulations of the high Pampa and a rolling cheerless
waste of stones, coarse grass, and incense bushes; its uneven
surface often traversed by ravines running in various direc-
tions. Amongst these hills there is a large lagoon which
Casimiro informed me he used to visit whilst residing with
the missionaries for the purpose of procuring wild fowl, of [134]
which there were then great numbers, but they had latterly
given up this resort. There are other lagoons scattered at
intervals in the before-mentioned plains, which, during the
winter, were frozen, and the beautifully smooth ice often
caused Mr. Clarke and myself to long for a pair of skates;
indeed we tried to manufacture a pair, but without success.

Towards the sea coast from the Blue Hills the slope [133]
appears gradual, until nearing the coast, when the plain is [136]
intersected by gullies and deep fertile valleys, which render
hunting very tedious work, as it is necessary to trust
almost entirely to the dogs. Game abounds in this direc-
tion, especially during the winter. We made numerous
excursions up river, generally staying away from the settle-
ment three or four days, our favourite rendezvous being a
place about sixty miles distant, called 'Chiskrooksik,' marked
by Fitzroy as an Indian Ford or Pass of the river Santa
Cruz, which statement both El Sourdo and Casimiro
confirmed. At this point the river narrows considerably,
and on the south side there are steep cliffs almost over-
hanging the water, a cave in which cliffs was always a sure
find for a puma. Both above and below this point are large
wide plains extending from the 'banks' or cliffs to the river,
which may easily be encircled; and the game being hemmed
in between the horsemen and the river are readily captured.
Sometimes the ostriches take to the water, but in the winter
this saves trouble, as their legs get frozen, and on landing
they are unable to move. We made an excursion on one
occasion some miles higher up the river, and found abundance
of game. We had previously on our road had good luck,

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[33] but, as is often the custom, left the slain animals concealed
[36] in bushes, with a poncho or something over them. During the interval of our absence severe weather set in, and on returning to examine our caches the foxes and birds of prey had accounted for the most. The foxes are a great trouble to the hunters, as, frequently, whilst they are encircling the herds of guanaco, and taking the greatest care to keep out of sight, one of these brutes will jump up, the dogs give chase, and then good-bye to all chance of sport. Fitzroy remarked the number of guanaco bones found in his ascent of the river Santa Cruz, which appear to have puzzled him,
[32] but the cause is not far to seek. During the very severe winters which occur I believe about once in three years, these animals, finding no pasture on the high lands, which are covered with snow, are necessarily driven down to the plains fringing the river, where they die from starvation. There is also a disease prevalent amongst them something similar to scab in sheep. On one occasion a hunting party killed ten guanacos, all of which were scabby, or, as we called it, 'sarnoso;' and, consequently, unfit for food. Mr. Clarke told me that after one severe winter he found ostriches lying in heaps, dead under the bushes, and also guanacos. The difficulty of getting the horses across the swift and deep stream, with its banks encumbered by ice, prevented us from making frequent excursions to the northern side of the river. A level plain extends from the banks for about a mile, bounded by a chain of irregular hills; near the foot of these I picked up many specimens of a spiral shell, apparently a Turritella, which appeared to have been vitrified; and some were as translucent as glass, and of different colours. Beyond these hills rolled a succession of uneven plains diversified by ridges and hills; the general slope of the ground being apparently from west to east, and the hills towards the west often assumed the form of abrupt lofty cliffs. Near a lagune at the foot of a cliff a hundred feet high I found boulders incrusted with sulphate of iron, such as had been

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pointed out to me in the Falklands, and numerous oyster-shells and other marine shells occured in various localities. There are no streams, but frequent lagoons in the hollows, and surrounded by a luxuriant growth of incense bushes. The unbroken plains abound in round thistle, califate, and the curious shrub called 'ratstail,' from the appearance of its twigs when the thick bark is pulled off. When burned it emits a dense black resinous smoke. To the north the horizon is bounded by a lofty range of hills which form the barrier of the valley of the Rio Chico, about sixty miles distant. These northern hills abound with puma, some of which, killed in our hunts, were of unusual size, measuring fully six feet exclusive of the tail, which is generally half the length of the body. They are, of course, most numerous where the herds of guanaco and the ostriches abound; in the southern part of Patagonia their colour is more of a greyish-brown than that of the species found in the Argentine Provinces. These 'Leones,' as they are universally called in South America, always appeared to me to be the most cat-like of all the felidæ. They are very timid, always running from a man on horseback, and, by day at least, from a pedestrian; they run for a short distance in a series of long bounds, at great speed, but soon tire and stand at bay behind or in the midst of a bush, and sitting upon their haunches, spit and swear just like a monstrous tabby; sometimes endeavouring to scratch with their formidable claws, but rarely springing at the pursuer. Mr. Clarke on one occasion had his mantle torn off in this manner. At another time, when hunting in the vicinity of Santa Cruz, I observed from a distance Gonzalez hacking with his knife at a big incense bush, and on reaching the spot found him occupied in clearing away branches to allow him to knock a huge puma on the head with his bolas. He was dismounted and attended by his dogs, which bayed the animal. Still, had the puma not been a cur, he could doubtless have sprung out and killed or severely wounded the gaucho.

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As I saw no reason to believe this story, I declined to comply with the proposal of Casimiro, who, having consoled himself by begging a little coffee, took his departure, and the encampment was reduced to the toldo, of which I was to consider myself an inmate, and another, belonging to the only Indians who remained—Tankelow, Orkeke's brother, and his son, a youth of about eighteen. Besides these, there were three of the Chilian deserters who as narrated had escaped from Punta Arena; one was attached to the household of Tankelow, and the other two to that of Orkeke. One of these was Arica, already mentioned, who being a very clever worker in hide, had employed himself in adorning saddles and bridles for the Indians, by which he had acquired a pretty good stock of gear. The condition of all three was, however, not enviable. They had lowered themselves at first by volunteering to discharge the drudgery of fetching wood and water, and by this time were little better than slaves, obliged to perform the menial offices, which before had been the task of the women. These fair creatures, headed by Mrs. Orkeke—a young woman almost six feet in height, and displaying a corresponding breadth across the shoulders—employed themselves in cutting out and sewing guanaco mantles, weaving fillets for the head, and chattering. Tankelow and his son presently started for a hunt; but as I was not offered a mount, and deemed it more reasonable to give my only charger a good rest and feed, I could only accompany them to the river, the frozen surface of which they crossed, and disappeared up a cañon that led up the barranca, on the northern limit of the valley, to the Upper Pampa. Having wistfully watched them, I reconnoitred the valley of the Rio Chico. Behind me, to the south-east, the river wound through plains covered with withered coarse grass, some eighteen inches high, extending on either bank for several miles till terminated by the rising barranca. Snow lay here and there in patches on some of the higher ground, and increased the dreariness of the prospect. About

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two leagues below the river divided into two branches, which reunited beyond an island of some extent. Looking up river in a north-westerly direction, the valley soon narrowed in, the southern barrancas sloping down to within a couple of miles of our camp; and the view was closed by two remarkable hills resembling fortresses, which seemed to stand on guard on either side. I made a slight sketch of the outlines of the view, which forms the background of the hunting scene.* Having strolled back to the toldo, I was greeted by the women with the usual demand, 'Mon aniwee'—Anglicè, 'Lend us the pipe,' which was duly charged and handed round. We then sat and watched the proceedings of Keoken, Tankelow's pretty little daughter, just budding into womanhood, and a small boy to whom I gave the name of Captain John, who were amusing themselves by catching and riding some of the horses which were tamer than the others. The urchins soon grew tired of their equestrian feats; and, prompted by the spirit of mischief, which seems ever to haunt children, and especially Indian boys, came and begged a match of me. Not suspecting their purpose, I gave them the coveted prize, with which they hurried off in high delight, and in a very few minutes had set fire to the rank, withered herbage, some distance off the toldo, but to the windward. The conflagration was at first unnoticed by us; but at dusk, when Tankelow returned from hunting, with a supply of meat, it was palpably dangerous. So all hands had to set to work, and by dint of tearing up the grass, with great trouble we stopped its progress, which if aided by a breeze in the night would very probably otherwise have consumed the toldo and endangered the inmates. Of the culprits no notice was taken, the occurrence being apparently regarded as all in the day's work. After our supper off guanaco meat, and a smoke, I turned in, and slept soundly on my Tehuelche bed of hides and bolsters which had been carefully arranged by the tall hostess. [133] [276] [857] [513]

* Frontispiece.

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START FROM THE CAMP AT MÒWAISH OR WINDOW HILL.

[facing p. 79]

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routine of hunting, as we made our way slowly up the valley
of the Rio Chico, which was still frozen over. The weather
was mild, and occasional showers of snow accompanied the
strong piercing westerly winds which blew every day. The
valley sometimes opened out into wide grass-covered plains,
dotted with incense-bushes, then rose again in huge bare
ridge and furrow-like undulations. Occasionally there oc-
curred patches of swampy ground with frozen lagoons, and
here and there open springs, the resort of numerous water-
fowl. The hills on the northern side appeared bare and
rugged, rising abruptly out of irregular forms, while the
southern heights were lower, and presented more of the steep
declivities known as barrancas, interrupted at intervals by
high rugged hills of basalt, often assuming the appearance
of ruined castles, cloving in at the bends of the winding
river. To one of these—a remarkable hill under which we
were encamped on August 28, about 120 miles from Santa
Cruz—I gave the name of Sierra Ventana, from a window-
like opening through its peak; the Indians called it Mówaish.
(See Illustration.) In many places the bases of these hills
were formed entirely of a description of lava, and one of the
Chilians informed me that whilst passing over a ridge, he
had observed several large masses of pure iron: this, how-
ever, I was inclined to disbelieve, as although farther up the
country iron ore exists in large quantities, I only observed in
this part a species of ore similar to that common at Drobak,
in Norway.

On one occasion, while marching, we observed smoke in
our rear, which was thought to be caused either by a mes-
senger in search of us announcing the arrival of the schooner,
or else by a party of the Southern Indians who had some idea
of marching north. However, no scout was sent back to
discover the truth, so we remained in ignorance. On the
26th we halted, and encamped by the side of the river in a
broad opening of the valley: here there was a lagoon, not
completely frozen, in which grew a description of flag, of

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881 heads grotesquely on either side to the beats of the drum,
535 retired for a short time to rest themselves, after which they appeared again and danced a different step. When that was over, four more appeared, and so on, until every one, including the boys, had had a fling. Sometimes, to give greater effect, the performers carried a bunch of rushes in one hand. About nine P.M., everybody having had enough, Casimiro gave the sign. The band stopped playing, and all retired to bed. The dancing was not ungraceful, but was rendered grotesque by the absurd motions of the head. It was strictly confined to the men, the women being only allowed to look on.

133 On the second day's march from the scene of my first Indian ball we crossed a rocky ridge abounding with a description of vesicular lava; the ridge ran out from the southern limits of the valley and terminated in precipitous cliffs, round the base of which wound the river. The surface of the ridge was fissured in many places with deep chasms like Alpine crevasses, on the brink of one of which my horse stopped just in time to escape a fall. The caravan had gone a more circuitous route to take advantage of the lowest and easiest crest. On the other side of the ridge the valley suddenly spread out to the extent of several miles, and on the western horizon a line of snowy peaks was visible, their summits capped with clouds: this was our first view of the Cordillera. The low ground was cut up by streams and small lakelets of water, formed by the overflow of a small fork of the river, which glistening in the afternoon sunshine presented a beautiful silvery appearance, very refreshing to the eye wearied with alternate gazing on withered
484 grass and black volcanic rocks. However beautiful to look at, this scene would clearly prove difficult travelling, so a halt was called, and our course debated on; ultimately it was resolved to cross the river and encamp on the northern bank, where the ground was higher and free from floods, so loads were carefully adjusted, and children transferred to the arms of the men, to give the women more freedom of action;

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baggage-horses were also taken in tow by the young men, 464
and Casimiro and another volunteering to lead the van and act as pilots, we proceeded to make our way to the river-bank, which rose by a gradual elevation from the lower inundated plain. After much floundering about in water-holes, and various spills, which caused great merriment, especially when Mrs. Orkeke and all her gear came down by the run, an iron kettle of which she was very proud clattering down so as to frighten several of the horses into what threatened to become a general stampede, the bank was safely reached; the river was swollen high, and its rapid current running six or seven miles an hour, was bringing down huge sharp-edged masses of ice. It seemed almost impossible for the women and baggage animals to cross. However, Orkeke, taking a long pole to sound with, led the way, and by watching their opportunity to dodge the floating ice, which cut the horses' and riders' legs cruelly, all got safely over. A wilder scene could hardly be imagined—dogs howling on the bank fearing to pass, women singing out to their various friends and relations, and here and there an adventurous Indian, who seemed to go by the ford with the rest, disappearing for a second in the river, horse and all, but ultimately emerging some distance down the stream. The water was bitterly cold, as may be imagined, and the piercing wind benumbed our dripping bodies; so on arriving at the north bank, where there were some small sandy hillocks, we kindled a large fire, and had a warm and a smoke whilst the women were employed pitching the toldos. It had been decided to remain here some days and then proceed to the vicinity of the Cordillera for the purpose of catching wild horses. But, as will be seen shortly, 'L'homme propose et Dieu dispose.' Looking 133
up towards the Cordillera from our encampment, the valley appeared to expand a few miles up into one immense plain, and the Indians informed me that before reaching the mountains there is a great drop or basin where the wild horses are found. This was probably, at the period of our visit, a vast

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[33] sheet of water from the melting snows. Lake Viedma lies some miles to the southward from the head of the valley, and I should be inclined to think that the course of the Rio Chico, which undoubtedly flows from it, would be found to come from the south to north, and bend easterly at the head of the valley, where it unites the numerous streams as described by Viedma in his journey in 1880. I am also inclined to think that Viedma being taken twice across the Rio Chico mistook the river at the second crossing for another, which he has marked as the Chalia, a name, by the way, unknown to the Indians, save as applied to an unsavoury parasite only too common among them. The following morning, September 2, we were sitting quietly round the fire discussing a breakfast of boiled ostrich prepared by the lady of the house, when suddenly the clash of knives was heard, and we saw two Indians, destitute of mantles, with naked swords in their hands, run across from Camillo's to Crimé's toldo. In a minute everything was in an uproar; arms were produced, guns and revolvers loaded, and some of the Indians equipped themselves in coats of mail, and others, with the assistance of the women, padded themselves about the chest and upper part of the body with thick blankets and coverlillos or saddle-cloths. Knowing what was about to happen, the women, and with them all the Chilian deserters, except one, beat a retreat to a safe distance from the toldos. Having assumed my arms, and feeling thoroughly mystified as to the real cause of this excitement, I went to Camillo's toldo, where the scene explained itself. He was lying on his bed dead, with a frightful gash in his side, having been murdered by Casstro, one of the Indians whom we had seen running to Crimé's tents. On issuing from the toldo Casimiro met me, and asked for a revolver, as he had no firearms, and I lent him one accordingly. The Indians showed by their changed countenance all the fury of fight; their very complexions seemed ghastly, and their eyes glared and rolled, seeming to see blood. The two opposing parties.

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the wound and bandaged it with cold water bandages, which 578
appeared to be successful, as in a few days it inconvenienced him but little. Thence proceeding to Casimiro's toldo—the smallest I ever saw—I got him to cover my saddle with a guanaco skin I had obtained on the road. The children appeared to be the only members of the party unaffected by the prevailing gloom. They had found a snow-bank in a nook, and amused themselves sliding down it on a bit of wood *à la Norse*. This evening things looked very black again. A consultation was held in Orkeke's toldo, and although it was carried on in a low tone, and I was little conversant with the Tehuelche tongue, I heard my name frequently mentioned in connection with a revolver, and also the Chilians. I was much puzzled at what was going on, but as Mrs. Orkeke brought me some supper in the most gracious and smiling manner, did not trouble myself more than to overhaul my arms quietly, and see they were ready for use. I subsequently found out that a plot had been set on foot amongst the Chilians to rise, rob, and murder the Indians, and escape with the horses. Some, however, my informant among the number, refused to join. The Indians, who are naturally quick-sighted, had conceived a suspicion that all was not right, and were debating whether it would not be better to kill the Chilians at once, before they became more troublesome; but Casimiro prevailed on them to let them remain until they did something to necessitate their destruction; and so they escaped for the present.

September 5th, at an early hour, we were awoke by 579
Orkeke's marching harangue; and after coasting the hills bordering the valley for a few miles, bade adieu to the valley of the Rio Chico, and struck into a gorge of the northern hills, leading into an uneven valley lying between low irregular hills of decomposed lava, which we followed, passing several small lagoons in the lower hollows, around which there was invariably a yellow description of clay. The hills were everywhere covered with scrub, and presented a wild,

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[134] bleak appearance, the grey rocks only appearing now and then. After some hours travelling through this dismal district in a north-west course, we emerged on a large plain at the western side, bounded by a range of hills 1,000 feet high, forming a spur of the Cordillera. The weather was stormy, and we could only catch occasional glimpses, through the driving clouds and snow-storms, of the loftier peaks of the more distant mountains. Our expedition in search of wild horses was, of course, after the recent trouble, abandoned; and forced marches, to escape the Southern Indians, in the event of their following from Santa Cruz, were the order of the day. Hunting, however, was resumed by the unwounded, and several ostriches were caught during the day. Towards evening the encampment was fixed near a lagoon, the environs of which were barren, and destitute of anything except a small low shrub which served as firewood. Although the wind was northerly, it was bitterly cold; and as I had for some days past adopted the native costume—keeping my 'store clothes' stowed away under charge of Mrs. Orkeke—I felt it exceedingly. The 6th, 7th, and 8th of September were occupied in making forced marches northward, accompanied by the usual hunting; and although both parties continued armed, and appeared to be rather suspicious of each other, things went on pretty smoothly. The country traversed on the 6th and 7th was a large arid plain, dotted with a few stunted shrubs, enclosed by the before-mentioned spur of the Cordillera on the western side, and on the east by a low [135] range of sandy-looking hills. The whole of this plain was strewn with small pebbles of porphyry, quartz, silicia, and obsidian; also with small pieces of silicified wood. On the 8th we crossed the spur by a pass walled on either hand with rocks of vesicular lava. Here we halted for a quarter of an hour, and every one broke off pieces of stone suitable for making hand-balls for bolas. The descent on the western side was no easy matter, the declivity being strewn with large masses of rock and loose boulders, and the wind blow-

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ing bitterly cold, and with such force that some of the 133 ●
women's horses could hardly face it. Ultimately all managed to reach a spacious elevated pampa, on the western side of which, some fifteen leagues off, rose the Cordillera of the Andes. In the pass I observed several large pieces of obsidian, so clear and peculiarly round-shaped that I at first imagined that a demijohn had been carried thither by some previous party and broken. Of this the women gathered some pieces, to serve as scrapers for cleaning guanaco skins. We traversed the usual barren high pampa—interspersed with low shrubs, coarse grass, and here and there an incense bush of considerable size, which afforded a moment's shelter from the cutting wind—for some distance, till we at length reached a cliff, below which lay a grassy plain, watered by a small, rapid stream. About thirty miles in the background were visible the lofty mountains of the Cordillera. The inviting appearance of the pasture determined us to remain for a couple of days to rest the horses, after the unusually long marches of the preceding days. The following day was occupied chiefly in making hand-balls for bolas from the soft porous stone obtained in the rocky pass. Towards noon a frightful gale of wind sprang up, which blew down most of the toldos; but ours, thanks to the strength of arm of Mrs. Orkeke, who had securely fixed the poles, remained firm, only one or two of the poles being broken. The river, here flowing in an eastward direction, was the first stream met with since leaving the valley of the Rio Chico. In the descent to it, the bench formation, although recognisable, was not so much marked as in many of the other rivers. After two days' rest we resumed our journey; and having traversed the grassy valley for, perhaps, a mile, ascended a slight ridge to a higher plain of the usual sterile nature, in which the first ostrich eggs met with were found. Our course was directed nearly north-west, to a range of hills 800 feet in height; on their summit was a plateau strewn with large stones and rocks.

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[133] We formed another hunt, in which numerous ostriches and several pumas were killed. From the western side of the plateau we overlooked a large plain, extending to the immediate vicinity of the mountains, but near the side of which there appeared to be a cutting or steep descent, just like a railway embankment. As it had been announced in the cacique's address that we were to encamp near a spring on the eastern side, and I had killed an ostrich, which, after giving a sharp run of half a mile, had been turned by the cavalcade of women, I proceeded in company with Casimiro and another to have some dinner. We accordingly selected a bush, cooked and ate our bird, and at the conclusion of our meal mounted and proceeded to where we expected to find the encampment. But, arriving at the spot, we found nobody, and looking over the plain we caught a glimpse of a belated woman just vanishing down the cutting above mentioned. We accordingly followed, and an hour's gallop brought us up with the remainder. The sun had set, but the light of a young moon enabled us to make our way to the second bench. I may say the formation altogether much resembled that of the river Cubeyli; but the river which flowed in this valley was of small size, although, as we found, the banks were boggy and almost impracticable. The moon had by this time set, and after a considerable deal of confusion in the dark, all got across, and night being far advanced encamped about a mile to the northward. When daylight enabled us to examine the locality, we found ourselves in a valley walled in by lofty abrupt cliffs on both sides, while a stream—bordered by marshes, containing numerous snipe [134] and teal—flowed swiftly down the centre of the glen. To the north the valley appeared to bend westwards, so having nothing to do, I strolled up to the turn and found that the high cliffs ceased, and were replaced by the ordinary steep barrancas, covered from the top to the bottom with incense-bushes. The valley nowhere exceeded a mile in width, and the gloom and oppressive effect of the prison-like walls of

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cliff rendered it by no means a desirable place of abode, but the pasture skirting the marsh was green and luxuriantly tender. While I was endeavouring to secure some ducks and teal with the bolas, two of the Chilians came up searching for firewood. They bitterly bewailed their lot in having to work and slave for a parcel of savages, but finally forgot their grievances in a slumber under a bush. Not caring to be supposed to have been in their company, I returned to the camp, and examined the rocks, which were different to those previously observed, showing in many places granite, with schistose veins, and what appeared to be a species of grey marble. A stay was made in this place of some four days, and would have been longer, but that on the third day some of the party, chiefly boys, who had strolled away a short distance, balling small birds, came in with the news that Indians were coming from the south. A scout was immediately sent out, horses brought up, and arms got ready. Casimiro came to me for a supply of cartridges for the revolver, saying, 'Now we shall have to fight; for if those Southern Indians beat us, they will spare neither man, woman, nor child.' This was cheering news, seeing that the odds were likely to be about ten to one against our side. However, just as we were mounting, the scout returned with the news that he had found no traces of Indians; the supposed enemy being only a troop of guanaco coming down to water. Cayuke, on its being ascertained that there was really no danger, had one of his horses killed as a thank-offering; the meat of course being distributed for food amongst his friends. There is in this place, which is called by the Indians 'Amakaken,' a large spherical boulder of marble, which it is the custom of the Indians to try their strength by lifting. Casimiro informed me that this stone had been there for many years, and the custom was very old. It was so large and heavy that I was just able to grasp it with both arms, and raise it to the level of my knees, but some of the Indians managed to lift it to their shoulders. The night subsequent to the false alarm,

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snow fell heavily, notwithstanding which on the following day the Indians, who did not appear to feel secure, marched again in a northerly direction. Before quitting this valley, I was fortunate enough to find an ostrich nest with four eggs in it, which we devoured later on, cooked in the ashes by the simple method of placing the egg upright, with a hole broken in the upper surface, through which a piece of stick is inserted to stir round the yolk and white, a little salt being thrown in, and the egg turned to ensure all sides being equally done; the result being an omelette in the shell of most appetising flavour, but a novice in this cookery is apt to burn his fingers in turning the egg. Towards night we entered a dark and gloomy gorge, winding amongst fantastic and confused cliffs and peaked hills, thrown together in utterly chaotic confusion, which appeared to form a barrier east and west. But it was impossible accurately to distinguish the line, so inextricably were the heights jumbled together. My powers of description are utterly inadequate to convey the idea of the formless irregularity of this region of rocky hills.

At a late hour we encamped in a glen, or corrie, apparently without a second outlet, and walled in by frowning cliffs, down the midst of which a torrent foamed in a rocky channel. All the next day our march continued through a barren desert of rocks, frequently intersected by deep ravines with precipitous cliffs, the faces of which in many places displayed beds of red and yellow ochre, visible at a great distance. From some of these the women, after a scramble, replenished their supplies of paint. The whole face of this district was torn and tossed, as if by tremendous explosive force; and, except in some deep-lying clay bottoms, where an occasional shallow lagoon was to be met with, the track was waterless; snow lay on the heights and in some places on the ground traversed by our march, in the course of which a number of the large ibises, called in Chili bandurria (Theristicus melanopis), were seen. The nature of the country rendered hunting laborious and

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useless. Tankelow, however, found an ostrich and nest, the eggs from which, about thirty in number, he, according to Indian custom, divided among those who came up before they were removed from the nest; among these lucky individuals was myself; for, seeing him mak[illegible] the spot, and the male bird get up, and being moreover, well mounted and exceedingly hungry, I was among the first arrivals. Far away to the right of our track, extending thirty or forty miles eastward, lies a district called by the Indians 'The Devil's Country,' which, they assured me, is never entered, probably from the barren and impracticable nature of the surface, which seems, from description, to be even worse than the wilderness traversed by us. Beyond this district there is a practicable track, sometimes followed by the Indians, leading northward, probably used as a route to the Chupat; but from that line to the sea the country is so impassable that the Indians say it would require two years to proceed by the sea-coast from Santa Cruz to the Rio Negro. The existence of such tracks as these, and the desolate Travisias encountered near the coast, have probably caused Patagonia to be described as an arid, almost waterless country; but, in reality, after passing the coast barrier most of the interior abounds in lagoons, springs, and frequent streams; and, even in the Travisias, the numerous wild animals met with show that water exists.

Towards evening we left the snow behind us; and descending a lofty hill, which had bounded our view all day, came to a large swelling down, from which the prospect was far more encouraging. Rolling plains extended to the north and north-east, whilst the Cordillera rose like a wall on the western side. This hill is called by the Indians 'God's Hill;' and the tradition, as communicated by Casimiro, relates that from this spot the Great Spirit dispersed the animals which he had made in the caverns. But some of the animals must have remained behind, as, out on the lower slope of the downs, two pumas were chased and killed. An hour's ride

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133 over a sandy plain brought us to a valley with a stream flowing through beautifully green pastures. This was the spot chosen for our encamping, and some of the women were already busy planting the poles that form the skeleton of the toldos; so, turning my horse adrift, I started down to the stream, and after the luxury of a bath, lay down and smoked until the toldos were thoroughly arranged. The following day a short march was made, in a north-west direction, to a valley containing better pasture; here it was 224 intended to give the horses much-needed repose. Meanwhile, however, meat fell short, so a circle was organised: my horse was too tired; but Orkeke, seeing me standing [231] unprepared, said, 'Ask Ako (his pet dog, and adopted child, and in virtue of his office the owner of several horses) to lend you a horse.' As Ako had no objection I was soon mounted, and started for the chase in high spirits. On our previous journey we had remarked numerous tracks of what appeared to be ostrich near the ground where our present circle was to be formed (viz., in the direction of the Cordillera), and all expected to find plenty of game. The circle was formed, myself going as one pointsman; and, after arriving at the point, I watched anxiously for some time, but the only animal that appeared was a male guanaco, which as he did not see me crouched behind an incense-bush, until he came within shot, I successfully balled and killed. After waiting a little longer, and the Indians being moderately near at hand, I changed my position a few hundred yards, to a more likely spot; but no animals appeared, so I proceeded in search of Orkeke, whom I shortly discovered smoking on the top of a small eminence. After the pipe had been passed in silence, I asked him what he had killed. 'Nothing,' was the answer; 'let's wait and see; perhaps some other Indian has an ostrich.' A careful survey, however, failed to discover any one so lucky, although several had killed guanaco. So we retired to where my dead guanaco lay uncovered: at our approach two or three condors rose

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heavily up; and shortly about twenty or thirty more spread 224
their huge wings, sailed away, and perched on a neighbouring rock. As for the guanaco, in the short half hour of my absence it had been literally torn to pieces; so, after extracting and eating the marrow-bones, we returned to camp, on our way capturing two armadillos. During the past day or 132
two the temperature had considerably risen; the wind, though westerly, was mild and genial, and the Indians affirmed that farther north it would be so warm that I should require some covering for the head. We found on our return that 000
Arica during our absence had gone off somewhere on foot. As he had that morning asked and obtained some tobacco from me, it seemed probable that he had determined to attempt to make his way alone to reach civilisation at some point or other. During our stay in this valley Casimiro 202
requested me to write a letter for him to the commandante at the Rio Negro, inquiring whether the Argentine Government still allowed him his ration and pay as a lieut.-colonel in their service. I also wrote some letters to my friends, but without much hope of their being 'mailed;' though Casimiro assured me that when we joined the Northern Indians they would forward them to the Araucanos, whence they might go on by the people who went to Rio Negro to fetch the chief's allowance of cattle; remote, however, as were all these contingencies, still it was a pleasure to write. We 133
quitted the valley after three days' rest, during which Arica had not appeared, and he was concluded either to have fallen a prey to a puma, or to have gone off on his own account. We journeyed all day over a rough hilly country, encumbered with large stones and occasional patches of scrub of considerable height; ostriches abounded, and large quantities of eggs were found. During a long march of about thirty miles no water was seen until we reached the camp at sunset, situated in a cañon; but along the route an occasional patch of snow sufficed to quench our thirst. As I rode along in company 521
with an Indian named 'Tchang,' he began asking me ques-

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tions: first, 'Who is cacique of the English?' I explained to him that it was Her Gracious Majesty. 'Is she married?' 'She is a widow.' 'Has she any children, and how many? Has she lots of horses and mares and silver ornaments?' And so on until I had satisfied him; after which he rode along, repeating, 'A woman cacique! A woman cacique! Four sons and five daughters! Lots of horses, mares, sheep, and cattle!' On the 22nd of September we left the encampment in the cañon about sunrise, and, mounting the ridge on the north side, halted close to the grave of an Indian; the broad and high cairn of stones erected over it denoting him to have been a cacique of importance, which fact was communicated to me in a low whisper by Wáki. Here a fire was made, and a few stones added to the pile. Whilst the Indians were warming themselves the sun rose, and the view of the Cordillera, seen through the clear atmosphere, with the sun's first rays illuminating the snowy mountain summits with a roseate flush was magnificent. We pursued our route over sandy plains, crossed at intervals by shallow streams of water, and halted near some lagoons in a place called by the Indians 'Kinck.'

The following day we marched again, hunting as usual on the way. A fat ostrich at this time of the year was a rarity, but eggs abounded, and formed the main staple of food; and the armadillos were also getting into condition, and assisted to furnish a repast at the camp fire. On the 27th we arrived at a place named 'Gelgel,' situated on the banks of a rapid river, probably that debouching at Port Desire. This was the point of divergence from the northern route to Patagones for any party proceeding to hunt in the western plains. During our stay in Gelgel we hunted in the surrounding country, and on several occasions observed columns of smoke to the south, as if made by a party approaching. These at last appeared nearer, and as no distinct answer was made to our signal fires, scouts were sent out, but returned with no information, one, however, asserting that he had found the

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strange to say, it never moved from the spot where it was unsaddled, and the Indian during the time he remained in the toldo neither ate nor drank. At the end of three days he mounted his mule, which appeared as fresh as when he arrived, and rode away to the northward. On the following day, whilst hunting, a sickness struck the Indians—some falling dead from their horses, while others, though able to return home, only survived a short time. As is usual when disease breaks out, the toldos were removed to some distance from each other, to escape infection, but many men, women, and children died.' Of the fact that a plague or sickness did cause the death of many Indians within a few days at some encampment in these plains, I received further and reliable confirmation, my informant, who was in the party, stating that the Pampa tribe was decimated.

In the cliffs above the river on the eastern side of our encampment I observed many balls of sandstone of various sizes. On breaking one in two, a piece of what seemed to be ironstone formed a nucleus, around which layers of sand appeared to have been aggregated. By what process these balls could have been formed was to me a mystery; but they proved very handy for bolas, only requiring to be slightly reduced in size. Hunting to the westward from the encampment, we came across several muddy, or rather clayey bogs, into one of which, when in full pursuit of an ostrich, I rode, and my horse sank deep, throwing his rider a complete summersault; and with much ado I first picked up myself, and then with greater difficulty extricated my horse from the tenacious morass.

After Arica's return, the Chilians manifested a restless spirit, and frequently asked me the direction of the Chupat settlement. I replied that it lay about 150 leagues to the E.N.E. from this point, as far as I could judge; but that it would be better for them to remain with the Indians, and do the women's work of providing wood and water, &c., than to start off into a wild and dreary pampa, where they

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In the hunt not less than
pumas were killed, which were, as usual at this time, very fat, and were duly boiled in the iron pots, furnishing an excellent supper, the meat closely resembling boiled pork. During the day seven of the Chilians were missed, and on our arrival at the toldos, it transpired that they had determined to try and find their own way to the Chupat settlement; and as they had left in an underhand manner, which the Indians look upon as tantamount to a declaration of war, some of the people wished to pursue and kill them, but this proposition was overruled by Orkeke and Casimiro. The encampment was sheltered by a hill named 'Téle,' close to a large lagoon covered with waterfowl, into which flowed a beautiful spring issuing from the hill; along the margin of the clear pure water grew a profusion of a sort of green cress, and at sunset flights of flamingoes (Phœnicopterus ignipallo) and rose-coloured spoonbills (Platalea ajaja) came to the lagoon to feed. One day's hunting was done in the surrounding plain, which to the west presents several of the remarkable drops, or basin-like formations described by Darwin as existing on the eastern side of the Cordillera. On October 5th we broke up the camp and marched in a northerly direction, until a stream of considerable size was arrived at; this some of us crossed at once, although it was deep and the banks rotten and unsound. The women and remainder of the party diverged to a ford, old Orkeke sending one of the Chilians to take care that his little dog (on whom he lavished his paternal affections) did not get wet. In half an hour's time the whole party—Ako included—had crossed in safety, and the camp was pitched on a peninsula between this river and another which joined it lower down. The united streams may or may not form a tributary of the Chupat, as the Indians disagreed on this point, some averring it to be so, others stating that the river flowed into a large lagoon. The weather had changed into drizzling rain, and the wet and sloppy state of the toldos was very disagreeable. It did not, however, much affect our clothing, as it is easy to

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dry a guanaco mantle by the fire, but care must be taken 291
only to expose the furred side to the heat, otherwise the
hide will become dried and apt to tear easily. Whilst in 133
this encampment look-outs were posted, and one came in
stating that he had seen smoke in a northerly direction.
Consequently on October 9, having rested our jaded horses,
which were rapidly improving in condition, from grazing on
the young green grass now springing abundantly in all the
valleys, we crossed a barren, clayey pampa, interspersed
with bogs and marshes at intervals, and on the 10th arrived
at a small range of hills, running east and west, under one of
which the toldos were pitched, near to another of those beau-
tiful circular springs which frequently occur in Patagonia;
from the centre of the smooth white sand which formed the
bottom, the water bubbled up like liquid crystal, and silvery
fishes could be seen darting about in the circular basin. The
Indians delight in laving their hands and feet in the springs,
and will sit there for a long time admiring the beauty of
these 'eyes of the desert.' As, on our arrival, the women
had not yet completed the domestic arrangements, after
throwing the spoils of the chase off our saddles, a party of us
ascended an adjacent hill to have a look round. The day
was magnificent, and the sun, just setting, bathed the whole
country in a flood of red tints. To the N[illegible]e observed
three distinct columns of smoke which the In[illegible]ns averred to
be caused by the Chilian deserters, and were very bitter
against them, as they were supposed to have los[illegible]eir way,
and to be desirous of returning again to the toldos. In this
place I found my compass would not act, owing, as I sup-
posed, to having been disabled; but as it subsequently behaved
properly, its temporary derangement must have been due to
some local attraction. To the northward, as well as I could
guess the bearings, ran a long range of hills, terminating in
a peculiarly peaked mountain, below which the Indians
pointed out the trees which fringed a river—according to
their statements, a tributary of the Chupat. To the west

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extended rolling plains, which appeared to stretch away into the distance, interrupting the chain of the Cordillera, as though there were a depression or break in the mountains, no hills of large size being visible on the horizon. Whilst lying down smoking on this hill, I picked up several pieces of opal and cacholong combined, and as I was idly forming them into different patterns on the ground, and had arranged a circle resembling a miniature Indian grave, one of my companions observing what I was doing, grew very angry, and said, 'That will bring ill luck,' evidently believing that I was mentally compassing the death of some one by witchcraft. As I had no wish to be killed, by way of prevention of any imaginary spells, I quickly gathered up the specimens, many of which were afterwards lost in the ensuing journey. The Indian name for this place is Yaiken-Kaimak, signifying that it is the hill whence they espy the signal smoke denoting the approach of the Indians from the north.

We remained five days in this encampment, a general uneasiness prevailing, and arms being kept ready to hand. In addition to the usual hunting, under the orders of the cacique, we were engaged in performing exercises on horseback; this mounted drill being intended as a preparation in case we should find the northern Tehuelches at war with the Araucanos or Manzaneros Indians. The plains to the westward abounded with guanaco, some thousands being enclosed in the circle at one time. One day that I had not accompanied the hunting party, I was strolling across the camp, having volunteered to occupy the post of the vidette on an adjacent hill, when I observed a guanaco, very tired, coming towards me; so, hiding behind a bush, I waited till he unsuspiciously approached, and then rushing out, balled him with a pair of ostrich bolas. As he was so close to me, his forelegs were perfectly tied up, and I had not much difficulty in despatching him with a blow on the head from another set of bolas. By this time I had attained a tolerable dexterity in the use of the bolas, and it was my invariable custom when not otherwise

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large brown otter, with orange-coloured fur on the breast, found in the Parana; but the Indians' account is curious as bearing on the name of the lake—'Nahuel Huapi,' or Tigers' Island. It is possible that the aguarra found in the valley of the Rio Negro may also haunt these districts. They further told me that stags had been seen on the banks of the river, but none were heard of during our stay in the neighbourhood. A few miles below the ford the belt of trees ceases, and on the southern side there is a peculiar group of what seem to be square-shaped rocks, which at a distance have very much the appearance of a small town regularly built and walled. This is called by the Indians 'Sengel,' and was the scene of a great fight between the Tehuelches and Araucanos many years ago, relics of which in the shape of bones and skulls still whiten the plain. After crossing the river, the young men who had been sent back returned, bringing with them three horses belonging to the Chilians and one man of their party, who, incredible as it seems, had assisted the Indians to dismount and disable his companions. The particulars of the fate of the others were not divulged, though a story was current that some of them had managed to reach the Chupat. I asked no questions, but the blood-stained knife of one of the young men told its own story. This day all the Indians rode on in silence, the last two days' events having roused all their bad passions. I rode alone, feeling that there was danger in the air, and near our halting-place joined Orkeke and two others at a fireside for the purpose of cooking some ostrich eggs, which we were busily discussing when a messenger came to say that Casimiro was waiting to see me at a spot which he indicated. I mounted and rode off accordingly, but had not gone far before the two bravos who had been commissioned to do for the Chilians galloped up, one from either side, one brandishing his sword and the other swinging his bolas. I at once put spurs to my horse, and my mantle flying back discovered two revolvers belted round my waist underneath it. They checked their career

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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable.

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind.

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the

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speed of our horses to while away the interval; and when the women appeared, proceeded to the chase, over a pampa formed by a bend in the range of hills. During the hunt we found the carcase of a guanaco, which had been killed by a puma, carefully covered up in grass and scrub. It was a fat animal, such as the puma always singles out, although I have read in some accounts that he follows the herds and picks up the weakly ones. That this is not the case was proved on various occasions, by finding the carcases left by these cats, which were always those of animals in good condition. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the encampment, by the side of a small river, flowing in an easterly direction from the hills. The women, with the exception of one or two, were not present, and might be seen about two miles off, grubbing up a description of potato which grew in the neighbouring hill side. The day was warm, and Orkeke invited me to go to the top of one of the hills to see if any smoke or signs of Indians were visible. We accordingly crossed the stream, and while riding along the northern bank I observed fish swimming lazily on the top of the water. After crossing a marshy patch of ground, we ascended the hills, and dismounting near a bank of blue earth, climbed on foot to the summit, which was composed of a description of quartz, with crystalline veins running through it. Scrambling up this formation, we arrived at the top, whence we had a beautiful view of the encampment and the green pasture bordering the stream. To the northward the view was rather shut in by hills rising to a considerable elevation. Just below us lay a valley, in which several guanaco and ostriches were taking their evening meal. We remained here for some time smoking and enjoying the face of nature generally, but could discern no smoke or signs of Indians. Orkeke remarked that the pasture had a fresher appearance lower down the course of the stream, and proposed that we should inspect it. We accordingly descended from our elevated position, mounted, and proceeded to the valley below; in our descent

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being lucky enough to kill a fat male ostrich, which was sit- 133
ting on a nest of twenty-four eggs. We investigated the grass, which was of good quality; and after an *al fresco* meal, in which we were joined by Tchang, returned to the toldos, where the women had just arrived with a considerable supply of potatoes. I again, on our way back, observed fish in the 136
stream, so, turning my horse adrift, proceeded to extract my hooks and line from the baggage under the charge of Mrs. Orkeke. After a little delay all was ready; a piece of meat supplied the place of fly as bait; and dropping it gently into the pool, I soon had a bite, and pulled out a fish about two pounds weight, of the perch class, similar to that called dorado in the River Plate. After half an hour's fishing I landed several others as large, and as it was nearly dark, returned to supper off fried fish and boiled potatoes.

I had no opportunity of seeing the plants which produced 137
these tubers, but they exactly resembled those I afterwards obtained in the northern country from a plant, the feathery fern-like leaf of which springs from a long slender stem. The following day we shifted camp down river, to the neigh- 138
bourhood of the green pasture, and found large quantities of the eggs of the upland geese, ducks, &c. In the neighbourhood one lonely tree grew by the side of the stream, although the banks were lined with driftwood, probably carried down by the wooded slopes of the Cordillera, ten miles farther west, during floods. This day, smoke having been distinctly seen to the northward, Hummums was despatched to ascertain whether it were a signal from the much-looked-for Northern Indians. Three days subsequently, about nine in 139
the evening, whilst I was lying dreaming of home, and had just—in dreamland—taken a glass of sherry, Orkeke woke me up with the intelligence that fires were to be seen to the north, which were no doubt caused by the 'chasqui' or messenger previously despatched. In about three hours' time —somewhere about midnight—Casimiro, Hummums, and another Indian rode into the camp, and our toldo was soon

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prepared me to meet Hinchel with feelings of friendliness towards a chief who had evinced so keen a sense of the care to be taken of a stranger who had confided himself to Indian hospitality; and the impression of this chief's character then formed, was fully confirmed on further acquaintance with him.

The two following days our route lay through a succession of rather barren valleys, bordered by ranges of high hills, everywhere strewn with rocks and boulders, and having a very gaunt and weird appearance. The valleys generally contained good pasture on either the northern or southern side of the streams which flowed down every one; but away from the vicinity of the water the soil was sandy, with low bushes scattered here and there.

On November 2, about two P.M., we arrived at a pass or gorge above the rendezvous at Henno. The view of the valley below was very refreshing; green grassy plains stretched for some miles, with a beautiful silvery stream running down the centre. But, much to our disappointment, no signs of Indians were visible; so we descended, and after bathing in a pool, and waiting until the toldos were pitched, lighted a big signal fire, which was shortly answered to the westward, and a messenger was immediately despatched who returned towards nightfall with the intelligence that the expected people would arrive next day; and we had to reconcile ourselves to another night of anxiety, being not at all certain as to the reception to be expected from the new comers.

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England, &c., and he proceeded to interrogate me accordingly. I found him to be a most intelligent Indian, speaking Spanish, Pampa, and Tehuelche fluently; and our acquaintance thus commenced ripened into a strong mutual friendship. My answers proving quite satisfactory, he was evidently much pleased, and ordered his wife to produce coffee, a little of which he had still remaining from his store procured at Chupat. While discussing this luxury, we had a long conversation on various topics, and he produced a photograph of Mr. Jones and some letters, one being an order for a ration of animals, mares and cattle, from the Argentine Government. He stated that he had not visited Patagones for some years, on account of a fight that had taken place, but would perhaps now accompany our party. Whilst conversing, his son, a boy of some twelve years of age, came in and startled me by his unlikeness to the other Indian boys, for his brown hair and eyes and fair complexion might easily have caused one to take him for an English boy. His mother was not present, as, for domestic reasons, Jackechan had parted with her; but I subsequently saw her, and she, although a handsome woman, had no European traits about her except that of having quarrelled with her husband. The following day was spent in a second parlemento—or, as the Indians call it, 'sir'—and all agreed to place themselves under the orders of Casimiro, for the purpose of protecting Patagones in the possible event of an invasion by the Indians of Rouke, or 'Calficura,' from the country north of Rio Negro. All present saw the importance of protecting Patagones, as, if that town should be destroyed, there would be no market for their furs, &c.

Our encampment was situated in a large grassy valley watered by a stream flowing to the eastward, which was finally lost in a large marsh. The valley, which may have been about twelve miles in length and perhaps four in width at its broadest part, was confined by hills which, closing, narrowed it in at the eastern and western extremities. To

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the N.W. and N. the hills—which almost merited the name of mountains—were peculiarly rugged, more especially towards their summits. About N.N.E. by compass from our camp, there was a pass formed by a dip or break in the range leading north, and through the mouth of the pass we could see the smoke of the hunting parties of the Araucanian Indians, who were, however, many leagues distant. Throughout Patagonia smoke is always visible at a great distance, and the practised eyes of the Indians can distinguish it from the clouds, when ordinary persons would be unable to discern it unless pointed out to them. On the southern and eastern sides of the valley lay a range of hills, the rugged summits of which rose from lower slopes of more regular swell, and presenting more even and down-like surfaces than those on the western and northern sides. Immediately above our encampment the hill of Henno, from which the valley is named, rose from the plain. Near the summit of this hill Orkeke and myself, who for amusement had ridden up to it, one day came across the bleached skeleton of a man, perhaps one of two young Argentines who, as I was subsequently informed, had travelled thus far in company with the Indians, and had been for some—or no—reason killed by them near this spot. In the surrounding hills red porphyry frequently cropped out, and also veins of a red agate, unlike the flint agate so common in all the plains of Patagonia. The rocks near the summit of the hills were generally of igneous formation, and on the slopes of these hills frequent springs gushed out, easily discoverable from a distance by the vivid green of the grass growing round them. As we gazed down from the height of Henno, the valley lay before us like a picture; our few toldos were situated in a group to the east, on the south side of the stream; about a quarter of a mile to the north the thirty or forty toldos of the Northern Indians were pitched, and opposite to them, on the north side of the stream, those of the party commanded by Jackechan or Juan. The scene was animated but peaceful: here might

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as to what there could possibly be in that place to write about, as although the Tehuelche mind can comprehend writing letters to friends or officials, it by no means understands keeping a journal; and 'some untutored Indian' might probably, if suspicious that 'i'faith he'll prent it,' instead of waiting to cut up the book, anticipate all reviewers by cutting up the intended author himself. 203

On the 18th of November the camp at Henno was broken up, and all marched a few leagues to the west, crossing successive rocky ridges running parallel to the Cordillera, and divided by well-watered valleys, and encamped near a valley watered by the same river, which between this place and Henno makes a considerable bend. This station was named 'Chiriq,' from a description of bush, with a leaf somewhat resembling that of the sloe, which grows abundantly on the banks of the stream. The wood of this shrub is soft and of little value, but burns well when dry. At this time neither flower nor fruit was visible, but it was described to me as bearing a berry resembling the currant. Since our departure from the wooded river Sengel, a description of cactus, or, as the Spaniards call it, tuna, bearing a tasteless fruit something like the ordinary prickly pear, had been met with occasionally, and found very troublesome, for as it grows close to the ground its spines are very apt to lame the horses if not carefully avoided in the chase. From Chiriq a large plain appeared to extend for some leagues to the westward, bounded north and south by a wooded range of hills, and extending apparently to the bases of the lofty snow-covered peaks of the Cordillera, which appeared to form a complete barrier. 133

During our stay here an incident occurred which led to the collection and comparison of the traditions concerning the hidden or enchanted city which still are current and believed among the Indians and Chilotes. 137

One day while hunting we were startled by a loud report, as of the discharge of a cannon, and looking to the west saw a black cloud of smoke hanging above the peaks of the Cor- 33

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136 prize and kill the sitting bird, which he carefully hides, and then proceed to eat the eggs with great gusto. We not unfrequently found the eggs broken and scattered by these animals, whilst the bird was generally discovered hard by. The foxes, I think, content themselves with sucking the eggs; but I was assured that near Geylum, where wild cats are common, these latter will kill the bird on the nest, like their relatives the puma. Besides these there are the condors, eagles, and hawks, which no doubt commit extensive ravages on the young broods. With all these difficulties to contend with, the Rhea Darwinii exists in great numbers, and if not kept down to a certain extent by the Indians and
224 other enemies would overrun the whole country. We were, while at Chiriq, busily engaged in the destruction of both guanaco and ostrich, the high rugged range of hills that bounded Chiriq on the eastern side literally swarming with guanaco; and as the females, heavy with young, could not keep up their speed for a long distance, one man not unfrequently captured and killed five and six, or even eight; extracting the young and taking its skin for mantles and the carcase for food, while the hide of the mother served, if needed, to repair the toldo. The marrow bones also were taken as a dainty, but the meat was left for the condors, puma, and foxes. We hunted almost every day, and traversed
● 133 nearly all the surrounding country. The plains lying to the west afforded beautiful ground to ride over, covered with soft grass, but a few leagues from the Cordillera a sudden dip occurs, which forms a large basin, lying about fifty feet below the level of the plain, like the bed of a lake, and extending to the mountains; the surface of this was chiefly covered with grass, but in some parts the yellow clay and beds of stone were visible. On the higher ground, before reaching this basin, numerous lagoons occurred, round one of which there was a large gull-rookery, and the inhabitants made themselves audible at a long distance. Here also I
136 noticed many of the tero-tero, a spur-winged lapwing, com-

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which we dried ourselves and cooked our dinner. A more romantic-looking spot than this I was never in. On the other side of the stream was a mass of grey rocks, half hid by shrubs, from amongst which here and there a dead tree stood up. On one side the grass was beautifully green, and the trees were growing in scattered round clumps a few yards apart; down were coming in their branches, and young ostriches were running about. These, I am sorry to say, were caught by the horsemen, who jumped down and secured them: hunger had no scruples, and two furnished a good meal for each wet and starving traveller. Despite our ducking, we were soon all in high spirits, and some of us, before going back to the tolderia, proceeded to search for wild potatoes, a few of which we brought back. The following morning the sun rose bright, with a clear sky, so we continued our march in a westerly direction, arriving about midday at a gorge amongst the wooded hills, where I hoped that we were going to encamp; the woman, however, diverged to the northward, and proceeded up a ravine or cañon in the barranca of the high pampa, pitched the toldos in a gloomy prison-like spot. Melancholy as it seemed to me, it afforded abundant pasture for the horses, which between the hills was scarce, so that they were inclined to wander into the woods and be hard to find when wanted, which undoubtedly was the reason of our taking the cañon in preference to the wooded valley. This cañon, a little beyond our camp, divided into two, in one of which was a laguna frequented by swans. The stream, which in spring poured down the glen, presented only an occasional pool and a dry bed, in which were numbers of rounded white stones of chalky substance, supplying capital materials for holes, easily reduced to the suitable form: it also occurred to me that the chips pounded to powder might have the curative effects of chalk mixture, as diarrhœa had affected some of the party, and the result of the medicinal experiment was satisfactory, though it was impossible to prevail on the Indians to try the

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133 remedy. Whilst the women were pitching toldos, the men, eight in number, started to hunt again. Riding to the west, where the plain was still open, we came upon another of the huge basins previously described, on the western side of which, beyond a lagoon stocked with waterfowl, flowed a broad winding stream fringed with trees. At a short dis-
133 tance from the other side of the stream open glades extended
137 for the space of perhaps a mile to the verge of the interminable forests, rising high up on the lofty sides of mountains, some of whose summits were still partially snow-clad. To the south were two or three round detached hummocks, hardly deserving the name of hills, crowned with trees. In the foreground were immense herds of guanaco, and on the northern side frowned a high range of arid-looking hills, forming a great contrast to the deliciously-refreshing green aspect of the other points of view. Whilst waiting concealed behind a bush for the coming herd, which had been cunningly encircled by Tchang and another Indian, and were to be driven in our direction, we gazed long at the beautiful view before us, and Orkeke pointed out a mountain some distance to the north, underneath which, he said, was the entrance to the scene of our future campaign against the wild cattle. Towards evening we returned to the toldos, pretty well loaded with skins. On another occasion, when hunting, we made a circle, finishing off in the wooded district near the banks of the river. On our return we hunted over a park-like country, with alternate open glades and woods. Here we killed a doe red deer and a large descrip-
[136] tion of fox, apparently identical with the Falkland Island species (Lupus antarcticus). In the vicinity of the woods, the velvety sward was carpeted with the wild strawberry plants, which, however, were only in bloom. On this occasion our enjoyment was marred by one of the party getting a severe fall, which laid him up for a day or two. Before we reached the toldos rain set in heavily, which during the night turned to snow, and the morning sun shone on a white landscape.

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During our stay the women went to the woods to cut fresh poles for the toldos, and the men brought back from the wooded country a description of fungus, which, when dried, forms an excellent tinder, of considerable value amongst the Indians, as there are only a few spots where it is to be obtained. After some days spent in this pleasant neighbourhood, as the supply of guanaco was failing, we marched over the barren range of hills, and passing a lagoon of considerable extent below the hills, encamped on the other side of them, by the side of a smaller one, in a place called 'Gogomenykaik.'

During the hunt I had singled out a guanaco, and was in full chase across the upper pampa, which was covered with stunted bushes and tufts of grass, when the quarry suddenly disappeared, as if the earth had swallowed him. The next moment my horse halted in mid-gallop, with its fore feet on the edge of a precipitous descent which shelved away without any warning. Below was a long beautiful glen, with a pool of water glistening among the trees which filled it, but did not rear their topmost boughs above the level of the pampa. Here the guanaco had taken refuge, and as the descent was impracticable for a horse, I could only gaze longingly down into the fairy-like scene, and turn away to join the circle, remembering that it was only too easy to lose oneself by delay. Of this an instance occurred the same day, for one of the Chilians did not appear at the fireside when the hunting was completed. At first no heed was bestowed on him, as it was natural to suppose that he had chased a herd of guanaco to some distance, and was detained taking off the skins; but when at sunset he was still missing, some dry grass was fired, for the purpose of directing him to our camp. The following morning he had not appeared when we started to hunt, myself going as pointsman with Orkeke. We galloped for some distance over the plain, and halted in a hollow, where we came on six young skunks outside their parental burrow, into which they quickly vanished on our

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dismounting; but as their burrows do not penetrate far, Orkeke soon grubbed out a couple. As they were too small to kill for the value of their skins, and too much trouble to carry home as pets for the children, we set them free again, and I proceeded, leaving Orkeke to pursue his way slowly. A slight rise brought me in front of a rocky hill, on the other side of which was a river with wooded banks, across the valley of which river lay my route. I at first considered it to be the same as that seen in the previous encampment, but on reflection it was plainly another, this flowing north-east, whilst the other took a south-west course. Our hunt progressed very fairly. On closing the circle, one of the Chilians, who was running a guanaco with me, and not expert in the use of the bolas, entangled his horse and himself instead of the chase, which lost him his spoils, and caused much merriment amongst the remainder of the party; although I may as well state here that when a horse gets a ball round his legs or under his tail, it is not much of a joking matter for the rider. On our way back to camp, halting by a spring, we found large quantities of wild celery; nettles were also common—the real old English white-flowering one being prevalent. Although my bare legs got considerably stung, I forgot to swear in Tehuelche, and forgave the plant for old acquaintance sake. At the toldos we found the Chilian, who had arrived recently, having run a herd some distance and lost his way, but had been safely directed by our signal fires. In the afternoon some of the party were occupied in breaking their horses, while others were sitting at home lazily watching the performance. Conde's step-father, generally known as 'Paliki,' had a three-year-old iron-grey, with a white star, and a very fine animal, tied up ready to be mounted for the first time. Paliki entered our toldo to borrow my cincta, or girth, and chaffed me, asking if I would venture to 'domar' him. Orkeke seconded the proposal, and accordingly, having stripped off mantle and boots, I proceeded to take the lazo and reins and mount. The in-

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peruse my library, namely, half of the delightful 'Elsie Venner,' which Crimè had picked up on board some ship to serve as wadding for his guns, and sold to me for a little powder. To enable the reader to follow our somewhat devious course and the intricacies of these hills and frequent rivers, the sketch map at page 164 will be found useful; it does not pretend to be exact, but gives a very fair idea of the line of country traversed, and of our migrations between Henno and Teckel.

On the 23rd, Indians having been seen to the north and guanaco hunting proving a failure, Orkeke, to my great delight, proposed a visit to the wild-cattle country. The camp was accordingly struck, and following more or less the valley of the river, which flowed after one turn nearly due east, we shortly came out into an open plain running up between the mountains, at the head of which we encamped by some tall beeches on the banks of the stream. The whole of the latter part of the plain traversed was literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom, the soil being of a dark peaty nature. Young ostriches were now numerous, and every hunt some were captured, and formed a welcome addition to our dinner. The children had several alive as pets, which they used to let loose and then catch with miniature bolas, generally ending in killing them. Our programme was to leave all the women, toldos, and other encumbrances in this spot, named 'Weekel,' or Chaykash—a regular station, and which Hinchel's party had occupied a few weeks previously—and proceed ourselves into the interior in search of cattle. The following morning at daylight horses were caught and saddled, and, after receiving the good wishes of the women, who adjured us to bring back plenty of fat beef, we started off just as the sun was rising behind the hills to the eastward. The air was most invigorating, and we trotted along for some distance up a slightly irregular and sandy slope, halting after an hour or two by the side of a deliciously clear brook, flowing east,

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where we smoked. We had previously passed guanaco and ostrich, but no notice was taken of them, the Indians having larger game in view. After passing this brook, the head-water of the river near which we had left the toldos, we skirted a large basin-like plain of beautiful green pasture, and after galloping for some time entered the forest, travelling along a path which only permitted us to proceed in Indian-file. The trees were in many places dead, not blackened by fire, but standing up like ghostly bleached and bare skeletons. It is a remarkable fact that all the forests on the eastern side are skirted by a belt of dead trees. At length, however, just as we came in sight of a curiously pointed rock which in the distance resembled the spire of a church, we entered the forest of live trees; the undergrowth was composed of currant, bay, and other bushes, whilst here and there were beds of yellow violets, and the inevitable strawberry plants everywhere. After crossing a stream, which, flowing from the north, afterwards took a westerly course, thus proving that we had passed the watershed, we proceeded, under cover of a huge rock, to reconnoitre the hunting ground. The scenery was beautiful: a valley, about a mile wide, stretched directly under us; on the southern verge a silver line marked the easterly river, and another on the northern the one debouching in the Pacific; whilst above, on both sides, rose high mountains covered with vegetation and almost impenetrable forests. On the western side of the valley a solitary bull was leisurely taking his breakfast, and above our look-out rock a huge condor lazily flapped his wings. These were the only specimens of animal life in view. Pursuing our way in perfect silence, as from the first entrance into the forests speaking had been prohibited, we followed the leader along the narrow cattle path, passing here and there the remains of a dead bull or cow that had met their fate by the Indian's lazo, and at length descended to the plain. It was about midday, and the day was warm, so we halted, changed horses, looked to our girths, got lazos ready

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133 for use, and then started on. As we were proceeding we
136 observed two or three animals amongst the woods on the
224 opposite side, but knowing that it would be useless to follow, pursued our course up the valley. Having crossed the western stream, we at once entered a thicket where the path was scarcely distinguishable from the cover, but our leader never faltered, and led the way through open glades alternating with thick woods, on every side of which were cattle marks, many being holes stamped out by the bulls, or wallowing places. The glades soon terminated in forests, which seemed to stretch unbroken on either side. We had expected before reaching this point to have found cattle in considerable numbers, but the warmth of the day had probably driven them into the thickets to seek shelter. We now commenced to ascend over a dangerous path, encumbered here and there with loose boulders and entangled in dense thickets, whilst we could hear and catch occasional glimpses of the river foaming down a ravine on our left, and presently arrived at the top of a ridge where the forests became more uniformly dense, and we could with great difficulty pursue our way. It was a mystery to me how Orkeke, who acted as guide, knew where we were, as on one occasion the slightly-marked paths diverged in different directions, and on another we literally found ourselves amongst fallen trees in a forest so dense that the light of day scarcely penetrated its shades. Our leader, however, never hesitated, but led us onwards in all confidence. Whilst brushing along, if I may be allowed the term, trying to keep the leader in sight, I heard something tapping on a tree, and looking up, saw close above
[136] me a most beautifully marked red-crested woodpecker. We at length commenced to descend, and, after passing many channels of rivulets issuing from springs, where a slip of the horse's foot on the wet and mossy stones would have occasioned something worse than broken bones, as they were situated on the edge of a deep ravine, finally emerged from the woods and found ourselves on a hill of some three hundred

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feet in height, whence we looked down on a broad plain in the form of a triangle, bounded by the river flowing through the ravine on the north side, and on the southern by another coming from the south, which two streams united in one large river at the western apex, at a distance of about perhaps a league. Above and around, on all sides excepting to the west and the ravines through which the rivers flowed, rose the unbroken wall of the lofty mountains of the Cordillera, many of their peaks snow-clad. No sound was to be heard except the rushing of the river in the ravine, and no animal life to be seen except a condor or two floating high above us in the clear sky. The scene was sublime, and I viewed it in silence for some minutes, till the pipe, being handed to me, dispelled all nascent poetic tendencies. The Indians remained silent and looked disgusted, as a herd of cattle had been expected to be viewed on the plain below. We descended to the flats, and crossed the river, on the banks of which 'Paja' or Pampa-grass grew in abundance, as well as the bamboo-like canes from which Araucanian Indians make their lance shafts, and a plant called by the Chilians 'Talka,' the stalk of which, resembling rhubarb, is refreshing and juicy. On the northern edges and slope of the ravine behind us towered graceful pines sixty feet high, which, though an impassable barrier of rock prevented close inspection, appeared to be a species of Araucaria; the bark was imbricated and the stems rose bare of branches for two-thirds of their height, like those figured by M. Gay. Many had been carried down by landslips, and lay tossed and entangled on the sides of the ravine. The increase of temperature after [132] passing the watershed was sensibly great, amounting to from seven to ten degrees, and the vegetation far more luxuriant, the plants presenting many new forms unknown at the eastern side. After leaving the plain and crossing the shallow stream, we left our mantles, and girthed up near a tree in a thicket festooned with a beautiful creeper, having a bell-shaped flower of violet radiated with brown. The

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133 variety of flowers made an Eden of this lovely spot: climbing
137 clusters of sweet-peas, vetches, and rich golden flowers re-
224 sembling gorgeous marigolds, and many another blossom, filled the air with perfume and delighted the eye with their beauty. Proceeding still westward we entered a valley with alternate clumps of trees and green pastures, and after riding about a mile I espied from a ridge on one side of the valley two bulls on the other side, just clear of the thick
224 woods bordering the ascent of the mountains. The word was passed in whispers to the cacique, and a halt being called under cover of some bushes, a plan of attack was arranged in the following manner. Two men were sent round to endeavour to drive the animals to a clearing where it would be possible to use the lazo, the remainder of the party proceeding down towards the open ground with lazos, ready to chase if the bulls should come that way. For a few minutes we remained stationary, picking the strawberries, which in this spot were ripe, although the plants previously met with were only in flower. At the end of five minutes spent in anxiously hoping that our plan would prove successful, a yell from the other side put us on the alert, and we had the gratification to see one of the animals coming straight towards our cover. Alas! just as we were preparing to dash out, he turned on the edge of the plain, and after charging furiously at his pursuers dashed into a thicket, where he stood at bay. We immediately closed round him, and dismounting, I advanced on foot to try and bring him down with the revolver; just as I had got within half a dozen paces of him, and behind a bush was quietly taking aim at his shoulder, the Indians, eager for beef, and safe on their horses at a considerable distance off, shouted, 'Nearer! nearer!' I accordingly stepped from my cover, but had hardly moved a pace forward when my spur caught in a root: at the same moment 'El Toro' charged. Entangled with the root, I could not jump on one side as he came on; so when within a yard I fired a shot in his face, hoping to

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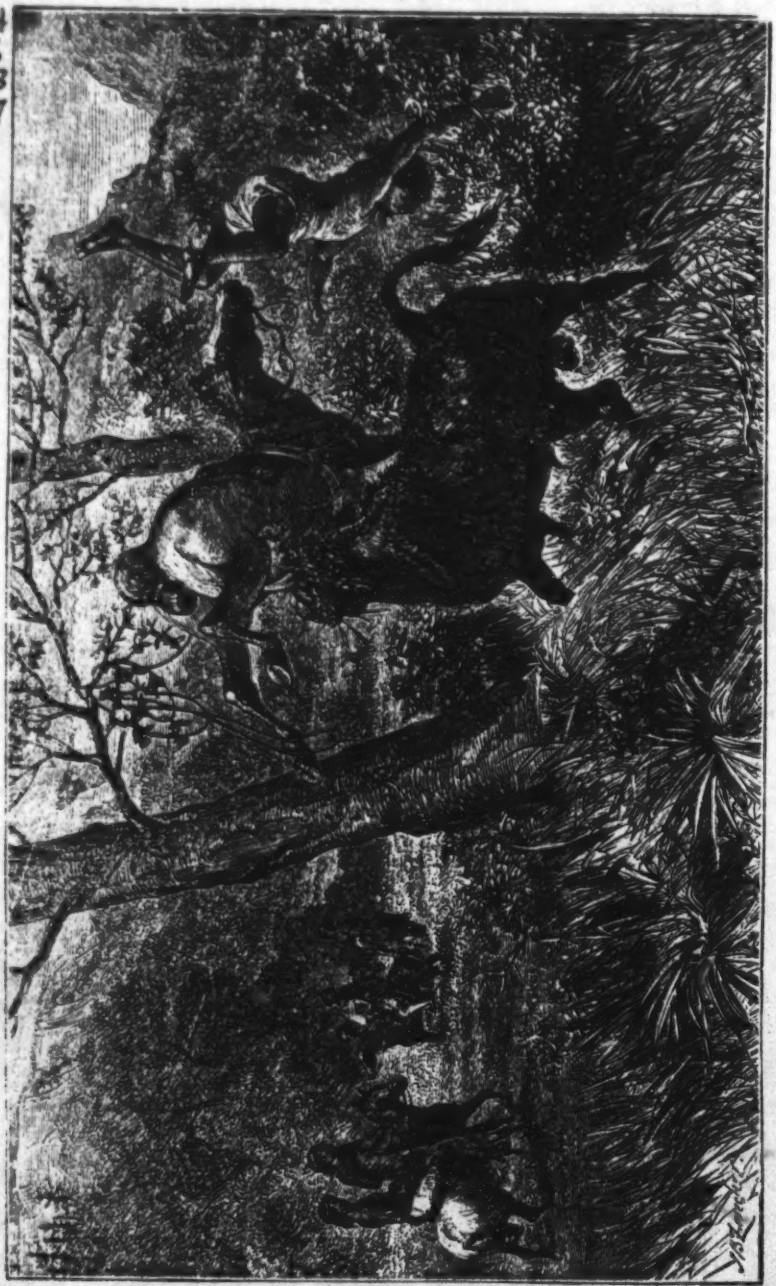

PAGE 159.

A WILD BULL IN THE CORDILLERA.

[facing p. 159]

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361 adjourned to the toldos, situated on the bend of the river near a ford or pass. We had now arrived at the camp agreed on as a general rendezvous at Henno, previous to the dispersion of the Indians. This valley is called Teckel, and is a favourite
361 resting-place after the young guanaco season, both for the
133 purpose of refreshing the horses and manufacturing the young guanaco skins into mantles, previous to proceeding to trade either at the Rio Negro or with the Indians of Las Manzanas. The encampment is usually situated on the ground occupied at this time, viz., on the west side of the river, about a mile from a large barren hill which shuts out the view of the Cordillera. On the east side the valley extends some three miles, and continues open to the north for perhaps six miles. It is all fertile, but the best grazing ground is at the north-east end. The banks of the river, which are destitute of trees, are in many places high, and formed under the surface earth of various stratified clays—blue, white, and red. In the bottom of the stream, which is singularly free from stones, thick beds of clay are of frequent occurrence, almost approaching to the tufa found in the Parana and other confluents of La Plata, and in some spots there are beds of black sand, probably auriferous; fish are procurable in any
[134] eddy or pool, and crayfish abound and form the most tempting bait for the others. Out of some of the finest clay I was enabled to manufacture a pipe by the simple process of shaping it in the hand and then baking it in the ashes, but
000 it did not last long. Shortly after our arrival one of the small children, whilst playing with bolas formed out of the foot and sinews of an ostrich, hurt himself, and in consequence a slaughter of mares took place, which opportunely enabled us to dispense with hunting and rest our horses, which by this time stood in sore need of some bye days, though, as there was a good racecourse, we frequently indulged in a race just to keep the horses in exercise. After we had been about a week settled here, the women being all hard at work making up mantles—which will be described in

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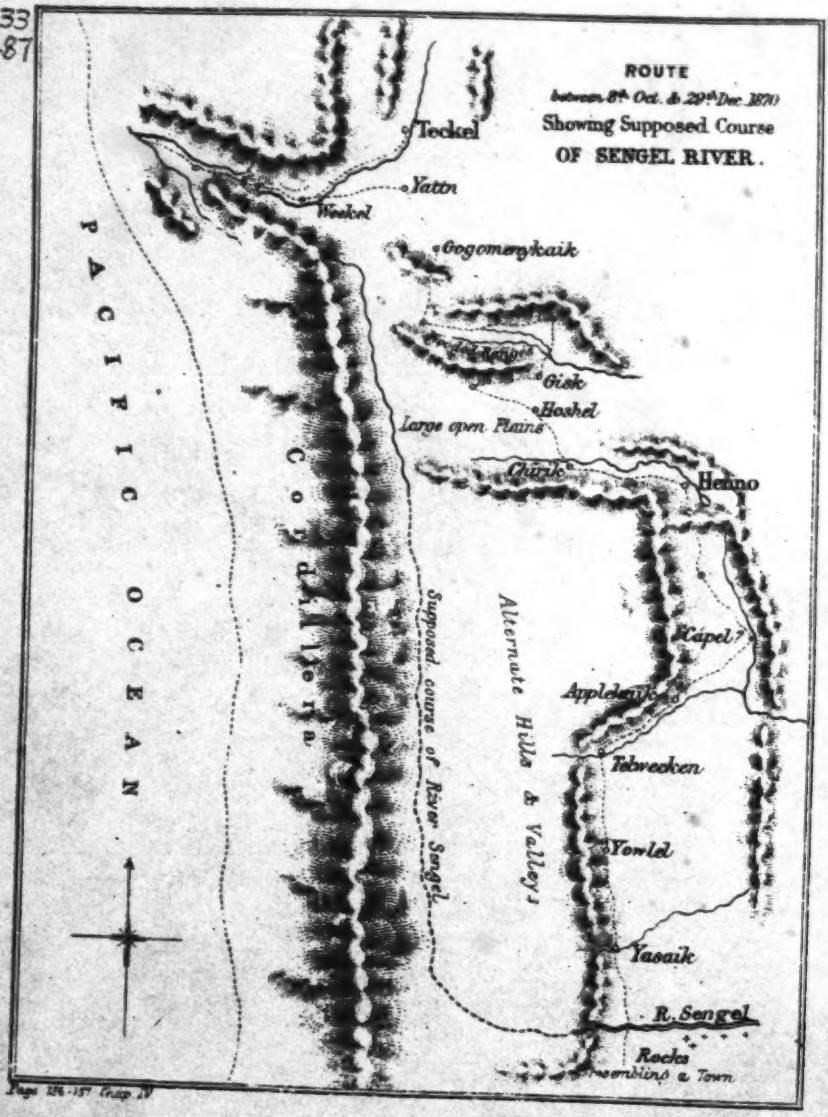

[facing p 164]

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592 position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

● 133 The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They 136 are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are 252 very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work- 281 415 baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

852 The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

648 Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bring- 576 ing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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whole cavalcade of women and children were in motion, and the circle formed for the hunt.

133 Several shallow streams, fringed with dwarf beeches, were crossed, flowing into lagoons or into the Teckel River, the course of which lay north-east of our line, and the cavalcade of women struck the valley occasionally in the march. Of the hills dividing these streams, the southern side consisted of gradual slopes covered with coarse grass, while the northern counterslopes were precipitous, and covered with loose rocks and stones. Orkeke, in the previous marches, had often informed me that the Araucanos' country was very stony, and that there were a great many armadilloes, but little other game; and this day guanaco were rarely seen, but ostriches were numerous and armadillo abounded.

After crossing several ridges and glens, we at length traversed a hillocky plain, of the usual scrub-covered aspect, and strewn with flint, agate, and other pebbles, and encamped for the night in a place called 'Woolkein,' situated by the side of a water-course which was now nearly dry, the water only remaining in the deep holes. We had left the cañon or valley of the river Teckel a few miles east, from which point it appeared to give a sharp turn in an easterly direction.

To the west the mountains of the Cordillera were visible about twenty miles distant, while on the south were the rocky abrupt hills already passed over, and on the north a range of rather peaked hills running west, and appearing to slope at their western extremity towards the plains beneath the Cordillera. Next morning, before the rime was off the pasture, we were again *en route*, and after a rocky descent of perhaps fifty feet reached a second plain, everywhere strewn with stones, which rendered galloping very difficult; nevertheless a large herd of guanaco were enclosed, and numbers killed, while ostrich, on the contrary, appeared to be very
136 scarce. To my great surprise, whilst running some guanaco, two large partridges got up from close to my horse's feet,

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and flying a short distance settled again. Partridges had been described to me in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, but I had never seen one, and these were the first met with in the country. Towards three in the afternoon we emerged from the stony district to a plain covered with sand and scrub, and after refreshing ourselves at a rivulet, travelled westward, with the Cordillera in full front, till we turned a high cliff which jutted out from the grassy slopes in which the hills fell gradually down to the plains, and beyond it, turning again northward, entered a level plain, at the far extremity of which we observed with great contentment the answering smoke from the toldos of the Araucanian Indians. On the south-west edge of this valley the high beetling cliff obscured the view of the wooded mountains, which, however, showed out between the hills shutting in the valley we had traversed up to this point. On the eastern side rose a range of hills, barren and desolate, with here and there a single guanaco in solitary majesty, cropping the stunted grass. In front of us, directly to the north, lay a large lagoon, in which numerous swans and flamingoes were wading and swimming about. Beyond it were visible the toldos of the Araucanians, ten in number.

We halted near the head of the lagoon, under shelter of some thick bushes, to collect our forces, don our best ponchos and silver ornaments, and change our horses, and then proceeded slowly to within about a quarter of a mile of the toldos. To our great surprise nobody appeared to receive us; but at length a woman arrived with the intelligence that all the men were away hunting, but had been sent for, and would arrive shortly.

Our women meanwhile erected the toldos on a green sward, carpeted with strawberry plants, near to a small stream which divided our camp from that of the Araucanos. All dismounted and rested after the long journey of fully forty miles from the previous station; and in about half an hour the Araucanos appeared, galloping like demons. Their

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Manzanas, where the Indians anticipated finding plenty of fruit and plenty of drink. After leaving Engel, the character of the country changed. We were no longer traversing pampas, with their dreary monotony, but journeyed through level valleys of two or three miles in extent, watered by rivulets fringed with stunted trees, and abounding with game. The general line of the dividing hills—which were round downs and occasionally broken and waterworn cliffs—was from east to west, seeming as if they were thrown off as spurs from the Cordillera, from which, however, their western bases were divided by a valley often narrowing to a glen, down which flowed a stream in a northward course. Towards evening a halt was made at the side of a stream where there was sufficient pasture for the horses, and it was an amusing sight to watch the long line of women winding down the hills in the distance, like a flock of ants; the Araucanians driving their cattle and mares separate from our party, and their sheep bringing up the rear by slow marches under charge of some lads.

Early the following morning the camp was struck, and after crossing a hill directly above the encampment, which was covered with rank high grass, we descended the northward slope to a wild, barren-looking plain, at the northern side of which, near to a low range of hills, some trees and a silver line marked the course of a river flowing from the Cordillera, the mountains of which rose to a height of 2,000 or 3,000 feet, wooded nearly to the summits, and their crest glittering with occasional patches of snow that had defied the power of the summer sun. Traversing this plain, which was dotted with barberry and other bushes, and varied here and there by small hummocky ridges, we closed the hunting circle by the banks of the stream, a few miles distant from the Cordillera. Here, in different parties, the usual fires were lit, and the hunting meal discussed, after which we proceeded to the toldos. The Araucanians had pitched theirs on the southern bank of the river, amongst some

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133 clumps of trees; whilst those of the Tehuelches were situated on the northern bank, the river dividing the two villages. Westward from our encampment the barren plain was succeeded by a wide level of grass, reaching to the base of the mountains, some two miles distant; but higher up the course of the river, which trended to the north, the plain appeared to resume its barren and stony aspect, with here and there a dry lagoon, until the slope of the mountains was reached, and detached belts of trees formed the commencement of the forest. On the southern side of the river the pasture was not very abundant; nevertheless there was sufficient for the horses, cattle, and sheep of our allies to graze upon.

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527 After the usual stable drill most of us bathed in the stream, which, although nowhere of great depth, had pools at intervals suited for bathing; but the water was icy cold. The day following our arrival at this camp, which was named Diplaik, a birthday feast took place in the Araucanian toldos, to which most of us were invited, the usual tent being erected and a dance held in the evening, and the feast and dance were kept up for two days and nights, at the end of which a messenger arrived from Foyel to say that Calfi-cura, the chief of the Indians encamped at the Salinas north of the Rio Negro, near Bahia Blanca, was going to make war on Buenos Ayres, the reason assigned being the murder of one of his relations by the Christians; he therefore desired the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join with him in the inroad. His literal message was as follows: 'My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against these Christians, who tire me out with their falseness.'

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A parlemento was called, and the chiefs deliberated for some time, but in the end determined to have nothing to do with the affair; so a message was sent to the effect that he might do as he pleased, but that they wished to maintain peace.

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T 262 226 177 Tehuelches would before this touch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

T 133 On the 12th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Crimé, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two T [134] wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos A already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this 608 day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuhual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Eagel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 73.

Tehuelche friends

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On the 16th of February we left Lilly-baik, and bid adieu to the pleasant river and the sylvan delights of this Paradise, as it seemed to us, with its flowery shades. As we ascended the northern declivity of the high ground bounding the valley, I halted to take a farewell look; and nowhere has a more beautiful scene presented itself to my gaze. The valley narrowed as it curved to the west, and at its head, through a gigantic cleft, the perpendicular walls of which rose several hundred feet, the waters of the river issued from their mountain cradle. So deep was the gloom of this gorge, that it was impenetrable to even Indian eyes, and the river seemed to flow into the sunlight out of unknown darkness. Above, on either hand, the precipitous cliffs sloped upwards into high mountains clothed with a rich mantle of the dark green, cedar-like foliage of the beech forests; and between [37] their summits might be discerned the dazzling peaks of far-distant loftier mountains crowned with perpetual snow.

Turning our backs upon this lovely scene, we crossed a remarkable succession of barren and stony terraces or benches of curiously irregular formation, the terraces running in different directions, and presenting no parallel lines to indicate any uniform action of water; the irregular slopes and level surfaces resembling a complication of gigantic steps. We at length descended to a plain bordering a river, which all the Indians agreed in declaring to be the main branch of the Chupat. The banks on the southern side were remarkable for being fringed with a species of pampas grass, while on the northern side grew a few trees, near which the toldos were pitched.

The river was about forty yards in width, and easily fordable in most places, although there were deep reaches where a horse had to swim. The foremost party of the hunters crossed first, and some, either not knowing or careless of the fords, enjoyed a bathe, swimming alongside their horses. By eventide all our party, women and baggage, had arrived. A few days' halt was occasioned in this place,

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133 named Chupatrush, by the continued illness of the cacique Crimé. We hunted in all the surrounding country, which presented no very remarkable features. Down river, or to speak more correctly to the eastward, after passing a range of hills of the usual description, covered with short tufty grass, interspersed with shrubs, through which the river forces its way in a succession of narrow gorges, a large plain opened out, which extended for perhaps nine miles on each side, scantily covered with grass, excepting towards the banks of the river, where the pasture was luxuriant.

A subsequent comparison of the observations made by Welsh settlers as to its lower course with my own, aided by Indian accounts, enables me to state that the Chupat river is characterised throughout its course by the narrow gorge-like cuttings alternating with similar wide plains, all of which are suitable for cultivation. Besides the Sengel, which is doubtless one of its main feeders, other streams occurring in our journey had also been described as tributaries of the Chupat, and by their direction of course it would appear that their waters, if they reach the sea, must flow into this river; but it seems to me difficult to understand how, if the Chupat receives the drainage of so large an area of country, its stream near the mouth, as described both by Indians and settlers, can be of such small dimensions. It is, therefore, probable that some, if not most, of the lesser rivers lose themselves in lagoons or swamps in the central districts, and the reader must be pleased to remember that the courses of these rivers, as indicated on the map, are not in all cases laid down from my own observation, but partly from Indian description and partly from an already existing map, probably compiled from similar data.

To the westward plains occur at intervals apparently until the river debouches from the ravines of the high mountains of the Andes, about twelve miles from the encampment. At this point the stream flows from the northward, and the Indians informed me has its source in a large lake, most

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probably Nahuel-huapi. The pasture in the immediate [33]
vicinity of the camp was scanty, having apparently been recently burned, but the soil was of a rich alluvial description. In the chase the most remarkable thing observed was the [36]
abundance of armadillos, one hunter frequently bringing in two or three. Fish also were abundant in the river, and averaged a larger size than those previously caught.

On February 18th smoke was observed to the northward, not far distant, and towards evening a chasqui arrived, bringing with him a couple of bottles of liquor for Quintuhual, as well as news that things were going on well amongst Foyel's people; and on the 21st we again marched over a high plateau broken by numerous irregular ravines which appeared to have been swept by an inundation. High isolated cliffs stood up as though the waters had washed round them and swept away the intervening soil, leaving their water-worn faces marked with the indelible record of the floods, as plainly as the torn and blasted rocks in the southern districts bore the traces of volcanic fires. At last a more unbroken plain terminated suddenly in a shelving descent of 300 to 400 feet, the wall of a chasm covered with grass and shrubs interspersed with scattered boulders, down which we made our way, encamping near the base, where a beautiful spring gushed from the side. The bottom of the cañon, which was nearly half a mile in width, contained a watercourse, the bed of which was dry at this season, except a few pools of stagnant water unsuitable for drinking.

It was intended to despatch messengers from this place, 202
which was called Cushamon, to Foyel, and also Checoque, the chief of Las Manzanas, warning him of our near approach; and accordingly, after our arrival in camp, I wrote a letter to the said chieftain at the dictation of Casimiro, which in well-rounded periods and with much complimentary verbiage explained the fact and reasons of our having united all the Indians and inviting their co-operation.

The following morning, after the letter had been read and

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the hunting party, but overtook the people who had arrived with the grog, returning with their remaining mantles, horses, colts, &c., and loudly abusing the Tehuelches for a set of thieving rascals. One of this party was a Valdivian boy who spoke fluent Spanish, and invited me to accompany him to Los Llanos, whither he now intended returning. He stated that in seven or eight days he hoped to reach his destination, and that from thence to the port of Valdivia was but a day and a half's journey. On arriving at the next encampment I bade adieu to these people, who continued their march farther to the north, not liking to trust their property again in the neighbourhood of our camp.

Only halting for the night, we resumed our journey shortly after daylight, mounting a rather steep ascent to a high plateau strewn with sharp stones and crossed by ridges of rocks at intervals.

Ostriches and guanaco were numerous, and although chasing them almost involved the certainty of laming one's horse, many were killed. In this hunt a male guanaco came racing towards me from the Indians on the western side of the circle, and on my galloping to intercept him, he turned and descended a ridge of rocks. I was about to throw the bolas, being within distance, when he suddenly tripped, and, falling on his head, lay stunned at the bottom of the cliff, where I soon despatched him with my knife.

These barren pampas terminated suddenly in a line of cliffs, gradually but steeply shelving in some places, and in others presenting a perpendicular descent of 200 feet; at the base lay a large plain watered by a brook, and enclosed on the southern, eastern, and partially on the western sides by these cliffs, while the northern and north-western boundary was formed by hills rising in gentle slopes. In about the centre of this plain, close to the brook side, were to be distinguished the toldos of Foyel, to which the women were wending their way, having descended by a ravine to the east, while some distance to the north-east on the upper plains were to be distin-

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In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-
kaik or Rocky Hills, Crimè's illness caused us to remain encamped until March 21, during the greater part of which time I and several others were suffering from neuralgia and ulcerations in the mouth, caused I think, by the bad water we had to drink, perhaps also by the want of salt, which had become a very scarce commodity.

Friendly rivalry was kept up between the tribes in play, hunting, and other sports, in which fortune varied from one side to the other. Every other day I visited poor Crimè, whose groans might be heard at night accompanied by the chant of some old hag. The sick man always asked me how long he would live. I at first tried to persuade him that he would get well, but after a time, as he was really fast sinking, gave him to understand that he might live a month if he was lucky. I offered to open his leg and endeavour to cure him, but this he would not allow, stating that if he died under the operation it would go hard with the doctor, which was indeed true, so I gave up my intentions of performing a surgical operation.

Before we broke up the camp, a Valdivian and other Indians arrived from Cheoeque's, but brought little news, stating that the Manzaneros were still dispersed amongst the valleys of the Cordillera engaged in gathering the yearly harvest of apples and piñones: of these we had already received plenty from Foyel's people, who kept up a constant communication with their relations near the Rio Limay.

On the 21st all left the valley and travelled a few leagues through a diversified country. On the line of march cliffs, which stood out in the glens in irregular, picturesque manner, were of yellow and red sandstone, but to the westward black basaltic heights could be seen abutting on the plains, while in hunting over the higher ground masses of ironstone and igneous rock were met with scattered over the surface. We remained for the night in a valley called Changi, and, proceeding next day, arrived about noon at a large plain shut in by sandstone cliffs on the eastern side, at the northern

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side of which towered a peculiar pointed rock, perhaps 800 feet in height, standing out alone on the sloping descent; viewed from the western side, it appeared like a natural column composed of stratified yellow and red and black layers of sand, and on the summit a condor had his eyry. 33

The plain extended for several miles to the west, where it was again closed in by cliffs, differing from those to the eastward in being composed of basalt. In this plain, called Geylum, situated, according to Indian accounts, a few leagues to the eastward of Lake Nahuel-huapi, and distant sixty miles from the Rio Limay, and seventy-five miles from Las Manzanas, it was determined to spend the time required for sending chasquis to give notice of our near approach, prior to all marching in company for Chocoeque's head-quarters.

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civilised appearance of those Indians. We passed several very hungry and disagreeable days in Geylum previous to starting; there was little game in the surrounding country, and the weather was cold and wet, with occasional snow. For two whole days Casimiro, Meña, and myself, who were usually messmates, had nothing to eat but an armadillo and a few fish which I caught in a pool of the stream. Near the Column Rock, whilst hunting, we discovered a 'cache,' belonging to Foyel's Indians, which contained something wrapped and lashed up in hides: although the temptation was great to overhaul its contents, the package was left unopened, and a quiet warning conveyed to Foyel that others were not likely to be so scrupulous. This confirmed what Casimiro had said as to these Indians providently leaving bags of fat and provisions in various places to which they expected to return at no very distant period.

On the day fixed in the council, held subsequent to the return of the chasquis, we all started, fully equipped, on our journey to Las Manzanas, mustering 250 men of the united Indians, without toldos or baggage, and in light marching order with a few spare horses. A few horses were loaded with coverings for toldos, mantles, &c., which the women hoped to sell to advantage to the Araucanians, and a few of the women accompanied the expedition to conduct their barter, while a guard of perhaps forty men remained behind to provide food for the women and children who were to await our return.

We crossed the gradually sloping irregular plains covered with stunted bushes, but scarcely deserving the name of high pampas, which bordered the northern side of the valley of Geylum, and after passing between two parallel walls of rocks, forming a sort of natural street, we emerged into a succession of grassy plains, separated by barren rocky hills covered with scrub, on attaining the summits of which the wooded Cordillera on the western side rose into view some few leagues distant. About eleven A.M., after we had been

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some four hours on our march, we met two men, bringing 133
with them a pack-horse with a couple of skins of grog for
Foyel's people. They were soon surrounded by Tehuelches,
who proposed to drink there and then, and were much inclined
to help themselves; but a messenger from Foyel's people in
the rear arriving, they were permitted to pass unmolested on
their way to Geylum, and we proceeded on our journey and
formed a circle to hunt. The country became more im-
practicable for riding as we left the lower plains and mounted
some hills broken by deep gorges and bristling in every part
with rocks sparkling with unusually large plates of mica,
which glistened like glass in the sunshine; these hills were
terminated by steep cliffs, over which the ostriches were 224
driven, a party having previously descended to look out for
them below. It was a curious sight to see the ostriches
dropping down heights varying from ten to fifty feet, often
two or three together, with outspread wings. They appeared
generally to be stunned for a minute or two on reaching the
bottom, and by the time they were on their legs found them-
selves hampered by a ball from the unerring hand of some
stalwart Tehuelche, and running a yard or two fell with
broken legs.

Descending from these cliffs we mounted a range of hills 133
more than 2,000 feet high, by means of a tolerably practicable
track for travelling, and on arriving at the summit halted
for the remainder of the cavalcade. From this point a most
magnificent view presented itself; right below us, looking
quite close, but really some thirty miles distant, lay a dark
line as of a deep cutting, marking the valley of the Rio
Limay, which on the west side was terminated by high
wooded mountains with steep precipitous sides. Away to
the N.W. was a very high snowclad mountain, on which the
rays of the setting sun were shedding a rose-coloured light.
Between this and the line of the river rose wooded ranges of
hills, the real apple groves we had heard so much about;
below these again was a low peaked eminence, at the foot of

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133 which, invisible to our eyes, lay our destination, viz., the toldos of Cheoeque. For weeks Las Manzanas and Cheoeque had been almost the sole topic of conversation, and the general excitement, which had been intense at starting, now cul-
782 minated at the sight of our distant bourne. As we halted the Indians all raised their hands to their foreheads, saluting the distant river, and inviting the Spirit of the locality to be propitious to our undertaking, as to the issue of which there was great uncertainty. The night before Casimiro had
787 pointed out the redness of the setting sun, and declared it to be an omen of war; but without paying attention to the omen, which indeed was not perceptible to my eyes, the unprecedented visit of 250 Tehuelches ostensibly for peace might very possibly be otherwise understood by Cheoeque: indeed, it afterwards appeared that he, in reality, was by no means assured of our pacific intentions.

122 When all were collected and prepared to descend the mountain, it transpired that Casimiro, who had been missing since the hunt commenced, had, in company with several other Tehuelches and Foyel's Indians, returned to drink. This was very annoying, and all present united in abusing him for setting such an example when about to enter a part of the country whither we were going on sufferance, amongst a not remarkably friendly-disposed set of people. We halted
372 after nightfall in a valley at the side of a small rapid stream, the banks of which, for a short distance, were covered with high tussocks of broad-leaved pampa grass, amidst the shelter of which we bivouacked, although the night was cold and frosty. Firewood was plentiful, supplied by drift-wood brought down by winter or spring floods, so with blazing fires and under the lee of the pampa grass we slept warmly enough. It was necessary, however, to keep a sharp look-out on the horses, as pasturage was scanty. Before daylight, after a
133 slight consultation, Guenalto was given chief command, and we again started; after following a winding valley for a short distance and scrambling up a steep slope, we continued

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to ascend a hill of considerable height, and attained a more open country, the western side of which was bounded by the Cordillera. In one of the valleys bordering the mountains we came suddenly upon the Valdivians, driving their cattle *en route* to return to their own country, Cheoeque having sent orders to the Picunches occupying the country near, the only known passes through the Cordillera, to allow them to traverse their district unmolested; notwithstanding this precaution, they were by no means certain that the Picunches would not ease them of the trouble of taking care of their animals on their arrival in the neighbourhood of the passes. Clearing this open country, we again ascended a slight rise, at the top of which grew a single apple tree in solitary majesty, but it had been stripped long since of its fruit. Descending this one-tree ridge, we entered a cañon, and after half an hour's ride a sudden turn brought the valley of the Rio Limay into view immediately below. Having passed through the cañon, we halted on a slight eminence immediately underneath the barranca bordering the southern side of the valley of the river. From this cliff to the river bank, varying from about a mile to half a mile in width, extended a grassy plain cut up here and there by streams, and wooded at intervals. About a league to the west the barranca blended with the declivities of high precipitous mountains, and the river appeared to force its way from the south between steep precipices before trending into the valley. On the northern side the valley, though dotted here and there with clumps of trees, was more open, and the distance to the barranca greater than that on the southern side. Immediately opposite our post was situated the tolderia of some of Inacayal's Indians, and grazing on the surrounding pastures cattle, sheep, and numerous horses were visible. The river appeared to be of very considerable width, but very rapid through the whole course of this open valley. A mile west of the opening of the cañon three small islands were described, which Hinchel pointed out as the pass, or ford if it deserves

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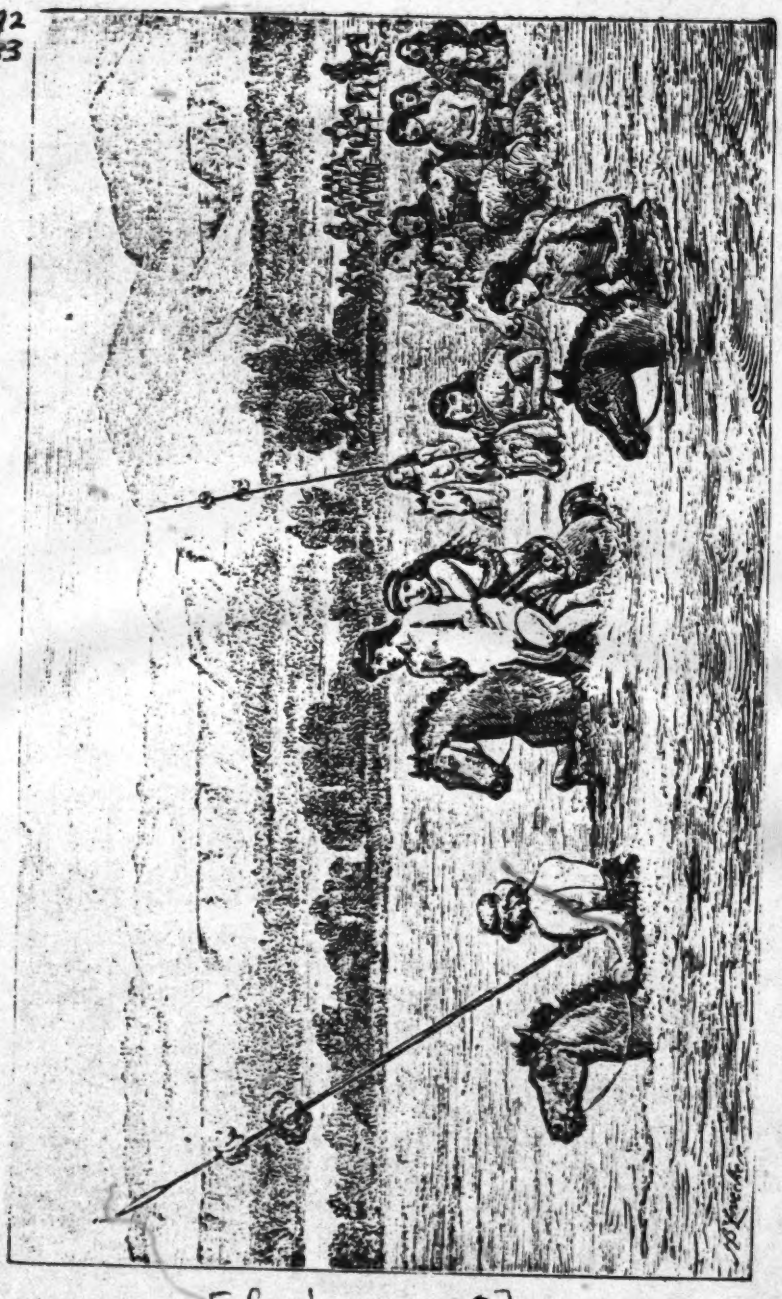

CROSSING THE RIVER LIMAY.

PAGE

[facing p. 236]

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the name. We accordingly proceeded in that direction, and taking off all unnecessary gear, strapping our mantles close up, or wearing them like plaids over our shoulders, descended through the trees and soon plunged into the river.

The first part of the ford was deep, but the water then shallowed on nearing the shore, and the velocity of the noisy stream greatly increased. Still we arrived easily enough at the first island, but to pass from that to the smaller one appeared at first to rather daunt even the Tehuelches. The current was running like a millrace, and the waters foamed over the uneven bottom with a rush and roar that rendered all warnings inaudible. It was evident that only strong horses could cross at all; but one or two bolder spirits dashed in, and although unacquainted with the pass, reached the second island some distance down the river in safety, so the remainder shortly followed, the women crossing behind the men; here and there were places in the ford which necessitated swimming, and in others were huge boulders, over which the water swirled in large waves. At last we all reached the bank in safety, and were met by some of Inacayal's Indians. Being among the lucky first arrivals, I came in for some apples and other food that some of these people of Incayal's had thoughtfully brought with them from the toldos.

When all were mustered and had resumed their clothes, we started for the toldos, where we were received by Inacayal, and as it was needful to await those who had remained behind drinking, we bivouacked by the bank of the river, and shortly some cattle and mares were brought up and slaughtered to satisfy the cravings of our hunger. After bathing in the river, I was sitting by the fireside watching our dinner cooking, when I received a message to say that I was required in one of the toldos. In that indicated I found an old Indian, a brother of Quintuhual, who spoke fluent Spanish; he invited me to sit down, and then narrated that an Englishman named Cox had formerly descended the river from Lake Nahuel-huapi in a boat, but in trying to descend

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000 acquaintance with a Pampa Indian named Gravino, who must have originally been a Christian captive; he himself stated that his mother formerly resided near the settlements, and described her as a Pampa Indian; on her death, he, being about fifteen years of age, left the settlements to join the Indians of her tribe, and had got but three days on his journey when he met the united party of Tehuelches, Pampas, and Araucanos, or, as he called them, Chilenos, under the cacique Lenketrou, proceeding to make a raid on the settlements; he had nothing for it but to turn back, and much against his will proceed to rob people under whose protection he had formerly been. In the foray, he, with another youth of about his own age, succeeded in driving off a troop of mixed horses and mares, but being dreadfully tired he laid down to sleep in a retired place, having secured his riding horse by means of a lazo attached to his own ancle. At night he was awoke by a stampede of all the horses; and his own taking fright at the same time dragged him some yards, until disengaged by his companion, who cut the lazo: they then tried to secure their animals, but found that the Araucanians had taken off all the best, so he did not make much by the invasion. He had since been employed as a 'manso' or tame Indian in the service of the Argentine Government, but disliking the work had returned to the Pampas and married a relation of Inacayal's. He was a fine-looking young fellow, neatly dressed in ponchos made, as he informed me, by his wife.

133 On the following day, amidst a storm of wind and rain, we started for Las Manzanas. After ascending the northern barrancas of the river valley, we traversed a level plain where a hunting circle was made for form sake, as the ostriches were very scarce, and I only saw one killed; and passing below, or rather to the N.E. of the hill before mentioned, descended into a valley watered by a small stream; this we followed for some distance, until we arrived at a point where another valley opened into it, the two

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united forming one of considerable width. Here, under the shelter of some trees, we halted and lit fires to warm ourselves, for the drenching rain had by this time thoroughly forced its way through our mantles. Whilst conversing and making as merry as possible under the circumstances, a messenger dashed up, splashed with blood, and with the effects of drink or furious excitement visible in his face. All crowded round to hear the news, and he shortly informed us that the party who had started to obtain apples on the previous day had met another party of Indians with liquor. A drinking bout ensued, and a quarrel occurred in which a man was killed; but the rest went on drinking, leaving the body outside, where the dogs made a meal of it. This so exasperated one of his comrades that he galloped off to Cheoeque, to whose tribe the party belonged, and the chief at once sent twenty-five horsemen to surround my cousins and demand payment for the death. This they refused to give, so a fight took place, in which four out of the five brothers and another were left for dead, with lance thrusts all over them, the youngest escaping on his own or somebody else's horse, after dropping four of the enemy who tried to intercept him, with a revolver brought by me from Santa Cruz. This was bad news for us, as we were bound to protect these people, who belonged to our united Indians. A consultation took place, in the middle of which Inacayal dashed up with a party all well armed with lances, in addition to their other arms. Foyel's people came next, eager for the fray; the Tehuelches, however, having an eye to business, in the way of bartering the mantles they had brought with them for trade, overruled the warlike ideas of these people, saying 'it was better to wait a little.' Meanwhile guns were loaded and arms got ready, and a party were being told off to proceed to the scene of the *mêlée* and pick up the wounded, when a messenger arrived from Cheoeque with proposals of a peace. I and the rest of the relations of those who had been killed, as we then supposed,

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T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

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T [158]

A 361

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Cheoeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses.

Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

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431 We proceeded to Inacayal's toldo at his personal request, where we remained until evening was drawing on, when cattle were brought up, caught and slain, and divided amongst the chiefs. Whilst busy shaving a piece of hide wherewith to make some gear, I received a message from Orkeke, whose fire was situated at perhaps a hundred paces from ours, that he wished to see me when disengaged, and after supper I strolled down, and found the veteran sitting loading his pipe. After a smoke, he invited me to accompany him to inspect his newly-acquired troop of horses, and show him which I considered to be the best. I picked out a young white animal that had belonged to Cheoeque's own stud. 'Very well,' he replied, 'take him; he is yours; I never made you any return for the revolver you gave me in Teckel.' Although I did not require the horse, it would have been insulting to refuse it, so I walked off with my racer in tow. This little incident is mentioned to correct the notion entertained by some that the greed of gain is a predominant feature in the Indian character.

133 The following morning we bid adieu to Inacayal and his people, and turned our horses' heads for the pass of the river Limay, which was if possible more swollen and rapid than on the previous occasion; but we all crossed in safety, although Casimiro's and my horse fell once, fortunately where the water was shallow. Everybody, however, got thoroughly wet, and a continual downfall of rain coming on, prevented all chance of drying our mantles. We marched back by a route lying to the westward of that we had before followed, passing under and amongst the high wooded mountains, on the heights of which every now and then we could perceive a condor sitting in majestic solitude, looking down on us like a priest from a pulpit.

000 About four P.M. the rain cleared off, and we bivouaced in a grassy valley, with incense and other bushes growing on the sides. Here, owing to the sickness of Graviel and another of our party, we passed a miserable time, not even

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CHAPTER VIII.

GEYLUM TO PATAGONES.

A Sick Camp—Oerroè Volcanic Hill—Crimè's Deathbed—Graviel's Promotion—The Burning Ground—Hot Springs—Fighting the Gualichu—A Real Fight—A Soda Lake—Encampment at Telck—The Doctor comes to Grief—An Obliging Ostrich—Appointed Chasqui—Miseries of Pampa Life—A Bad Time—The Plains of Margensho—Casimiro's Distrust—Doctor and Sick Child—Duties of a Messenger—Departure of the Chasquis—Travelling Express—The Paved Pampas—An Ideal Bandit—Letter from the Chupat Colony—Trinita—Temeforo's Pampas—Champayo's Generosity—A Morning Drink—Departure from Trinita—Valchita—The Pigs' Road—Wild Horses—The Travesia—Limit of the Patagonian Fauna and Flora—First View of the Rio Negro—Sauce Blanco—The Guardia—San Xaviel—Approach to Patagones—Señor Murga—Welsh Hospitality—Among Friends at Last.

WE were now fairly started on our journey eastward to the Rio Negro, on my part with contending feelings of regret at quitting my recently acquired and amiable relatives, and of joyful expectation of reaching Patagones and finding there that which travellers, amidst all the excitement of new countries and strange people, still so eagerly long for—news from home! We galloped forward casting longing looks behind at the forest-clad slopes and snowy peaks of the Cordillera, the never-to-be-forgotten beauty of which made the dismal prospect of the country before us still more dreary.

My friends had been unanimous in describing the district that intervened between Geylum and a place spoken of as Margensho, nine marches distant, as both difficult to travel, and affording scanty pasture for the horses and little game for the people.

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occupied or distracted, and the business of catching the horses devolved on myself, single-handed at first. Having secured the troop, the next task was to catch my newly-acquired steed; the sight of a lazo was sufficient to make him gallop a league, and as he was very swift, three hours were spent in ineffectual efforts, but at last, two or three of my comrades coming up to my assistance, he was caught. Giving my flibbertigibbet page charge of the remaining horses, I started, in company with one of my friends, to join the hunting circle, already in course of formation.

We rode up a valley in an easterly direction, on our way passing the invalid Crimè, who, groaning with pain, lay stretched out at full length on a sort of couch composed of blankets on the horse's back, his wife leading the horse and wailing out loud. But as condolences were of little use, we passed on in silence, and shortly emerged from the valley which sloped up by gradual ascent to a wide plain of sandy soil and stunted bushes, bounded on the eastern horizon by a line of high jagged hills, which stretched to the southward as far as the eye could reach. While sitting under a bush by the fire, I was attacked with headache and sickness, the premonitory symptoms of the epidemic; however, I mounted and joined the hunting party, and at the end of the circle felt much better, although unable to eat.

The finish brought us to the entrance of a valley which wound among the precipitous rocky hills of the range seen from the farther verge of the plain. While watching the cavalcade of women and baggage, I looked long in vain for my own troop of four horses, but at last descried them trotting without a guide in the rear of the column, their natural sagacity or perhaps thirst having induced them to follow their comrades. The trusty page had left them to take care of themselves, and gone off hunting on his own account, which behaviour, repeated on a subsequent occasion, caused the loss of the stud. Towards evening we encamped in a valley enclosed by three hills, one of which, of decidedly

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volcanic aspect, was named 'Oerroé.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimé's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Cheoeque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

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drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was cur- 203
rent that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them,
and various other stories, most of which were declared to be
lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look
for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving
to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent
if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish
their hearers. Crimé's widow took up her abode in our toldo; [799]
and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the 422
rank of lieutenant in the Buenos Ayrean army, and the right
of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to
his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed
most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique,
who at last declared that he should name his almost in-
sane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine
Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated
by annual pay! On April 23 a start was made, but we
remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had
brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing,
so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the
toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was 133
presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope
of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a
very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular
hills, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no
pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after 241
it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a
very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not
being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce,
what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given
to those recovering from sickness.

Jackschan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as 758
the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for.
He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, mutter-
ing a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

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this mouth close to its chest and shouted to bring the devil out: he then turned it on its face and repeated the same process. The child's health mended next day, and it was shortly out of danger.

229. About ten o'clock at night Casimiro returned with his horses, which had strayed a considerable distance on the road back to Goylum. The next day a long march of twenty miles brought us to an encampment on the western verge of a broad plain, watered by a brooklet. During the hunt the first Patagonian hares, or cavies, were caught. These little animals live in burrows, but are generally out feeding or sleeping in the grass during the day. They are excessively swift for perhaps a mile, but, like the foxes of this country soon get tired. The chase of these small deer afforded an agreeable relief to the monotony of the journey. As soon as we entered a plain or valley where they abounded, as they always were found in numbers where the pasture was good, all hurried off to 'stop the earths,' (*i.e.*, close up the burrows with bushes; but the cunning little beasts often evaded us by slipping into a burrow overlooked by the earth-stoppers. It required considerable skill to bring them down with the bolas, as, if only caught round the legs or body, they disentangled themselves quickly, but a blow on the head proved at once fatal. They are good eating, though the flesh is somewhat dry when roasted. Their skins are made up into mantles, but are of little value, as the hair soon comes off. [34] [242] [28]

233. About a mile below the encampment, where the sandy plain narrowed and sloped down to a low-lying grassy valley, a singular phenomenon presented itself. The morning after our arrival, when going out to look for the horses, a furious easterly gale whirled the dust aloft in dense clouds, and, to my great surprise, the sand, which was driven into our faces, was as hot as when the fire so nearly encircled us. Almost blinded in forcing our way through this curtain of driving sand, we rode right into a hollow, where the earth appeared to be on fire; as the horses plunged

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through the heated surface the hair was burnt off their fet- 133
locks, and they were nearly maddened with fright, so that
it was a difficult feat for the riders without saddles or
stirrups to keep their seats. Once I was somewhere near
my horse's ears, but, more by good luck than good manage-
ment, just escaped being thrown as it were into the fire.
After the pair had partially moderated, I proceeded to
inspect this place, and found that, although not, as I at first
thought, absolutely on fire, the ground was smoking as if
from internal combustion. The surface presented a crust of
baked yellow clay, which yielding to the horses' feet, dis-
closed a black subsoil; there was no flame, but a thin white
vapour issued from the ground. When I incautiously ven-
tured a step on the treacherous crust, it gave way, but I
managed to extricate myself with no further damage than
burning my patro boots. The Indians stated that the fire had
been originally caused some years previously by their having
kindled the pasture higher up the valley, and that the ground
had been burning ever since. It was impossible to discover
whether there was any subjacent bed of combustible matter 133
which might thus have been ignited; but as there are hot- 312
wells and springs in the same range not many miles distant
to the south-east, it seems more probably due to volcanic
agency. The principal hot spring was described as a circular
basin of about six feet in diameter, the water, of a tempera-
ture not so hot as to scald the hand, bubbling up through
numerous holes in a clay bottom. In many of the surround-
ing hills there are lava and pumice of not extremely ancient
formation; some of the hills have also an appearance of
having been at a recent period the outlets of eruptive forces,
which have scattered large shattered masses of rock over the
sides of the extinct craters.

In this encampment I had a serious misunderstanding with 130
our chief, which all but ended in a downright quarrel; but
after consideration we agreed to make it up, as although on
two occasions of danger he had left me to my fate, I thought

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000 it better on the whole to keep friends for the present. The
648 evening of this quarrel, as a party of three toldos were starting off to go to the Chupat, and Casimiro was desirous of extending his fame to the Welsh settlement, I wrote a letter to the authorities inquiring about some saddles, part of his Argentine rations sent thither by mistake, which the chief declared to have been intended for him, but which had been distributed amongst other Indians. The letter was forwarded
144 by one of the Indians who was supposed to be of English parentage on one side, although he showed but little traces of English blood in his type, with the exception perhaps of his hair, which was of a lighter colour than that usually met with: he was a very good-natured fellow, and I regretted his departure, as he was one of my adherents, but being a man of very sober habits he did not wish to be mixed up in the universal orgie which would probably take place on arriving
000 in the vicinity of Patagones. With this party the young widow, who had made overtures of marriage to me, also departed, after an affectionate farewell, and receiving a handkerchief as a remembrance. The following morning we also started, and one of the universal loafers who had gambled his property away, asking for a mount, was told to catch the 'white horse' presented by Orkeke: he accordingly borrowed a horse to catch him, and at the end of our day's journey had not succeeded in doing more than driving him in, to use a nautical term, in our wake; this was exactly what I had intended, as this Indian was a great rogue, and had cheated me at cards out of a set of metal bolas, equivalent to a horse.

● 133 Our march lay up the valley, and the circle was formed on the surrounding volcanic hills, the sides of which, besides the vesicular lava, presented large masses of the ironstone noted as having been observed at Santa Cruz. Shrubs were sparsely scattered on these hills, and game was exceedingly scarce.

165 Towards evening we encamped on the borders of a stream
764 in a place called by the Indians Telek. There the sickness broke out afresh in its worst form, and several children died,

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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting in the surrounding country (where hares abounded), we observed a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter, reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific, being administered to the invalids with great success. In
● 133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swelling eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a saline was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner, determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been destitute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
[135] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.
132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much lighter: indeed whilst in Telek some warm days were experienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously described as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in abundance, and was collected by the women and children.
[136] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

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that on the third next march we should pass a deposit of yellow ore, lying to the south of the route, and that during the hunt he would show it to me. Orkeke also corroborated this statement, and I have every reason to believe that there is in that locality a deposit of iron or more probably copper ore. 135

As the meat of the slain horses was nearly consumed, we marched the following day across a most stony, rocky, and inhospitable country, and at length arrived at a range of hills, through which ran a steep, narrow gorge. Descending through its tortuous windings, we at length arrived at a spring, the waters of which, joining with another small rivulet, flowed out, and formed a sort of marsh at the head of a large plain. From the slope of the hill bordering the ravine a fine panorama extended to the east, the entire face of the country appearing to be more uniformly undulating than the confused ranges of hills, through the intricacies of which we had been marching and hunting since leaving Geylum. In the foreground were visible distant black figures, moving with swiftness across the plain in pursuit of numerous ostriches; and away to the eastward rose a column of smoke, the cause of which was eagerly speculated on. 133

I am conscious that the description of this part of the journey is not likely to give a very clear idea of the country traversed; and that the directions of the successive ranges, and the general character of the ground, are left too much to the reader's imagination; but, in deprecation of criticism and censure, it is pleaded that I was under the impression that this district had been traversed, and accurately surveyed and described, by a *savant* employed by the Argentine Government; and that I was deprived of the assistance of my compass, which had been presented to Foyel. The notes taken at the time were very scanty, and my recollections were confused, inasmuch as I was labouring under a constantly-recurring attack of sickness, which was only kept at bay by resolute endeavours not to give way; but which ren- 114

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dered observation and record, in addition to hunting and the usual toils of marching, impossible. It was the more needful for me to endeavour to keep up, as all were more or less ill, and becoming increasingly gloomy and dispirited. To add to the troubles which weighed down the Indians' spirits at this place, the doctor's horse fell while descending a precipitous rocky hill. The unfortunate physician was stunned, and very nearly crushed to death by the horse falling on him; great grief was universally expressed at this catastrophe, as no one was left to cure the invalids and contend with the malignant Gualichu, who, it was natural for the Indians to imagine, had laid a trap for his opponent, and upset the medicine man's steed in order to have the field clear for himself.

We encamped in a sort of morass, by the side of the hills overlooking the plain, and were woke at daylight by the chattering of a flock of blue and orange paroquets; these birds, which brought back old pleasant associations of the banks of the Parana, and almost seemed to be harbingers of civilised life, were numerous in this locality, though they were the first of the species that I had observed in the country.

The distant signal smoke was concluded to indicate the presence of Jackechan and the Pampa Indians under Teneforo, and all were in spirits at the prospect of obtaining news, and perhaps luxuries in the shape of flour, yerba, &c., from Patagones. The order was accordingly given to march, and a large answering signal fire kindled in some dry pasture bordering the hill side, a messenger being at the same time despatched to ascertain the news. After a rather long march over a barren plain strewn with angular masses of chalcedony and projecting rocks resembling alabaster, we arrived at a dreary encampment, sheltered under a bank, from which a spring gushed out, forming a refreshing rivulet.

The mutiny of my page had compelled me to enjoy the pleasure of driving my own cattle, following the track in

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203 be peaceable at Patagones, and a rumour was current that Commandante Murga was about to give up his governorship. Casimiro, on receiving all this intelligence, immediately wished a despatch to be indited, although I pointed out to him that it would be better to wait until we had arrived at a nearer point; he was so urgent that on the following morning I composed an elaborate letter, detailing the union of the tribes, the precautions taken for protecting Patagones, and requesting a hundred mares for Casimiro and his *people*: when finished it was carefully wrapped up and stowed away in my baggage till wanted.

202 The talk then naturally turned on the subject of the choice of messengers to be despatched to Patagones on our arrival at Margensho. It had been previously arranged that I should be sent fully commissioned, as being better able to represent to the authorities what had been resolved on, as well as to impress upon them the immediate requirements of the Indians, and several others now volunteered to accompany me, and got quite merry at the thoughts of a drink. But we were still three marches distant from Margensho. The following
• 133 day we were again *en route*, traversing a succession of plains with rocky ridges cropping up at intervals, until we at length reached a grassy valley enclosed by steep walls of rocks sixty feet high; gravely perched on the summits of
[136] which several slate-coloured Chilian eagles were visible, their occupation being to prevent the excessive multiplication of little cavies. On the hill sides bordering this valley, our old friend the incense bush, which had for many marches back been very scarce, grew in luxuriant profusion. At this
[272] season it was covered with berries which, though uneatable, are used by the Indians mixed up with water as a drink; this infusion has a very sweet taste, but I should think must be very unwholesome. On arriving at the encamp-
165 ment, at the head of the valley, near some pools of standing water, we were apprised, by the lugubrious sounds of the women's monotonous chants, that the number of the children

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One misery, starvation, had certainly been avoided by the abundance of horse-flesh, but it can easily be imagined that we could have borne hunger better. We had endured cold, and hunger, and fatigue, as well as danger, before, but nothing has left so indelible an impression of a thoroughly bad time as that march from Geylum to Margensho.

At last Casimiro issued orders to march, and with two or three more of us started in advance. While waiting under the shelter of a mass of rocks for the remainder to overtake us, I fell asleep, and on waking up found the rain pouring down in torrents, and the chief just directing Meña to return and see what the women were about. Our page arrived a little later to say that the Indians had refused to march, the occupants of our toldo alone being on their way to join us: these soon appeared, so we proceeded in the storm, having agreed that to return, after having once started, would be an ignominious proceeding.

We followed for some distance the valley, or rather the plain, into which it had opened out, and then ascended some abrupt rocky heights at its eastern extremity; crossing these hills, in the valleys or ravines of which incense bushes grew almost like a forest, we halted for a time by the side of a rivulet flowing from a spring on the hill side.

After kindling a fire to warm our bodies, wet as we were and chilled by the wind, which, originally west, now blew from the south with cutting violence, the sight of numerous guanaco on the heights above determined us to encircle a herd; we accordingly mounted the heights, and having completely failed in our attempt, descended to the other side. A large lagoon lay at our feet, and away to the east a succession of plains extended to the encampment called Margensho.

These plains were bounded for a short distance on the north side by a range of hills, which came to an abrupt termination at the end of the lagoon, on the south side by another range gradually sloping to the eastward, and on the

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western side by the rocky heights we were descending. The 133
view would have been enjoyable on a fine day, but in such a Patagonian tempest of rain and wind, landscapes were by no means appreciated. Near the lagoon was another herd of guanaco, some three thousand strong, who tempted us to a vain endeavour to encircle them, but they descried us before we could approach within a mile, and were soon lost to sight on the plains leading towards Margensho. Whilst riding down the edge of the hills Casimiro pointed out some [137]
thyme, a little of which we gathered to flavour our soup with in the evening. We then descended, and sheltered under the overhanging bank of a dry watercourse leading to the lagoon. The women and remainder of the cavalcade shortly arrived, and loading my page with firewood, to his intense disgust and the extreme delight of every one else, we proceeded a little farther to the south, where the pasture was good, and established ourselves for the night.

The following morning early we all started to hunt, and 132
were more successful than on the previous day, though the wind was blowing a fearful gale from the S.W., with occasional storms of sleet. Towards the afternoon, by which time, having finished our hunting, we were snug enough under the toldo, it rained hard, and with the rain the Indians commenced to arrive, till before dusk a town of toldos occupied the borders of the hills.

Casimiro this evening sent for volunteers to go in with 484
me as messengers or chasquis to Patagones, on our arrival at Margensho, now but one march distant. But of those previously so desirous to go on, not one appeared, nor would any one Indian consent to lend his horses for so long a journey. The chieftain was sadly put out, and cursed the caciquillos all round. He then tried to dissuade me from going myself, saying that it was a great distance, that the desert or travesia was a fearful place, that I should probably lose my horses, that many people had starved, at the same time wishing me to lend my horses to some other Indian.

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ing incantations; when this was completed, the doctor 755
disappeared for a minute or two, returning with an ornamented hide bag in his hand; this he opened, and produced from the bottom some charms carefully enveloped in rags, which he, after performing some mystic hocus-pocus, returned to the bag. He next took the baby from the mother, and patting it gently on the head, and muttering in a low tone, dipped its head into the bag two or three times, and then returned it to its mother. A white mare was brought up, and, after being daubed all over with hand-marks of red ochre, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten on the spot, the heart, liver, and lungs being hung on a lance, to the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Care was taken, as in other ceremonies, that no dogs approached to eat the offal, which was buried, the head and backbone being removed to a neighbouring hill.

On the 9th of May we started, arriving the same evening 133
at Margensho, which was, as the Indians had previously described it to me, a large grassy plain lying below a step or barranca, and watered by a brook running N.E. and S.W. During the hunt over the previously described plains there was nothing remarkable except the extreme scarcity of game, skunks alone being numerous; fortunately I killed a male guanaco, and as I had the previous day corrected my page he brought up the horses most carefully, so that all was in readiness for an early start. Before sundown the chiefs 622
were collected, and the contents of the letter[1] read to them; they all appeared pleased, and after adding a postscript setting forth the names and number of the chiefs who required rations I closed the correspondence.

Hinchel came and provided me with tobacco, asking as a favour that if any of his friends in the settlement should inquire if he got drunk when occasion offered in the pampas, I would bear witness to his sobriety; he also entreated that I would either return to the Indians or remain in Patagones until he arrived, which latter I promised to do.

[1] [Letter to be delivered to the Argentine authorities -- Ed.]

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484 passed the time in talking over what we would get, how we should be received, and in smoking and singing. Our route lay along the barranca, which changed as we proceeded in a N.E. direction, to higher rugged hills interspersed with sandy valleys covered with scrub and incense bushes.

By nightfall we had arrived at a pointed hill, under the brow of which we encamped. We had seen plenty of ostrich and guanaco, but had not delayed to hunt, only pausing to pick up an armadillo that happened to be basking in our road.

On dismounting we secured all the horses with lazos or manéos, as they might probably be inclined to stray away. After gathering a little firewood, kindling a fire, and discussing the armadillo and a small piece of meat each, we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and lay down to sleep, every now and again during the night getting up to have a look at the horses. The morning star was shining brightly above the horizon when we saddled up, and crossing the brow of the hill mounted to an adjoining pampa, where the rocky nature of the ground obliged our unshod horses to go at a foot pace. Added to this a bitter cold wind and small driving rain were not improving to the temper, until after an hour or two of difficult and slow travelling, the sun rose magnificently and dispelled the mists and drizzle, and re-
484 stored our cheerfulness. We at length descended into a
133 ravine leading to a series of small valleys, containing here and there ponds covered with teal and other water birds.
[136] We travelled at a gallop through the same description of country till five P.M., when, after passing a high barren plateau, similar to that encountered at starting, we suddenly came to an abrupt declivity, at the bottom of which, in a plain extending for about five miles, lay a large salina.

484 We descended where it was feasible, and after stopping to get a little salt, proceeded to encamp near a small spring of fresh water. About a mile to the eastward large herds of

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484 search of an hour they were found, having wandered in search of better water, and, wiser than ourselves, found out a spring about two miles to the east.

The sun was up before we got away, after warming and eating the last of our food, which we had cooked overnight it was dry and dusty, and all the washing in the world could not have got the grit out of it; however, we laughed over it, saying we would soon have a bottle of wine to wash away the dirt from our throats. One thing we congratulated ourselves on was being well provided with tobacco, and although we boasted no pipe, mine having been lost at a previous encampment, Casimiro's correspondence with Foyel and Cheoeque, which I had carefully kept, provided us with
484 cigarette papers. We rode on accordingly, rejoicing, and
133 passing out of this wooded country traversed a succession of high pampas, set with small blocks of granite exactly resembling paving-stones, and placed as thickly and regularly as if paviors had been at work. The appearance of a London street undergoing repair brought this singular formation vividly to my mind. These pampas terminated in waterworn cliffs thickly strewn with stones, and as our horses scrambled like cats up the slopes, their hoofs sent the stones clattering down, and they found it hard to keep their footing. At the foot of the cliffs were watered valleys, and whilst descending into one of these valleys I noticed for the first
[137] time the algarroba thorn, which was in fruit. There were two sorts, one with black fruit, which Nacho warned me not to touch, as it was poisonous, the other bearing yellow pods,
[262] which though somewhat dry, as the season was so advanced, we plucked and ate as we rode along, the taste proving something between tamarinds and peach.

576 Near a lagoon in one of these valleys we halted for a few minutes, and on pursuing our journey espied a horseman with a troop of led horses approaching from the opposite side. I had halted for a moment and saw my companions rein up, and racing up to know the cause, observed him. When within

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484 We were soon out of sight of the encampment at Trinita, and proceeding at either a gallop or a trot through an undulating country, in which incense, algarroba, and other shrubs abounded, arrived near sunset at a stream, on the north side of which we encamped, amongst some thick bushes. A little distance to the west lay a large salina, from which, several miles across, the place takes its name, being called Hitchin-kaik, or Salt Hill. The stream flows round one side of the salina, and is, I think, the same that we subsequently crossed near Valchita. This time we travelled in great style, the women having brought with them stores of horse-meat and yerba.

263 After dinner we all sat round the fire and took a matè, and some of an Indian sweetmeat, a yellow paste made from the algarroba bean pounded and mixed with water. Old
000 Patricio, who had turned over a new leaf, and grown quite frisky after the drink, said that I was a fortunate man, having a wife with me; alluding to one of the wives of the cacique El Ingles, who was travelling with us to rejoin her husband near Patagones.

484 The following morning at daylight we again started, and
137 travelling over much the same description of country as on the previous day, arrived about midday at the place where Teneforo had left his cattle. Here we dismounted and refreshed ourselves off the round berries about the size of a turnip-radish, the fruit of a small plant growing by the margin of the water, which had a very pleasant taste. The river here had a fringe of tussocks of pampa grass, under which we reclined and smoked.

484 The cattle were grouped about amongst these tussocks,
133 and Golwin, Jackechan's son with the light hair, amused himself by vain attempts to count them. After half an hour's dawdling we proceeded, leaving behind one of Meña's horses which was done up, and, following more or less the line of the river, we arrived, about three P.M., at the encampment of Valchita. As it was early in the day, some of the party

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started to hunt, but returned empty-handed. We filled up 434
the skins and water-bottles, in anticipation of entering the 133
travesia the following day; and, after the usual meal and matè, sought out each his own particular nest in the pampa grass, and went to sleep without fear of the horses straying far, the pasture and water being both of the best quality. As it was in this encampment that, according to Casimiro, the defunct Mendoza had discovered gold, I prospected carefully for any signs, but only noticed that parts of the adjoining pampa were strewn, amongst other pebbles, with pieces of quartz. At the usual hour we started to commence the ascent to the travesia, or desert, which rose above us to the north, in a high plateau. On ascending a short distance, we observed on our left hand (to the westward) a [135]
salina of several leagues in length, which bordered the edge of the travesia in about an east or west direction. I am inclined to think that the river Valchita loses itself in this salina. This river is subject to great floods, evidences of which were visible in the drift weeds and rubbish clinging to the bushes and shrubs throughout the valley, evidently left there by the spring inundation. By a gradual ascent we at length reached the level of the plateau, and saw before us an interminable dreary expanse strewn with small shingle, and covered with shrubs varying from four to twelve feet, or even higher, and here and there small tufts of grass. No signs of life were visible. The sky was bright and clear, although clouds were gathering in the southern horizon, and the wind (it nearly always blows in Patagonia) was cutting. I remarked to Luiz Aguirre that it would possibly 521
rain; his reply, 'I hope it will—it will be splendid, then all the lagoons will be full,' told of the danger of drought, but found no assent from me, having had enough of wet weather during the excursion to Las Manzanas. During the ride he told me that he knew the difference between the Catholic and Protestant religions, and of the two he preferred the latter; he also asked me if I had ever been to China, where

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the tea came from, and various other questions evincing a considerable amount of information; and wound up by proposing that I should set up a trading establishment near the Chupat; Jackechan—who, if any one can claim it, is the real lord of the soil—having volunteered to cede the ground to me. In the event of establishing a store in that neighbourhood, this astute Indian considered that all the Indian trade would be taken out of the hands of the people of Patagones, who notoriously used false weights, besides charging exorbitantly for all articles supplied to the Indians.

About two P.M., as the rough shingle had already begun to tell on our horses' feet, a halting-place was found near a laguna containing rain-water of the colour of *café au lait*. The horses were for the present let loose, to pick up the best meal they could off the stunted grass near the borders of the lagoon. Before dark most of them were tethered, and a careful watch kept all night, lest they should return to Valchita in search of pasture and water. After a lengthened conversation by the fireside—in which I was informed that the track we were travelling was called Pigs' Road, from wild pigs, or perhaps peccaries, having been killed near one of the lagoons in the route—we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and sheltered ourselves like hedgehogs under the bushes, from time to time getting up to look round for the horses. Next day we rode over the same interminable desert of stones, and bushes of the following descriptions: chañal or whitethorn; picayun, furnishing the best firewood; the osier-like switches before described; black bush, which is useless for burning, owing to the pestiferous smell it emits; algarroba, incense, which are, however, very scarce; and some others whose names I was unable to procure. The chañal is the only one that impedes the traveller's progress, as the thorns are large and sharp. In the other road (more to the west), which we had avoided, although the distance is shorter across the travesia, and therefore more used by the Tehuelches, who dread this crossing, especially in summer

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or for small parties, the chañal grows to the height of ten 137
to fifteen feet, and, like the 'waitabit' thorns in Albania, renders fast riding impossible.

This day we were about to start hunting, when a demi- 425
john of rum was discovered in a bush. This put an end to the sport, for, although it was hidden again in another place, enough was taken out to render most of the party talkative, a bottle or two also being reserved for discussion at the camp fire.

At four P.M. we encamped by the side of a lagoon similar 484
to the previous one, and, our Valchita water being finished, diluted the rum with meal and water about the consistency of Spanish chocolate. I forgot to state that in the excitement of the 'find' the horses were not looked after, and on mustering to proceed, one of Nacho's had disappeared, and, although carefully searched for, he was not found again.

The next day, despite the dissipations over night, we 136
were in the saddle at daybreak, and had hardly traversed a 484
league of this wearisome waste when we came suddenly upon seven wild horses. An effort made to surround them failed, owing to the difficult nature of the ground; but the failure was to me fully made up by the magnificent spectacle of these splendid creatures careering in their untamed strength and beauty across the plain.

We subsequently hunted and killed guanaco and ostrich, 133
and also saw some hares and partridges. At about ten A.M. 484
our eyes were gladdened by the sight of the sea, and presently the level plain rose into more undulating country, and from the crests of the elevations at times a full view of the inlet called the Laco de San Antonio presented itself.

Smoke was visible ahead, and we accordingly pushed on, and made a long and rapid march, the surface being here altogether free from the small stones which had previously caused so much damage to the horses' feet. That night we halted, as usual, by the side of a lagoon, the water of which was not more than two inches deep.

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312 Patricio during this day's journey pointed out to me a dry lagoon near which efforts had been made to sink a well for obtaining a permanent supply of water, but, although the shaft was of some depth, none had been reached, and the work had been given up in despair. It is a mystery even to the Indians where the guanacos, wild horses, puma, and other game that exist in this desert, find water, as these lagoons, depending entirely on the rainfall for a supply of water, must inevitably, in this country where little rain falls, be dry for many months in the year. No doubt springs exist in hitherto undiscovered places.

133 Before leaving the travesia, a few remarks, which cannot claim to be called a description, may be interesting.

This desert consists of a plateau about three hundred feet above the level of the valley of the Rio Negro, stretching to the southward more than thirty leagues to Valchita. Of its extent westward I have no precise information; but it narrows considerably in the interior, forming an irregular triangle, with its base on the coast, and its apex near the junction of the Rio Limay and the northern streams.

The soil is either clay or sand and gravel, with small stones strewn thickly over the surface; while the only vegetation met with consists of the bushes already mentioned, and scanty tufts of coarse grass.

It is much dreaded by travellers, and, after traversing it, I can well believe the stories current of people having perished on the passage; the track once lost would be very difficult to regain; while the want of water in the summer, and the danger of horses straying and leaving the traveller helpless, are both probable risks. With all our watchfulness, two horses strayed away and were lost. In the winter there is no fear of want of water; but the fatigue of travelling is at all times great, and the horses are almost worn out by the time that the desert is passed. It serves, therefore, as a barrier, protecting Patagones from all dangers of attack by the Indians from the south, who in their forays must descend

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the river. A large troop of horses can scarcely find pasture, and after the rapid journey would not be in a condition for their riders to attack with success, if opposed vigorously by people able to defend themselves.

This district appeared to form a distinct and well-defined limit between the habitats of various animals; as, for instance, the Rhea Darwinii, or smaller ostrich of Patagonia, and the Rhea Americana. The latter, according to my experience, is never found to the south of it, and I am at a loss to understand how Mr. Cunningham could have met with any specimens of it, as he seems to imply.*

The Tehuelches often described the larger Rhea as found north of the travesia, and as distinct from that hunted in their country. They also particularly insisted on the fact that the Gama, or deer—abundant in the Rio Negro valley and the country north of it—is never met with south of the travesia. The same remark is true of the Viscacha and the Aguarra (Lupus manatus), though the latter is probably to be met with in the spurs of the Cordillera.

Patagonia may thus be properly considered as cut off by the Rio Negro and the line of the Cordillera, and possessing its own races and a separate Fauna and Flora.

It may be added that only one species of armadillo, the Quirquincho (Dasypus minutus, Gay), occurs within these limits. The algarroba and other bushes, though found in and near the borders of the travesia, do not occur south of its immediate vicinity.

It was a joyful hour for all when, on the fourth day, after galloping from dawn till ten o'clock, we at length came in sight of the valley, still three miles distant, where large willows—which, by the way, are unknown in Patagonia, save a few at Chupat, probably introduced by the settlers—marked the winding course of the Rio Negro. We halted at the head of an abra, or lateral opening which ran up into the barranca from the main valley, and saw in the

* 'Natural History of the Straits of Magellan,' p. 134.

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484 distance a solitary rancho, the first civilised dwelling beheld since my departure from Santa Cruz.

After a rest, to enable all to come up, some having lagged behind perforce, their horses being hardly able to limp along, we made our way down the slope, and at length reached the river, in which our thirsty steeds soon drank their fill.

The rancho, which belonged to Hernandez, for whom the convoy of mares was intended, was then visited. The owner was absent, but his Indian wife did the honours, at least as far as serving us with matè, for no food was produced, though all were dreadfully hungry. I wished to stop and don what an American would call my citizen's clothes, thinking that we should immediately proceed to the Guardia I had heard so much of from Luiz Aguirre; but he told me not to be in a hurry, so in my dirty mantle I remained for the present.

After half an hour's delay we left the rancho and followed the south bank of the river, which here was a swift stream 200 yards wide, passing the farm of Hernandez, where a man was occupied in ploughing, and mares and cattle were grazing.
● [133] The river here made a bend towards the southern barranca, which so nearly abutted on it as to compel us to ride close along the bank. Small partridges got up frequently, and I made a mental resolution to come and have a day's shooting
[134] at a future period in the magnificent willows bordering the river; blue pigeons were cooing in the trees; and through an opening we caught a glimpse, on the opposite bank, of a well-built, comfortable-looking estancia in the foreground of a wide extent of rich flat land, with corral, galpones, and the usual surroundings, which Luiz Aguirre informed me belonged to Mr. Kincaid. The feeling of having safely emerged from the desert into the settlements put us, though
484 very hungry, into the best of spirits; and after a cheerful
133 half-hour's ride, passing on our road a tumbledown, unused rancho, we arrived at Sauce Blanco, or 'White Willow;'

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there the river, sweeping to the northern side, leaves a wide rincon, or expanse of rich alluvial ground. This is considered as belonging to the Indians, some of whom are always to be found encamped near the rancho, which belonged to the cacique El Ingles, and three toldos were pitched in its vicinity.

We presented to the chief his wife, whom we had brought with us, and I was warmly welcomed as a relative, the cacique being a nephew of Quintuhual. This chief derives his name from his alleged relationship to some one or other of the officers of Fitzroy's surveying expedition, so that I was doubly welcome in my English and Indian character. Here we camped amongst the pajas, or pampa grass, and, having been presented with a mare and some pumpkins, soon had a good fire blazing and meat and pumpkins cooking; these latter being dressed by cutting them in halves, taking out the seeds, and filling the interior with hot ashes, and then placing them on the ashes, the result being, at all events as it seemed then to my taste, delicious. I wished to proceed direct to the Guardia, but as Patricio and the others put it off till the morrow, in my ignorance of the road and usages of the place, I was forced to 'do at Rome as Rome does.'

A good wash in the river was one of the first things indulged in, and the enjoyment of getting rid of several days' accumulation of the dust and mud of the travesia can be better imagined than described.

The following morning, before daylight, we all bathed in the river, and, after taking maté with the cacique El Ingles, and a warm by the fireside after sleeping in the frosty night air, we prepared to visit the Guardia. Casting off the Indian mantle, I assumed the usual dress of an Englishman of the period, shooting-coat, &c.; and having been provided with fresh horses by our friend, half an hour's gallop brought us to the north bank, opposite the Guardia—not, however, without misadventure, for as we made our way along the narrow,

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Araucanians 564

Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Villarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and pifiones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and pifiones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Los Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Villarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Manzanas or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luis Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1882, when Roca, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

J: Mustere T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
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End map A

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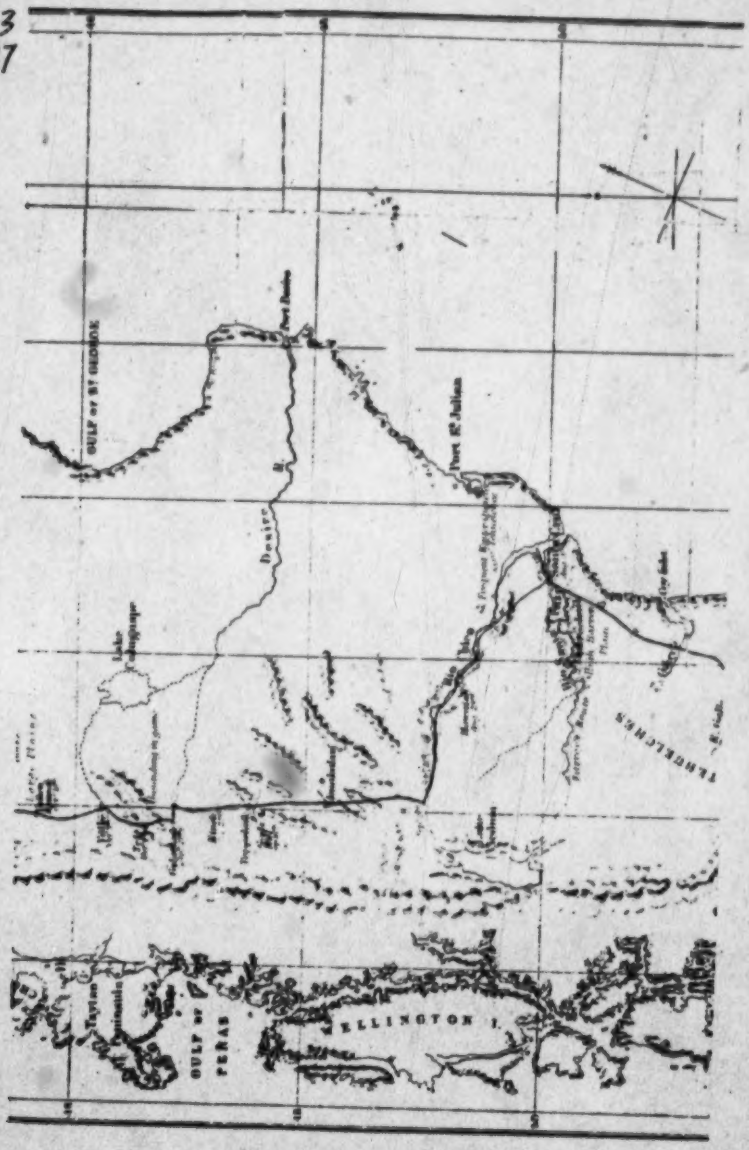

End map B

Z: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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End map C

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rio Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yamonaecunna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Ahonicanka, or Tehonek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Penck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

through which I passed were viewed with a calmness that had been before unattainable, and which is now scarcely credible, on recollection. So true is it that our strength is unknown to ourselves till it is thoroughly tested.

The hope of immediate release, however, was at an end; my savage captors, it seemed, must be looked upon as for an indefinite period my masters and companions; and I had nothing at present to do but to divert myself by a study of their manners and habits; to consult my safety by a close study of their character, and of the ways and means by which to adapt my deportment to it as to win their confidence, to disarm hostility, and to seize opportunities.

PATAGONIA, as it offered itself to my observation, more than answered the descriptions of geographers, — bleak, barren, desolate, beyond description or conception, — only to be appreciated by being seen. Viewed from the Straits of Magellan, it rises in gentle undulations or terraces. Far as the eye can reach, in a westerly direction, it assumes a more broken and hilly appearance, and long ranges of mountains, extending from north to south, divide the eastern from the western shore. The soil is of a light, sandy character, and bears nothing worthy the name of a tree. Low bushes, or underwood, are tolerably abundant, and in the valleys a coarse, wiry grass grows luxuriantly. Streams of water are rare. The natives draw their supplies principally from springs or pools in the valleys, the water of which is generally brackish and disagreeable.

The variety of animal is nearly as limited as that of vegetable productions. The guanaco, a quadruped allied to the lama, and with some resemblance to the camelopard,

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The ferrying recommenced the next morning: and before night the whole tribe were safely landed, with their effects, on the west side of the river, and their wigwams were all pitched. We were short of provisions; but this was a common case, and I was accustomed to it. I got an occasional morsel of grease, sufficient to keep starvation at bay; but illness, with bad and insufficient food, had greatly emaciated me, till I was a spectacle but few degrees above the living skeleton. But hope was still in the ascendant, and I had no idea of lying down to die till I was quite sure my time had come. We continued our wanderings the next day in a westerly direction, slaying every living creature that came within reach, from a skunk to a guanaco. This was a great disappointment, as I hoped we should go down the river, the direction in which they said "Holland" lay, and the only direction in which we were likely to strike a white settlement, if any existed on the Atlantic coast. But my remonstrances on this head were vain; they would go where they pleased, and I must go with them. Time dragged heavily; hours seemed days, and days weeks. But impatience is no virtue, and submission was imperative.

The country hereabout was more broken and mountainous than any we had before traversed, with a more abundant growth of bushes, and some clumps of stunted trees here and there. As we proceeded, keeping still to the north-west, game was more plenty. We came to two ponds, or small lakes, one of not more than four acres in extent, the other considerably larger; the latter was shallow, at least near the shore, as some ostriches pursued

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by the Indians ran into it, and their pursuers waded after, and succeeded in capturing them.

At one time I observed a large scar in the calf of the chief's leg; the mark of a wound that must have been inflicted a long time before, as it was completely healed. Its depression was so great as to indicate a very severe cut, unless the old fellow had grown uncommonly fat since he received it. On inquiring the cause of it, he said it was from a wound inflicted by the Alanagros, a tribe inhabiting a country to the northward. The name he gave them signifies the blacks; and, from the manner in which he spoke of them, I inferred they were in some respects superior to the Patagonians. He said they were armed with cutlasses, and very long knives,—had tobacco, and plenty of horses; and I conjectured that they might have been a party of Spanish Americans, or one of the mixed races of Spanish origin. The fight, he said, arose on occasion of his tribe being on a horse-stealing expedition; they encamped a short distance off, and at night he made a descent on the Alanagros, killed some of them, and plundered their camp, carrying off many of their horses. The plundered tribe rallied, hotly pursued them, and recaptured a part of the booty; in the struggle wounding him with a cutlass, and, as I judged by appearances, cutting to the bone. He told the story with great spirit, slashing right and left, and grunting with extraordinary emphasis, as if to give an impression that good hard blows were given and taken; but I afterwards learned that it was a cowardly running fight, in which more sweat than blood was spilled.

Nothing of importance occurred at our encampment near

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

133 The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by [312] a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small [137] springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which 313 there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian [222] chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. 136 Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, [415] have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many [262] ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

133 The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of [134] Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile [223] than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called 136 Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but [204] the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot [313] of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

133 The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

[133] many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the [136] other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is [312] not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf [313] continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the [487] region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The [622] Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaignas and Enis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 48′ of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is [312] very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some [313] small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which [136] can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts: there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. [622] The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross [135] the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other [384] colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [66] The [136] earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21′ of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three [312] years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league [313] and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which [137] also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

133 entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow
[484] most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at
622 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

133 Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the
[312 other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams,
315 an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite
136 number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs
137 these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest fol-
[620] lowing, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings
493 being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses,
454 which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian.
727 This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors
229 under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there
136 are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more
136 southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes 775
around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded 782
that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so
that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others
think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with
all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family ac- 778
cording to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives him- 756
self and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of
his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen
to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe
that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then
they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the
people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol,
and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says
that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe
the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the 776
deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities 778
and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved
them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it
into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power
consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful
game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 per- [166]
sons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been 131
indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in
on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas
Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain
which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered
with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they
are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction pur- 137
poses, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burn- [343]
ing, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco,
thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies 133
and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from
San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna.
There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the 312
gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two,
three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 141
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

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tolerably good order, to receive the present. There were undoubtedly some very tall men amongst them, but what struck me particularly was their splendid development of chest and arms. Although the wind was very sharp, many of them had their mantles thrown back in a careless way, leaving their naked chests exposed in the air, and appeared not the least incommoded. They readily recognised me for an Englishman, coming and examining me closely, and asking for tobacco with a broad grin on their faces, exposing a wonderfully clean and regular set of teeth. My gratifying their importunate requests for tobacco made Sam very jealous, and for some time he bothered me with remarks such as 'Me very cold, no got poncho,' 'Me no got knife, me no got "pellon"' (saddle-cloth), until, finding it useless to beg, he relapsed into sullen silence. A smoke of the pipe, however, brought him back to his usual cheerful temper, and as we galloped along he chanted an Indian song, which consisted of the words 'Ah ge lay loo, Ah ge lay loo,' expressed in various keys.

After a ride of some leagues in a rather more open but still undulating country, a break in the Pampas was reached. Hills of irregular and picturesque outlines, with labyrinthine valleys or ravines, not running in parallel order, but communicating with each other, occupied an extensive district, and though travelling was considerably more difficult, yet the change in the aspect of nature was grateful after the barren monotony of the plains.

We halted in an Indian encampment, situated in a valley underneath a peaked hill called 'Otiti,' where there were pools of fresh and salt water in close proximity. Amongst the incense and thorn bushes, which grow at intervals in these regions, we passed to-day another description of shrub with a thick rough bark, which is readily detached, and leaves a long rattail-like sort of twig. From the Rio Gallegos the soil had become generally of a yellower colour than on the south side of that river, although in the valleys and hollows

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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dark peaty earth was generally to be found, and the surface of the Pampas had assumed a more desolate appearance, being strewn with small pebbles, and studded with bushes—generally of a thorny species. Round clumps of prickly thistles—which burn like tinder on applying a lighted match—and a few stray tufts of withered grass, only made more desolate the hungry barrenness of the deserts, over which the wind blew with cutting violence, yet they are the home of large herds of guanaco, ostriches, puma, and armadillo, though the latter were at this period comfortably hybernating.

Next morning no horses were visible, and as time went on till ten o'clock without any appearance we all began to suspect Indian treachery. Sam volunteered the remark that if they (the Indians) had played us such a trick, he would go and clear all their animals out the following evening. This threat there was fortunately no occasion for him to put into execution, as the troop proved only to have strayed into another valley. As we were now nearing Santa Cruz, which the last of the Indians were just leaving, having completed their trade and finished all the grog, we saw numerous columns of smoke, caused by their hunting parties. After passing the broken ground and reaching the high Pampa, Sam and myself rode on ahead, amusing ourselves by fruitlessly chasing guanaco or ostrich, but Sam's dexterity with the bolas was frustrated by his being mounted on a horse belonging to the expedition and unused to this work. Towards evening, after again passing numerous salt lagoons, we came to a descent of 300 or 400 feet leading to a valley containing a large salina, and halting, made our fire by the side of a spring, near which, Sam informed me, were the graves of two Indians, which he mentioned with the deepest respect and in an awe-stricken undertone.

Our signal smoke, which was as much to attract Indians as to give the direction of our route to Gallegos and J'aria, was soon responded to from the opposite hills on the northern

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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through which I passed were viewed with a calmness that had been before unattainable, and which is now scarcely credible, on recollection. So true is it that our strength is unknown to ourselves till it is thoroughly tested.

The hope of immediate release, however, was at an end; my savage captors, it seemed, must be looked upon as for an indefinite period my masters and companions; and I had nothing at present to do but to divert myself by a study of their manners and habits; to consult my safety by a close study of their character, and of the ways and means by which so to adapt my deportment to it as to win their confidence, to disarm hostility, and to seize opportunities.

PATAGONIA, as it offered itself to my observation, more than answered the descriptions of geographers, — bleak, barren, desolate, beyond description or conception, — only to be appreciated by being seen. Viewed from the Straits of Magellan, it rises in gentle undulations or terraces. Far as the eye can reach, in a westerly direction, it assumes a more broken and hilly appearance, and long ranges of mountains, extending from north to south, divide the eastern from the western shore. The soil is of a light, sandy character, and bears nothing worthy the name of a tree. Low bushes, or underwood, are tolerably abundant, and in the valleys a coarse, wiry grass grows luxuriantly. Streams of water are rare. The natives draw their supplies principally from springs or pools in the valleys, the water of which is generally brackish and disagreeable.

The variety of animal is nearly as limited as that of vegetable productions. The guanaco, a quadruped allied to the lama, and with some resemblance to the camelopard,

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and
133 is situated on the 46° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found
only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by
[314] a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some
four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small
[137] springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which
313 there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian
[321] chief who rules this section is called Ayno; his jurisdiction stretches up
to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward
toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but
the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast.
136 Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good
to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating,
[315] have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh
which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of
a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many
[316] ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat,
which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food.
Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete
and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

133 The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 46° 4' latitude south.
It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bot-
tom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and
rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water.
The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of
[139] Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile
[140] than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called
136 Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but
[226] the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them
and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called
Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian
and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already men-
[313] tioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot
of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Blanco, which is at the same
138 latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to
cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been ex-
plored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
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expedition, was to be had in abundance by ascending the 495
river. At the present time the knowledge of the navigation of the Straits would make it much easier and cheaper to import timber from Punta Arena than to send lumberers into the Cordillera and raft the timber down to Santa Cruz.

Near the Potrero, on the southern shore, there is a natural 136
salt lake or salina, which must have been overlooked by the Beagle expedition, as Mr. Darwin fixes the southern limits of salinas at Port St. Julian. In the summer, and until the winter rains and snow set in, an inexhaustible supply of excellent salt can be obtained. It is at present worked only to furnish, besides the salt for home use, what is required for the annual sealing fishery; but if labour were more abundant, the salt would be found to be a valuable article of export to the Falkland Islands; the salina being situated less than half a mile from the beach, where there is good anchorage.

The river also yields abundant supplies of fish—a species 136
of bass and others—which when cured keep well: some which had been cured over a year proved excellent. These might be profitably exported to Rio Janeiro, &c., where cured fish are always in demand.

Notwithstanding these natural advantages, Santa Cruz 459
could hardly at this period be considered a settlement. Subsequently to my visit, two Frenchmen from Buenos Ayres proposed to try sheep farming in the valley, but with what result I have not heard. As already mentioned, the station existed as a depôt for sealing, and as a trading post, to which the Tehuelches resorted to exchange their ostrich feathers, and puma, guanaco, and ostrich skins, for tobacco, sugar, ammunition, and above all, rum. There was little or no trade going on during the absence of the schooner, as all the stores had been exhausted; but after the summer campaign some of the Tehuelches invariably resort thither, and the vicinity has always been a favourite winter quarters. The 747
missionaries, Messrs. Schmid and Hart, endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity for essaying the conversion

[1] [i.e. Santa Cruz River—Andrews]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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routine of hunting, as we made our way slowly up the valley of the Rio Chico, which was still frozen over. The weather was cold, and occasional showers of snow accompanied the strong piercing westerly winds which blew every day. The valley sometimes opened out into wide grass-covered plains, dotted with incense-bushes, then rose again in huge bare ridge and barrow-like undulations. Occasionally there occurred patches of swampy ground with frozen lagoons, and here and there open springs, the resort of numerous water-fowl. The hills on the northern side appeared bare and rugged, rising abruptly out of irregular forms, while the southern heights were lower, and presented more of the steep declivities known as barrancas, interrupted at intervals by high rugged hills of basalt, often assuming the appearance of ruined castles, closing in at the bends of the winding river. To one of these—a remarkable hill under which we were encamped on August 22, about 120 miles from Santa Cruz—I gave the name of Sierra Ventana, from a window-like opening through its peak; the Indians called it Miwaish. (See Illustration.) In many places the bases of these hills were formed entirely of a description of lava, and one of the Chilians informed me that whilst passing over a ridge, he had observed several large masses of pure iron: this, however, I was inclined to disbelieve, as although farther up the country iron ore exists in large quantities, I only observed in this part a species of ore similar to that common at Drobak, in Norway.

On one occasion, while marching, we observed smoke in our rear, which was thought to be caused either by a messenger in search of us announcing the arrival of the schooner, or else by a party of the Southern Indians who had some idea of marching north. However, no scout was sent back to discover the truth, so we remained in ignorance. On the 26th we halted, and encamped by the side of the river in a broad opening of the valley; here there was a lagoon, not completely frozen, in which grew a description of flag, of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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133 bleak appearance, the grey rocks only appearing now and then. After some hours' travelling through this dismal district in a north-west course, we emerged on a large plain at the western side, bounded by a range of hills 1,000 feet high, forming a spur of the Cordillera. The weather was stormy, and we could only catch occasional glimpses, through the driving clouds and snow-storms, of the loftier peaks of the more distant mountains. Our expedition in search of wild horses was, of course, after the recent trouble, abandoned; and forced marches, to escape the Southern Indians, in the event of their following from Santa Cruz, were the order of the day. Hunting, however, was resumed by the unwounded, and several ostriches were caught during the day. Towards evening the encampment was fixed near a lagoon, the environs of which were barren, and destitute of anything except a small low shrub which served as firewood. Although the wind was northerly, it was bitterly cold; and as I had for some days past adopted the native costume—keeping my 'store clothes' stowed away under charge of Mrs. Orkeke—I felt it exceedingly. The 6th, 7th, and 8th of September were occupied in making forced marches northward, accompanied by the usual hunting; and although both parties continued armed, and appeared to be rather suspicious of each other, things went on pretty smoothly. The country traversed on the 6th and 7th was a large arid plain, dotted with a few stunted shrubs, enclosed by the before-mentioned spur of the Cordillera on the western side, and on the east by a low
• [135] range of sandy-looking hills. The whole of this plain was strewn with small pebbles of porphyry, quartz, silicia, and obsidian; also with small pieces of silicified wood. On the 8th we crossed the spur by a pass walled on either hand with rocks of vesicular lava. Here we halted for a quarter of an hour, and every one broke off pieces of stone suitable for making hand-balls for bolas. The descent on the western side was no easy matter, the declivity being strewn with large masses of rock and loose boulders, and the wind blow-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable.

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind.

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the

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231 racers and best horses, although if a white man approaches or attempts to catch them they show signs of fear and temper. Indeed, there appears to be a sort of instinctive mutual bond between the Indians and their horses. For
232 lameness the cure most prevalent is bleeding in the fetlock with an awl; sometimes the incision is made higher up the leg, and the awl forced nearly through the horse's leg; he is then tied up for a short time, and then let go, and the cure is generally certain. Of course before the bleeding he is tied up several hours without water. The cure for sore backs, which, though rare, sometimes occur owing to an ill-made
● 135 saddle, is a species of aluminous earth, applied to the wound
232 after it has been cleansed with a knife. This earth is only found in the southern parts of the country, and it is very difficult to obtain any of this much-prized medicine from the Indians. One deposit of it is found in a cliff near Lake Viedma, so high that it can only be got at by throwing stones at the face of the cliff, and so dislodging the earth.

231 A few lines will suffice to gratify any 'horsey-doggy' friends who may be curious as to the horse-flesh and dog-shows of the Indians. The horses in use amongst the Southern Indians are, as a rule, of a hardier race than those found amongst the Northern, Araucanian, and Pampas Indians. Their general size is about fifteen hands, or indeed perhaps less, but nevertheless they are of great speed and endurance; when one takes into consideration that the weight of their riders is frequently over fourteen stone, it appears extraordinary that they should be enabled to carry them in the way they do. The horses are, of course, all of Spanish origin, but time, climate, and the different nature of the country have altered them to a considerable degree from the original race. The horses found amongst the Northern Tehuelches are, as a rule, larger than those previously mentioned, with finer heads and smaller legs; they are also extremely swift, and being bred frequently from captured wild mares, are admirably adapted

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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting in the surrounding country (where hares abounded), we observed a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter, reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific, being administered to the invalids with great success. In
133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swelling eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a saline was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner, determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been destitute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
● [135] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.
132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much lighter: indeed whilst in Telek some warm days were experienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously described as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in abundance, and was collected by the women and children.
[134] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

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that on the third next march we should pass a deposit of 135
yellow ore, lying to the south of the route, and that during the hunt he would show it to me. Orkeke also corroborated this statement, and I have every reason to believe that there is in that locality a deposit of iron or more probably copper ore.

As the meat of the slain horses was nearly consumed, we 133
marched the following day across a most stony, rocky, and inhospitable country, and at length arrived at a range of hills, through which ran a steep, narrow gorge. Descending through its tortuous windings, we at length arrived at a spring, the waters of which, joining with another small rivulet, flowed out, and formed a sort of marsh at the head of a large plain. From the slope of the hill bordering the ravine a fine panorama extended to the east, the entire face of the country appearing to be more uniformly undulating than the confused ranges of hills, through the intricacies of which we had been marching and hunting since leaving Geylum. In the foreground were visible distant black figures, moving with swiftness across the plain in pursuit of numerous ostriches; and away to the eastward rose a column of smoke, the cause of which was eagerly speculated on.

I am conscious that the description of this part of the 114
journey is not likely to give a very clear idea of the country traversed; and that the directions of the successive ranges, *and the general character of the ground*, are left too much to the reader's imagination; but, in deprecation of criticism and censure, it is pleaded that I was under the impression that this district had been traversed, and accurately surveyed and described, by a *savant* employed by the Argentine Government; and that I was deprived of the assistance of my compass, which had been presented to Foyel. The notes taken at the time were very scanty, and my recollections were confused, inasmuch as I was labouring under a constantly-recurring attack of sickness, which was only kept at bay by resolute endeavours not to give way; but which re-

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guanaco and several ostrich were visible in the plain, and near our halting-place we found the tracks of a puma, for which we searched diligently, but without success.

After securing our horses, as on the previous night, we dined, minus armadillo, off a piece of scraggy meat, and turned in. The salt from the salina was of excellent quality; it was necessary to remove a little of the upper surface, which had slightly deteriorated by exposure to the atmosphere, and then we cut out cakes of salt like pieces of ice, which served for plates. It is a strange fact that both into this and other salinas small rivulets of fresh water flowed, fed by springs in the neighbouring hills.

The next morning (if it could be so called) at the same hour we were in the saddle, and traversing the plain crossed some ridges of moderate height, and continued passing through a tract of country thickly wooded with incense and other bushes. About two P.M. we arrived at a rivulet of water, near which were marks of a recent encampment; after examining these, we came to the conclusion that a week had perhaps elapsed since the occupants had left. We travelled forward at our utmost speed over ground of much the same description, diversified now and again by ranges of low hills, putting up occasionally a partridge, of which birds we observed two different species, one crested, and nearly as large as a hen pheasant and the other smaller than an English bird, and which took only short flights and then cowered—and were fortunate enough to kill a couple. The sun went down behind some hills, and still we found no suitable place to halt in; at last, however, we came to some ponds of water, where we all, being pretty well tired, dismounted, and tethering two of the horses allowed the remainder to go loose. We found the water brackish, though drinkable, but the animals would scarcely touch it, and wandered about, necessitating a watch on them all night; this was rather weary work, especially as a sharp frost came on, and with all our care, at starting-time two horses were missing. After a

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started to hunt, but returned empty-handed. We filled up 484
the skins and water-bottles, in anticipation of entering the 133
travesia the following day; and, after the usual meal and matè, sought out each his own particular nest in the pampa grass, and went to sleep without fear of the horses straying far, the pasture and water being both of the best quality. As it was in this encampment that, according to Casimiro, the defunct Mendoza had discovered gold, I prospected carefully for any signs, but only noticed that parts of the adjoining pampa were strewn, amongst other pebbles, with pieces of quartz. At the usual hour we started to commence the ascent to the travesia, or desert, which rose above us to the north, in a high plateau. On ascending a short distance, we observed on our left hand (to the westward) a [135]
salina of several leagues in length, which bordered the edge of the travesia in about an east or west direction. I am inclined to think that the river Valchita loses itself in this salina. This river is subject to great floods, evidences of which were visible in the drift weeds and rubbish clinging to the bushes and shrubs throughout the valley, evidently left there by the spring inundation. By a gradual ascent we at length reached the level of the plateau, and saw before us an interminable dreary expanse strewn with small shingle, and covered with shrubs varying from four to twelve feet, or even higher, and here and there small tufts of grass. No signs of life were visible. The sky was bright and clear, although clouds were gathering in the southern horizon, and the wind (it nearly always blows in Patagonia) was cutting. I remarked to Luiz Aguirre that it would possibly 521
rain; his reply, 'I hope it will—it will be splendid, then all the lagoons will be full,' told of the danger of drought, but found no assent from me, having had enough of wet weather during the excursion to Las Manzanas. During the ride he told me that he knew the difference between the Catholic and Protestant religions, and of the two he preferred the latter; he also asked me if I had ever been to China, where

133 many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the [136 312 313] other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the [487] region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The [628] Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 48' of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is [312 313] very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all," which [136] can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts; there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. [628] The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other [135] colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [66] The [312] earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. [134] *There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.*

The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21' of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest [312] source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which [313 137] also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [464
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

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Patagonia SH 1

THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN HUNTERS

By John M. Cooper

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The section of the Pampa which here interests us (map 1, *Nos. 1D, 1E, 1F;* map 2) extends about 600 miles (960 km.) north to south from about a line between Córdoba and the mouth of the La Plata to a line between the Río Colorado and the Río Negro (pl. 3, *bottom, right;* pl. 4, *top, left*), where Patagonia begins, and thence stretches about 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from north to south to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the mainland. The Pampa is a low-lying plain, nowhere over 1,000 feet (305 m.) above sea level, except for the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana in southern Buenos Aires Province. Apart from the low coastal belt, Patagonia is mostly a broken tableland, one to five thousand feet above sea level (pls. 1 and 2).

Average temperatures at Buenos Aires, near the northeastern limit of the Pampa, are 48.9° F. in July, the coldest month, and 73.6° in January, the warmest month; at Choele-Choel, near the border line between the Pampa and Patagonia, 45.° and 75.4°; at Santa Cruz, in far southern Patagonia, 33.2° and 51.6° (cf. New York City, 30.6° in January and 73.5° in July). The Pampa is marked by frequent steady-blowing high winds; Patagonia, by still more frequent blustery violent winds from the west and southwest.

The eastern, or Humid Pampa, is, or was, treeless grassland (pl. 3, *top, right,* and *bottom, left;* pl. 4, *top, right*); the western or Dry Pampa (pl. 3, *top, left*), xerophytic scrub-tree and bush land; most of Patagonia has cover largely like that of the Dry Pampa, but considerable grassland especially in the western part. Along the piedmont and eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera flanking the Pampa and Patagonia to the west, is a broken forest belt (pl. 4, *bottom, left* and *right*) constituting an extension of the Antarctic flora with its beeches and other characteristic trees and shrubs. (For fuller details on environment, cf.: Jones, 1936; Jones, 1942.)

Of the land fauna, the most important from the native standpoint were the guanaco (*Lama glama guanicoe:* Cabrera and Yepes, 1940,

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Patagonia SH1
Araucanians SG4

p. 257) and the rhea (*Rhea americana* in the north, *R. darwinii* in the south) (pl. 1). Guanaco more commonly go in small herds consisting of an adult male and 4 to 10 females; sometimes, in small herds of young males; less commonly, in larger herds up to about 100 head, or in ones or twos. Communal hunting was consequently more usual; hunting singly, less so.

THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN TRIBES

Notwithstanding the notorious complexities and obscurities of Patagonian and Pampean tribal nomenclature and distribution, certain simple broad facts stand out quite clearly, as amply established by the evidence. Since the early 18th century, at least three distinct linguistic families have been determined for the area: *Araucanian*, *Puelchean*, and *Tehuelchean* (*Chon*). The peoples speaking these languages have been quite consistently described as respectively short-statured, fairly tall, and very tall—characterizations borne out by more exact measurements, particularly of the first and third. The cultures, too, of the three peoples can, in spite of much mutual borrowing and much underlying similarity, be readily distinguished—the *Araucanian* versus the *Tehuelche* very clearly, the *Puelche* versus the *Araucanian* and *Tehuelche* less clearly. Taking this well-established broad triple division as a starting point, we can approach more closely the Patagonian-Pampean confusion with less fear of leaving it at the end more confounded that it was; at the worst we can fall back to our starting point.

The Araucanians.—Slight infiltrations of *Araucanian* blood and culture across and down the Andes onto the eastern foothills and plains had taken place during the 17th century, and a little probably even in the 16th. But the major swarming of the *Araucanians* out over Neuquén and the Pampa got under real headway only in the early years of the 18th. The early piñon-eating "*Puelche*" or "*Pehuenche*" of the high cordilleran valleys, who are from time to time mentioned in the Chilean documents of the 16th and 17th centuries, may have been non-*Araucanian* in speech, but there is an even chance that they or a section of them were *Araucanian*-speaking. At any rate, from at least the time of Pietas (1646, p. 499), they were clearly *Araucanian* in speech, and from at least the beginning of the 19th century, they, or the peoples who then lived near where the early *Pehuenche* had lived, were thoroughly *Araucanian* in culture. (Cf. De la Cruz, 1835; Poeppig, 1835–36.)

In view of the foregoing facts, the Argentine *Araucanians* and the early "*Pehuenche-Puelche*" of the cordilleran Araucaria forest will be described in volume 2 of the Handbook, under *Araucanians*, and will be given no further direct treatment in the present article.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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HUNTING GUANACO AND OSTRICH, VALLEY OF RIO CHICO.

[facing p. iii]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

tides ebb and flow through these channels renders it im- 133
possible for any vessel not possessed of great steam-power to proceed except the tide is favourable. Our first view of the Straits did not impress me favourably. On either hand the shores looked bleak and barren, though far away to the south and west the mountains of Tierra del Fuego could be distinctly seen. As we anchored early in the afternoon, a descent on the coast of Patagonia was proposed, and a party speedily volunteered—well provided with guns and other arms, for the purposes of sport and self-defence in case of necessity—and were soon in the boat. As the tide was out, the shoal water did not permit us to reach the shore, so we had to wade some two or three hundred yards over beds of sharp-edged mussels, and, after a climb up the steep cliff, found ourselves on the verge of a barren plain which seemed perfectly destitute of life.

After a tramp of some distance we came to the edge of a 136
gully running down to the coast, where finding the torn carcase of a guanaco, we stopped to examine what was to most of us an unknown animal; and our speculations as to the curious hybrid form of the odd-looking 'camel-sheep' were put an end to by the discovery close by of the fresh foot-prints of a puma. These were eagerly tracked, in the hopes of a little entertainment; but after some tedious searching we abandoned the pursuit, and again resuming our excursion, tramped along through high, coarse grass, and sparsely scattered thorny bushes; some of the sportsmen varying the monotony by an occasional shot at a snipe. The day was very genial, the warmth of the bright sunshine was tempered by a wind just cool enough to make a walk pleasant, and the Patagonian climate was pronounced by all hands to be agreeable. Whilst we were beating a rough bit of ground, to our utter amazement and delight our friend the puma jumped out of a bush; but the first surprise was so great, that the opportunity of giving him a long shot was lost. Away we all started in chase, hoping to be able

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

136 to keep him in sight from a small adjacent eminence; and after a good breather two of the party succeeded in viewing him to somewhere near the edge of the cliffs, mainly guided by a retriever dog, which seemed as anxious as anybody to see what the catamount hide was made of. On arriving at the cliff, a seaman observed his tracks on the soft clay of the shelving brow, and soon proclaimed his discovery of the puma in a hole or small cave just below, by the exclamation of 'There he is!' at the same time thrusting the stick he had been beating with nearly into the mouth of the 'lion,' which had set our dog, and appeared about to spring on him. Two shots were fired in quick succession, but apparently without effect, as he made good his retreat, affording us a fine view as he went off, springing in great bounds, along the beach. Pursuit was of course organised, but night being near failed to afford us an opportunity of a closer study of this specimen of the feline race; and we accordingly started again for the ship, after firing a shot or two into the numerous flocks of oyster-catchers and shags which were domiciled on the rocks and about the cliffs. The number of these and other sea-birds was incalculable; the numerous beds of mussels furnishing them with constant food.

133 Next morning we were under weigh with the flood-tide, and rapidly ran through the narrows at a speed of eighteen miles an hour. The scenery on the northern side of the Straits offered little variety until we sighted the Barrancas of San Gregorio, a range of somewhat picturesque hills, rising near the north shore of the bay of the same name, and running along for some miles in an easterly direction. On the southern or Fuegian side of the Straits the land was low for some distance from the coast, and resembled the northern shore, but high mountains were visible in the background. After passing the second narrows, an hour or two's run with the flood-tide and a good head of steam brought us opposite to the 'Island of San Isabel,' or Elizabeth Island; after passing which, the snow clad peaks of Mount Sarmiento, in

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The Pampa we were now traversing presented an expanse 133
of undulating or rolling plains covered with a uniform growth of coarse grass interspersed with barberry bushes, and occasional lagoons in the hollows. No living creatures except ourselves appeared on the waste. To the westward the snow-clad peaks of the mountains bordering the Sarmiento Straits greeted us with an icy blast which made my thoughts longingly revert to the cozy cabin and my late shipmates, who were, no doubt, threading the intricacies of its channels. But the good guanaco mantle kept out the wind, and our motley party pushed briskly on in good order. Lieutenant Gallegos has been already introduced; as to the 122
others, J'aria was a small man, of rough exterior, of doubtful extraction, and more than doubtful antecedents, who looked fit for any business except good; but he served me most assiduously and with unlooked-for care. The soldier was a fine-looking fellow, new to the Pampas, whose carbine, which he duly carried, proved a source of great embarrassment to him; and his horse being by no means too manageable, he was considerably bothered, much to the delight of the rest. Two others were hybrids, between gauchos and sailors, having, like our marines, been equally accustomed to service *per mare, per terram;* but, like the jollies, they were unmistakably useful and good men. The last of the party was of the J'aria type. All were well mounted, and provided with a spare horse. We carried for provisions biscuit, charqui or dried meat, roasted wheat meal, and coffee and sugar, and were furnished with an unusual but welcome luxury, a small tent, underneath which we cared little for the bitter frost outside.

After riding over the Pampas for three or four hours, we 135
encamped for the night in a bollow by the side of a lagoon, having selected a suitable spot for pitching the tent on the sheltered slope, well out of the sweep of the wind. The lagoon was covered with black-necked swans and other wild 136
fowl; so, as soon as the horses had been unloaded and looked

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Though rough and rainy, morning broke fair and the sun rose bright and warm, so we started, following a path along the base of the before-mentioned range of hills until about ten o'clock, when, just after passing a beautiful little stream where I noticed fish darting about in the pools, a herd of guanaco, hitherto concealed by a small eminence, came into view. Chase was immediately given, but most of our horses were soon blown, and Gallegos, the soldier, and myself having ascended the hills over which the herd had taken flight, as it appeared useless to continue the chase, stopped on the crest and watched the animals as they streamed up on an opposite hill. One of the party was missing, and suddenly an exclamation from the Lieutenant, 'What is it?' caused us to turn our eyes in the direction to which he pointed, where some fancied they descried a man. The idea of deserters immediately occurred to their minds, so they started off, asking me to tell J'aria (who had remained with the horses) to travel on to a given spot at the head of the valley. Having descended the hill, which was tunnelled with burrows
[136] of the Ctenomys Magellanicus,* the crowns of which, yielding to the horses' tread, proved a series of dangerous traps, I rejoined J'aria, and we pursued our way for a few miles until we reached a small lagoon at the head of the valley, covered with thousands of widgeon and duck. The sight suggested the thought that no man need starve in this country, so abundant seemed the supplies of animal life. Here we waited, and in the course of half an hour the remainder came up with their horses blown, one of the party having a piece of guanaco meat hanging to his saddle. This was José Marinero, one of the hybrids, who had succeeded in lassoing a guanaco, at which he appeared intensely delighted. The 'man,' as I had previously supposed, proved imaginary. I regretted not being up at the death, as it turned out that José had been close to us, but hidden from sight by a rise. After a pleasant and refreshing rest and a draught of café

* Cunningham, p. 135.

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ON another hunt the party overtook the deserters, housed in the toldo of an Indian, and a fight ensued, ending in the death of one of the pursuers; the deserter who shot him was pistolled, and J'aria and José carried the dead body of their comrade on horseback to the settlement, sixty miles distant, proceeding without a halt all through the night, and accomplishing their ghastly journey by the next morning. J'aria related how he had been drifted in a launch among the ice in the Straits, and carried over to Tierra del Fuego, where they found rocks so magnetic that iron nails adhered to them. He further amused us by a short dissertation on his domestic arrangements; how, when his last wife died, he married a Chilote to be mother for his children and wife for him, and he always called her in conversation the 'Madre Muger'—wife mother.

133 Next morning we started early, and varying our march
•[136] with one or two races after foxes, which generally met their death in a very short time, and an engagement with a female puma, which one of the men despatched by a splendid revolver shot through the head, traversed some uneven Pampas, with occasional hills, and arrived at the descent of the valley of the Rio Gallegos, where the very remarkable bench formation, afterwards observed on a smaller or larger scale in other Patagonian rivers, first arrested my attention. To the west, some miles away, a high hill, apparently of basalt, the square summit of which, with seemingly regular walls and towers, mimicked the distant view of an extensive fortress, served as a landmark for the break in the barranca, which formed a natural road, by which we reached the first or upper bench, a mile and a half in width; from this a drop or scarped slope of fifty feet and upwards descended to another terrace or plain of equal extent, and terminating in another fall, at the bottom of which lay the bed of the river; it is fordable in the summer months, I believe, in many places, but when we crossed the water about reached where one's saddle flaps would be if riding on

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an English rabbit. After crossing the ford, a halt took place [33]
to smoke a pipe, whilst doing which we watched the gyrations of a huge vulture of the condor species; he hovered [36]
for some time, and at length boldly settled on a point of rock about a hundred yards distant; so the soldier, whose carbine was always ready, took a shot, but missed, much to the grief of Gallegos, who asserts that the heart of the vulture is a good remedy for certain diseases. We then [37]
mounted, and riding about a mile halted for the night by a spring, gushing out of a ravine in the slope between the upper and lower benches, where the pasture was good, as Jose declared that water was scarce for some leagues further on. The horses arranged, José and myself proceeded to try and shoot a guanaco, but the plain was too open, so, after lighting up a bit of dry grass to attract any neighbouring Indians, we very foolishly indulged in a bathe in the river. The water was intensely cold, and the ill effects of this ill-timed indulgence were felt for a long time after. The soldier meanwhile was away on horseback, chasing a large herd, but he returned about dusk empty-handed. Next morning we started about nine o'clock, having been, as usual, delayed by the horses having strayed some distance. Ascending the slope, we crossed the higher bench, a barren, dreary waste, for about a league, until we came to a lagoon covered with upland grass, and lying just below what may be termed the barrancas of the Upper Pampa. Halting here for a smoke and warm to dispel the effects of the intensely cold wind, we were about resuming our route to ascend the stony slope of the upper plains, when large columns of smoke, in answer to [38]
the signal fire we had left behind us, rose up in the sky in a N.E. direction. We moved on, and arriving at the summit of the ascent, looked eagerly round for signs of the fire, but nothing was visible. The plains lay before us apparently destitute of life, excepting a stray guanaco here and there. José then set light to a neighbouring bush, which gave out dense clouds of black smoke, and in a few minutes this was

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dark peaty earth was generally to be found, and the surface of the Pampas had assumed a more desolate appearance, being strewn with small pebbles, and studded with bushes—generally of a thorny species. Round clumps of prickly thistles—which burn like tinder on applying a lighted match—and a few stray tufts of withered grass, only made more desolate the hungry barrenness of the deserts, over which the wind blew with cutting violence, yet they are the home of large herds of guanaco, ostriches, puma, and armadillo, though the latter were at this period comfortably hybernating.

Next morning no horses were visible, and as time went on till ten o'clock without any appearance we all began to suspect Indian treachery. Sam volunteered the remark that if they (the Indians) had played us such a trick, he would go and clear all their animals out the following evening. This threat there was fortunately no occasion for him to put into execution, as the troop proved only to have strayed into another valley. As we were now nearing Santa Cruz, which the last of the Indians were just leaving, having completed their trade and finished all the grog, we saw numerous columns of smoke, caused by their hunting parties. After passing the broken ground and reaching the high Pampa, Sam and myself rode on ahead, amusing ourselves by fruitlessly chasing guanaco or ostrich, but Sam's dexterity with the bolas was frustrated by his being mounted on a horse belonging to the expedition and unused to this work. Towards evening, after again passing numerous salt lagoons, we came to a descent of 300 or 400 feet leading to a valley containing a large salina, and halting, made our fire by the side of a spring, near which, Sam informed me, were the graves of two Indians, which he mentioned with the deepest respect and in an awe-stricken undertone.

Our signal smoke, which was so much to attract Indians as to give the direction of our route to Gallegos and J'aris, was soon responded to from the opposite hills on the northern

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expedition, was to be had in abundance by ascending the river. At the present time the knowledge of the navigation of the Straits would make it much easier and cheaper to import timber from Punta Arena than to send lumberers into the Cordillera and raft the timber down to Santa Cruz.

Near the Potrero, on the southern shore, there is a natural salt lake or salina, which must have been overlooked by the Beagle expedition, as Mr. Darwin fixes the southern limits of salinas at Port St. Julian. In the summer, and until the winter rains and snow set in, an inexhaustible supply of excellent salt can be obtained. It is at present worked only to furnish, besides the salt for home use, what is required for the annual sealing fishery; but if labour were more abundant, the salt would be found to be a valuable article of export to the Falkland Islands; the salina being situated less than half a mile from the beach, where there is good anchorage.

The river[1] also yields abundant supplies of fish—a species of bass and others—which when cured keep well: some which had been cured over a year proved excellent. These might be profitably exported to Rio Janeiro, &c., where cured fish are always in demand.

Notwithstanding these natural advantages, Santa Cruz could hardly at this period be considered a settlement. Subsequently to my visit, two Frenchmen from Buenos Ayres proposed to try sheep farming in the valley, but with what result I have not heard. As already mentioned, the station existed as a depôt for sealing, and as a trading post, to which the Tehuelches resorted to exchange their ostrich feathers, and puma, guanaco, and ostrich skins, for tobacco, sugar, ammunition, and above all, rum. There was little or no trade going on during the absence of the schooner, as all the stores had been exhausted; but after the summer campaign some of the Tehuelches invariably resort thither, and the vicinity has always been a favourite winter quarters. The missionaries, Messrs. Schmid and Hart, endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity for essaying the conversion

[1] [i.e. Santa Cruz River --Andyst]

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These, eastwards, lose their elevations, and merge into the undulations of the high Pampa and a rolling cheerless waste of stones, coarse grass, and incense bushes; its uneven surface often traversed by ravines running in various directions. Amongst these hills there is a large lagoon which Casimiro informed me he used to visit whilst residing with the missionaries for the purpose of procuring wild fowl, of which there were then great numbers, but they had latterly given up this resort. There are other lagoons scattered at intervals in the before-mentioned plains, which, during the winter, were frozen, and the beautifully smooth ice often caused Mr. Clarke and myself to long for a pair of skates; indeed we tried to manufacture a pair, but without success. 133 [136]

Towards the sea coast from the Blue Hills the slope appears gradual, until nearing the coast, when the plain is intersected by gullies and deep fertile valleys, which render hunting very tedious work, as it is necessary to trust almost entirely to the dogs. Game abounds in this direction, especially during the winter. We made numerous excursions up river, generally staying away from the settlement three or four days, our favourite rendezvous being a place about sixty miles distant, called 'Chickrookaik,' marked by Fitzroy as an Indian Ford or Pass of the river Santa Cruz, which statement both El Sourdo and Casimiro confirmed. At this point the river narrows considerably, and on the south side there are steep cliffs almost overhanging the water, a cave in which cliffs was always a sure find for a puma. Both above and below this point are large wide plains extending from the 'banks' or cliffs to the river, which may easily be encircled; and the game being hemmed in between the horsemen and the river are readily captured. Sometimes the ostriches take to the water, but in the winter this saves trouble, as their legs get frozen, and on landing they are unable to move. We made an excursion on one occasion some miles higher up the river, and found abundance of game. We had previously on our road had good luck, 133 136

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133 but, as is often the custom, left the slain animals concealed
136 in bushes, with a poncho or something over them. During the interval of our absence severe weather set in, and on returning to examine our *caches* the foxes and birds of prey had accounted for the meat. The foxes are a great trouble to the hunters, as, frequently, whilst they are encircling the herds of guanaco, and taking the greatest care to keep out of sight, one of these brutes will jump up, the dogs give chase, and then good-bye to all chance of sport. Fitzroy remarked the number of guanaco bones found in his ascent of the river Santa Cruz, which appear to have puzzled him,
[30] but the cause is not far to seek. During the very severe winters which occur I believe about once in three years, these animals, finding no pasture on the high lands, which are covered with snow, are necessarily driven down to the plains fringing the river, where they die from starvation. There is also a disease prevalent amongst them something similar to scab in sheep. On one occasion a hunting party killed ten guanacos, all of which were scabby, or, as we called it, 'sancoso;' and, consequently, unfit for food. Mr. Clarke told me that after one severe winter he found ostriches lying in heaps, dead under the bushes, and also guanacos. The difficulty of getting the horses across the swift and deep stream, with its banks encumbered by ice, prevented us from making frequent excursions to the northern side of the river. A level plain extends from the banks for about a mile, bounded by a chain of irregular hills; near the foot of these I picked up many specimens of a spiral shell, apparently a Turritella, which appeared to have been vitrified; and some were as translucent as glass, and of different colours. Beyond these hills rolled a succession of uneven plains diversified by ridges and hills; the general slope of the ground being apparently from west to east, and the hills towards the west often assumed the form of abrupt lofty cliffs. Near a laguna at the foot of a cliff a hundred feet high I found boulders incrusted with sulphate of iron, such as had been

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pointed out to me in the Falklands, and numerous oyster shells and other marine shells occured in various localities. There are no streams, but frequent lagoons in the hollows, and surrounded by a luxuriant growth of incense bushes. The unbroken plains abound in round thistle, califate, and the curious shrub called 'ratstail,' from the appearance of its twigs when the thick bark is pulled off. When burned it emits a dense black resinous smoke. To the north the horizon is bounded by a lofty range of hills which form the barrier of the valley of the Rio Chico, about sixty miles distant. These northern hills abound with puma, some of which, killed in our hunts, were of unusual size, measuring fully six feet exclusive of the tail, which is generally half the length of the body. They are, of course, most numerous where the herds of guanaco and the ostriches abound; in the southern part of Patagonia their colour is more of a greyish-brown than that of the species found in the Argentine Provinces. These 'Leones,' as they are universally called in South America, always appeared to me to be the most cat-like of all the felidæ. They are very timid, always running from a man on horseback, and, by day at least, from a pedestrian; they run for a short distance in a series of long bounds, at great speed, but soon tire and stand at bay behind or in the midst of a bush, and sitting upon their haunches, spit and swear just like a monstrous tabby; sometimes endeavouring to scratch with their formidable claws, but rarely springing at the purswer. Mr. Clarke on one occasion had his mantle torn off in this manner. At another time, when hunting in the vicinity of Santa Cruz, I observed from a distance Gonzalez hacking with his knife at a big incense bush, and on reaching the spot found him occupied in clearing away branches to allow him to knock a huge puma on the head with his bolas. He was dismounted and attended by his dogs, which bayed the animal. Still, had the puma not been a cur, he could doubtless have sprung out and killed or severely wounded the gaucho.

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136 The Indians affirm that the puma will attack a single man alone and on foot, and, indeed, subsequently, an example of this came under my notice; however, if a person should be benighted or lost, he has only to take the precaution of lighting a fire, which these animals will never approach. They are most savage in the early part of the spring or breeding season, when, according to my experience, they are found roaming over the country in an unsettled manner; they are then also thinner than at other times, but, like the wild horse, they are generally pretty fat at all times of the year. The females I saw were sometimes accompanied by two cubs, but never more. The meat of the puma resembles pork, and [262] is good eating, though better boiled than roasted, but one or two Indians of my acquaintance would not touch the meat. 281 The hide is useful either for saddle-cloths or to make 136 mantles of; and owing to its greasy nature it can be softened with less trouble than that of the guanaco. In Santa Cruz one of the men had a pair of trousers made of lion's skin, which worn with the hair side out was impervious to wet. From the hock and lower part of the hind legs boots may be constructed similar to those made from horse hide, and in common use amongst the Indians and also the gauchos of Plata. These, however, are only made from pumas of large size, and they wear out very quickly. To 224 kill a puma with a gun is rather a difficult matter, as, unless the ball enters his skull, or strikes near the region of the heart, he has as many lives as his relation the cat. I once put three revolver bullets into one, and ultimately had recourse to the bolas as a more effective weapon. When wounded they become very savage, but they are at all times bad customers for dogs, which they maul in a shocking manner. The Indian dogs are trained to stand off and bay them, keeping out of range of the claws; nevertheless they not unfrequently get killed. Perhaps the simplest way of taking the pumas, is to throw a lazo over them, as directly they feel the noose they lie down as if dead, and are easily dea-

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133 We formed another hunt, in which numerous ostriches and several pumas were killed. From the western side of the plateau we overlooked a large plain, extending to the immediate vicinity of the mountains, but near the side of which there appeared to be a cutting or steep descent, just like a railway embankment. As it had been announced in the cacique's address that we were to encamp near a spring on the eastern side, and I had killed an ostrich, which, after giving a sharp run of half a mile, had been turned by the cavalcade of women, I proceeded in company with Casimiro and another to have some dinner. We accordingly selected a bush, cooked and ate our bird, and at the conclusion of our meal mounted and proceeded to where we expected to find the encampment. But, arriving at the spot, we found nobody, and looking over the plain we caught a glimpse of a belated woman just vanishing down the cutting above mentioned. We accordingly followed, and an hour's gallop brought us up with the remainder. The sun had set, but the light of a young moon enabled us to make our way to the second bench. I may say the formation altogether much resembled that of the river Cuheyli; but the river which flowed in this valley was of small size, although, as we found, the banks were boggy and almost impracticable. The moon had by this time set, and after a considerable deal of confusion in the dark, all got across, and night being far advanced encamped about a mile to the northward. When daylight enabled us to examine the locality, we found ourselves in a valley walled in by lofty abrupt cliffs on both sides, while a stream—bordered by marshes, containing numerous snipe
[134] and teal—flowed swiftly down the centre of the glen. To the north the valley appeared to bend westwards, so having nothing to do, I strolled up to the turn and found that the high cliffs ceased, and were replaced by the ordinary steep barrancas, covered from the top to the bottom with incense-bushes. The valley nowhere exceeded a mile in width, and the gloom and oppressive effect of the prison-like walls of

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252 In the hunt not less than
pumas were killed, which were, as usual at this time, very fat, and were duly boiled in the iron pots, furnishing an excellent supper, the meat closely resembling boiled pork.
576 During the day seven of the Chilians were missed, and on our arrival at the toldos, it transpired that they had determined to try and find their own way to the Chupat settlement; and as they had left in an underhand manner, which the Indians look upon as tantamount to a declaration of war, some of the people wished to pursue and kill them, but this
133 proposition was overruled by Orkeke and Casimiro. The en-
● [136] campment was sheltered by a hill named 'Téle,' close to a large lagoon covered with waterfowl, into which flowed a beautiful spring issuing from the hill; along the margin of the clear pure water grew a profusion of a sort of green cress, and at sunset flights of flamingoes (Phœnicopterus tŭnipallo) and rose-coloured spoonbills (Platalea ajaja) came to the lagoon to feed. One day's hunting was done in the surrounding plain, which to the west presents several of the remarkable drops, or basin-like formations described by Darwin as existing on the eastern side of the Cordillera. On October 5th we broke up the camp and marched in a northerly direction, until a stream of considerable size was arrived at; this some of us crossed at once, although it was deep and the banks rotten and unsound. The women and remainder of the party diverged to a ford, old Orkeke sending one of the Chilians to take care that his little dog (on whom he lavished his paternal affections) did not get wet. In half an hour's time the whole party—Ako included—had crossed in safety, and the camp was pitched on a peninsula between this river and another which joined it lower down. The united streams may or may not form a tributary of the Chupat, as the Indians disagreed on this point, some averring it to be so, others stating that the river flowed into a large lagoon. The weather had changed into drizzling rain, and the wet and sloppy state of the toldos was very disagreeable. It
291 did not, however, much affect our clothing, as it is easy to

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employed to stroll about and practise. Besides their use, my practical training had enabled me soon to acquire the art of manufacturing them, and our many idle hours were employed in plaiting ostrich sinews, so that I contrived to fit up an extensive assortment, some of which I used to barter for tobacco. The weather during our stay here became worse, rain, sleet, and gales of wind prevailing; and the toldos, from the continuous rain and the marshy nature of the ground, became so wet and wretched as to be almost uninhabitable, so that we marched on the 16th over a level pampa—smoke to the eastward being observed and duly answered during the journey. We encamped at night on the north side of a small rapid stream, in a place called 'Pelwecken,' situated a league from the wooded river, the trees of which were visible from the encampment. I here saw a new game played [525] by the Indians which resembled that known amongst schoolboys as 'knucklebones,' being played with small stones in lieu of the bones, and heavy stakes were lost and won on the chances. On Sunday, the 17th, the Indians started to hunt in the vicinity of the wooded river, and Casimiro proposed that I should accompany him to the woods to cut poles for the toldos, and timber for working saddles. Orkeke, however, for some reason or another, recommended me to stay quietly in the toldos; and as advice is sometimes almost the same as a command, I acquiesced, although longing to enjoy a close view of a tree again after so much wandering over the treeless pampas. As the day was warm and fine, I strolled down the river in search of the eggs of the upland goose [134] (Chloephaga magellanica), yellow-billed goose (Cygnus coscoroba), and other water fowl, and returned about two P.M. with plenty of spoil. The women were superintending the [578] cooking of some of these, when one of them rushed into the toldo and cried out that the Indians were returning and a fight had taken place. A glance at the coming horsemen was at once sufficient to convince us that she was right. They came galloping back by twos and threes, swords drawn,

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578 mantles hanging off their shoulders, and their faces glowing with fury. They at once proceeded to get their guns and revolvers to renew the fight. Orkeke, however, arrived and made a long speech, and ultimately quiet was restored. One man—a brother of Camillo—had been killed and left on the pampa. The sister of the deceased was frantic at his death, and, arming herself with a knife, attempted to avenge him; but she was soon stopped, disarmed and quieted. The deceased was armed with a six-shooter, and his assailant had only a sword; one shot missed him and the next barrel missed fire, whereupon he closed and ran his adversary through the body. Casimiro returned shortly after the remainder, and when he heard of the fight and the result, was for some time eager to renew it and avenge the slain man, who was a relation of his own, but at last yielded to Orkeke's arguments.

580 The following day the smoke to the east appeared pretty close, and, when we had marched on a little, two young men were despatched in its direction with private instructions from Orkeke, and we proceeded to the wooded river, where we luxuriated for a short time under the shade of a description of birch tree, and then forded the stream, which is of considerable width and very rapid. The Indians declared

136 that it was impossible for any man to swim across the river in the deeper portion below the ford, on account of some ferocious beasts which they termed water tigers—'Tigres de l'agua'—which would certainly attack and devour any one in the water. They described them as yellow quadrupeds, larger than puma. It is certain that two ostriches, which, being too poor for use, had been left on the bank, were found by us next day in the shallow water, torn and half-devoured, and the tracks of an animal resembling those of a large puma were plainly visible leading down to the water; but a puma invariably drags its prey to a bush; and, though jaguar will take the water readily, I have never known one devour its prey except on land, nor, as far as I know, are they found so far south. The animal may be a species of the

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large brown otter, with orange-coloured fur on the breast, found in the Parana; but the Indians' account is curious as bearing on the name of the lake—'Nahuel Huapi,' or Tigers' Island. It is possible that the aguarra found in the valley of the Rio Negro may also haunt these districts. They further told me that stags had been seen on the banks of the river, but none were heard of during our stay in the neighbourhood. A few miles below the ford the belt of trees ceases, and on the southern side there is a peculiar group of what seem to be square-shaped rocks, which at a distance have very much the appearance of a small town regularly built and walled. This is called by the Indians 'Sengel,' and was the scene of a great fight between the Tehuelches and Araucanos many years ago, relics of which in the shape of bones and skulls still whiten the plain. After crossing the river, the two young men who had been sent back returned, bringing with them three horses belonging to the Chilians and one man of their party, who, incredible as it seems, had assisted the Indians to dismount and disable his companions. The particulars of the fate of the others were not divulged, though a story was current that some of them had managed to reach the Chupat. I asked no questions, but the blood-stained knife of one of the young men told its own story. This day all the Indians rode on in silence, the last two days' events having roused all their bad passions. I rode alone, feeling that there was danger in the air, and near our halting-place joined Orkeke and two others at a fireside for the purpose of cooking some ostrich eggs, which we were busily discussing when a messenger came to say that Casimiro was waiting to see me at a spot which he indicated. I mounted and rode off accordingly, but had not gone far before the two braves who had been commissioned to do for the Chilians galloped up, one from either side, one brandishing his sword and the other swinging his bolas. I at once put spurs to my horse, and my mantle flying back discovered two revolvers belted round my waist underneath it. They checked their career

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speed of our horses to while away the interval; and when the women appeared, proceeded to the chase, over a pampa formed by a bend in the range of hills. During the hunt we found the carcase of a guanaco, which had been killed by a puma, carefully covered up in grass and scrub. It was a fat animal, such as the puma always singles out, although I have read in some accounts that he follows the herds and picks up the weakly ones. That this is not the case was proved on various occasions, by finding the carcases left by these cats, which were always those of animals in good condition. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the encampment, by the side of a small river, flowing in an easterly direction from the hills. The women, with the exception of one or two, were not present, and might be seen about two miles off, grubbing up a description of potato which grew in the neighbouring hill side. The day was warm, and Orkeke invited me to go to the top of one of the hills to see if any smoke or signs of Indians were visible. We accordingly crossed the stream, and while riding along the northern bank I observed fish swimming lazily on the top of the water. After crossing a marshy patch of ground, we ascended the hills, and dismounting near a bank of blue earth, climbed on foot to the summit, which was composed of a description of quartz, with crystalline veins running through it. Scrambling up this formation, we arrived at the top, whence we had a beautiful view of the encampment and the green pasture bordering the stream. To the northward the view was rather shut in by hills rising to a considerable elevation. Just below us lay a valley, in which several guanaco and ostriches were taking their evening meal. We remained here for some time smoking and enjoying the face of nature generally, but could discern no smoke or signs of Indians. Orkeke remarked that the pasture had a fresher appearance lower down the course of the stream, and proposed that we should inspect it. We accordingly descended from our elevated position, mounted, and proceeded to the valley below; in our descent

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being lucky enough to kill a fat male ostrich, which was sit- 133
ting on a nest of twenty-four eggs. We investigated the grass, which was of good quality; and after an *al fresco* meal, in which we were joined by Tehang, returned to the toldos, where the women had just arrived with a considerable supply of potatoes. I again, on our way back, observed fish in the 136
stream, so, turning my horse adrift, proceeded to extract my hooks and line from the baggage under the charge of Mrs. Orkeke. After a little delay all was ready; a piece of meat supplied the place of fly as bait; and dropping it gently into the pool, I soon had a bite, and pulled out a fish about two pounds weight, of the perch class, similar to that called dorado in the River Plate. After half an hour's fishing I landed several others as large, and as it was nearly dark, returned to supper off fried fish and boiled potatoes.

I had no opportunity of seeing the plants which produced 137
these tubers, but they exactly resembled those I afterwards obtained in the northern country from a plant, the feathery fern-like leaf of which springs from a long slender stem. The following day we shifted camp down river, to the neigh- 000
bourhood of the green pasture, and found large quantities of the eggs of the upland geese, ducks, &c. In the neighbourhood one lonely tree grew by the side of the stream, although the banks were lined with driftwood, probably carried down by the wooded slopes of the Cordillera, ten miles farther west, during floods. This day, smoke having been distinctly seen to the northward, Hummums was despatched to ascertain whether it were a signal from the much-looked-for Northern Indians. Three days subsequently, about nine in 6/9
the evening, whilst I was lying dreaming of home, and had just—in dreamland—taken a glass of sherry, Orkeke woke me up with the intelligence that fires were to be seen to the north, which were no doubt caused by the 'chasqui' or messenger previously despatched. In about three hours' time —somewhere about midnight—Casimiro, Hummums, and another Indian rode into the camp, and our toldo was soon

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a 517
man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream
groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking [137]
the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the
water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion 252
with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of
wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden
with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was
made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combina-
tion was universally approved of. Another day we went
fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line,
voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos
together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow
parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather
impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting [134
of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the 265]
Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish,
and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an
Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood.
Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species 222
of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we
grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily
rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the
children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invita-
tion I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather 512
was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the
absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but
whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the
passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to
recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against
the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable
to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding
months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced
marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of
adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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177 party, who set out in 1777 from Rio Bueno, and marched to
538 Lake Llanquechue, crossed the passes of the Cordillera, under Osorno, and passed the night near the snow line. They heard distant artillery, and beheld the head of a great Laguna on the eastern side; they brought back the astounding intelligence that two distinct towns existed, one peopled by a race of Spanish origin, the Auca-Huincas, at war with the Tehuelches; and the other by Englishmen, or More-Huincas, who lived in amity with the Indians. And the Fiscal of Chili, in his report, insisted strongly on the necessity of rooting out those audacious islanders who had dared to plant themselves in the dominions of 'our Lord the King.' Just as the jealous fear of the encroaching English were thus mixed up in the Spanish version of the mysterious Cesares, so the Indians connected them with the traditionary glories of the great Inca race, and spoke of the Indian Cesares; and the potency of the fable was shown by a proclamation put forth by the heroic and ill-starred Tupac Amaru, who headed the unsuccessful rebellion against the tyrant Christians in 1781, styling himself 'Inca, Señor de los Cesares y Amazonas, con dominio en el Gran Paytiti.' But success mocked his grasp, and he perished by the hand of the executioner, just as the rich and coveted city whose lordship he claimed has eluded many an explorer who has sacrificed his life in the hopeless search. But the patient reader is probably weary of enchanted cities, and glad to return to the daily routine of our Indian life, though it was at this time
224 boisterly enough. It was the all-important season of young guanaco hunting; and though the chase afforded plenty of riding, it could hardly be said to offer sport; but to the Indians it was a matter of business, as their clothing and stock of skins to trade with depended on the number of young guanaco killed at this time. Some notes of the habits
136 of the guanaco and rhea, or ostrich, which furnish the Patagonian Indians with food and clothing, may not be out of place, though all critics are warned that they are not those

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of a naturalist, but simply the observations of a lover of birds and beasts.

The guanaco, known to the Indians as 'Non,' is from three to four feet in height, and from four to five in length, measured from the point of the muzzle to the tail. The coat is woolly, but decreases in thickness of wool, or rather becomes hairy, about the head and legs. Its colour is of a yellowish red, intermixed with white in various parts of the body; more especially under the abdomen, down the inside of the legs, and round the lips and cheeks: the white also extends up the inside of the neck and throat. The shoulder is slightly arched; the tail short, and when the animal is in motion slightly elevated. The guanaco abounds over a vast range of country, extending from Peru all down the regions east of the range of the Cordilleras of the Andes, over the vast plains from Mendoza to the Straits of Magellan, and even to Tierra del Fuego. As a rule, one male guanaco herds with a troop of about a hundred females, and in the event of their being disturbed he will take up his position on some neighbouring pinnacle of rock, and commence neighing something after the fashion of a horse, keeping himself between the danger and his wives. At the breeding season, however, the males go in flocks by themselves, as do the females. Although it is stated in Monsieur Gay's admirable book on the *Zoology of Chili*, that the females sometimes bear three fawns, yet this must be a rare case: while we were hunting and killing the young guanaco, the mothers invariably became separated, the young ones lagging behind so as to prevent any appropriation of them to their dams. However, during the time employed in killing the mothers, for the purpose of extracting the unborn young from the womb, I never saw or heard of more than one foetus being found. The guanaco are excessively swift of foot, indeed almost unapproachable by horse or dog, as a few bush leaps take them away far beyond the speed of a horse. They frequently wait to allow a pursuer to approach close, and

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● 136 them bound off, and speedily distance him. Their means of defence consist chiefly in the mouth, or use of the feet, more especially the fore ones, although they also bite at times, and with their two powerful canine teeth could inflict a severe wound.* I have seen places where a puma and a guanaco have evidently had a severe struggle, always, however, resulting in the victory of the puma, as, on seeing these marks, we invariably searched for and found the body near, carefully covered over by the "leaves." The flesh of the guanaco is excellent, something resembling mutton; the young guanaco being more like very tender veal. That their wool might be turned to account for mercantile purposes is undoubted, as it is of very fine texture, and is at the present time of value in Chili, where it is woven into ponchos which are highly prized. Up to the present time few have been domesticated, but they become very tame, and might at a future date be found useful as beasts of burden, as they are similar in most respects to the lama. There is one very remarkable point about the guanaco; at certain times of the year a sort of secretion, condensed into a hard substance like stone, is found in round pieces, varying from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, in the stomach. To these stones some of the Indians attribute medicinal virtues. The guanaco is of use to the Indians in every way. The skin of the adult is used to make the coverings of the bolas, and that of the calves or young ones to make mantles for clothes; the sinews of the back furnish them with thread; the skin of the neck, which is particularly tough and durable, with bone or thongs for bolas, bridles, &c., &c. The skin of the back supplies them with shoes or coverings for the bolas; from the thigh bone they also cut out flutes, or make a musical instrument. On attaining the age of about two months, the coat of the young guanaco begins to become woolly, and the skin is then useless for mantles, but makes sufficiently good saddle-cloths.

* The skull of a guanaco is well figured in Mr. Cunningham's work.

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saddle-cloths. The animal at this early age is very swift of foot, and will give a good chase. They attain their full size the second or third year after birth, and the adult male cannot be better described than as apostrophised by Lieut. Gallegos. As we watched a solitary guanaco standing on a hill above us, and every now and then uttering its shrill warning neigh, 'Ah,' said Gallegos, 'you are a queer animal; you have the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil.' The Rhea Darwinii, called by the Indians 'Mekyush,' and by the Spaniards Avestrus or Ostrich, which name is universally applied to it, is peculiar to Patagonia, few being met with north of Rio Negro, and none being found that I am aware of in any other part of the globe; with the exception, perhaps, of the more northern and plain-like parts of Tierra del Fuego, opposite the country extending from Cape Virgin to Oxry Harbour. It is a variety of the Rhea Americana, common in the Argentine provinces of Entre Rios and Santa Fé, also scattered over the Republic of the Banda Oriental, and extending, I believe, as far north as Rio Grande do Sul and the southern Brazilian provinces. They exist also in Chili, on the plains at the foot of the Cordillera of the Andes. The chief difference between these two species is that the Patagonian Rhea Darwinii is smaller and of lighter colour than the American Rhea. The Patagonian ostriches are very swift of foot, and run with their wings closed, while the other species invariably spread theirs. The former birds also always run in a straight line, except when leaving the nest, when probably, to avoid being tracked, they run in a circuitous manner. Their plumage, that is to say the wing feathers, are an object of commerce, and fetch at present about a dollar a pound in Buenos Ayres. The marrow from the leg bones is also, I believe, of use for making pomade, and was formerly, if not at present, highly prized in Buenos Ayres. To the Indian this bird is invaluable in many ways. Besides furnishing their most favourite

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[24] food, from the sinews of the leg thongs for bolas are constructed; the neck is used as a pouch for salt or tobacco; the feathers are exchanged for tobacco and other necessaries; the grease from the breast and back is tried out and secured in bags formed of the skin (taken off during the spring season, when the females, like all the Patagonian animals except the puma, are thin); the meat is more nourishing and more relished by the Indians than that of any other animal in the country, and the eggs form a staple commodity of food during the months of September, October, and November. The male bird stands about two feet and a
[25] half high, and is to be distinguished from the female by its being of a slightly darker colour, and of greater size and strength; nevertheless, it requires a practised eye to detect the difference at any distance. The male bird is also swifter. Their usual food consists of short grass and the seeds of various shrubs, but more especially of tender grass, which I have on several occasions watched them plucking, from a convenient rock which hid me from their sight. On being alarmed they immediately set off at a great speed; they possess great powers of eyesight. If met or obstructed by horsemen in their line of flight, they not unfrequently squat so closely that they can scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding rocks, as the greyish colour of their plumage so closely resembles the almost universal aspect of the Pampas of Patagonia. These birds, though not web-footed, can swim sufficiently well to pass a river. In the winter season
[26] it is not unfrequent for the Indians to drive them into the water, where, their legs getting numbed with cold, they are drifted to the shore by the current, and easily captured, being unable to move. In snowy weather they are also easily taken, as their eyes appear to be affected by the glare of the white snow, and their saturated plumage doubtless becomes heavier. They are polygamous, one male bird consorting with five or six hens, which lay their eggs in the same nest—a hole about two feet six inches in diameter,

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scooped out of the earth. They begin to lay in the early [36
part of September, the number of eggs in each nest varying from twenty to as many as forty, or more. In the early part of the laying season extraneous eggs were found scattered in different parts of the plain, some of which were of diminutive size. Contrary to the usual rule amongst birds, the male sits on the eggs, and when the chickens are hatched assumes the charge of the brood. The young run immediately, or shortly after emerging from the shell, and are covered with a down of greyish black colour on the back, and whitish on the breast and neck. Their cry resembles the syllables pi, pi, pi, uttered in a sharp quick manner. The old male, when any dangers appear, feigns to be hurt, like other birds endeavouring to distract the attention of the hunter, in order that his brood may escape by hiding in the grass. After the male has sat for some time on the nest (I should place the period of incubation at about three weeks), he gets thin, and the grass closely surrounding the nest is found eaten quite bare. The females by this time are beginning to pick up flesh, which is a fortunate provision of nature for the Indians, [262]
who cannot subsist on lean meat. Whilst the females are [281]
thin they are killed and skinned, the meat being left, and [435]
the skins sewn into mantles for sale at the settlements. These birds at that period are much afflicted with vermin, which invade the toldos and guanaco mantles of the Indians, and cause them infinite annoyance. (A useful hint occurs to me for future travellers amongst the Patagonians—never allow the squaw of the establishment to place ostrich mantles under your sleeping hides.) The young Rhea does not attain its full plumage or size until the second year after its birth, and is never pursued by the Indians unless food is really scarce. The eggs are eaten in all stages, fresh [262]
or stale; the Indians not recognising much difference between the unhatched chicken and the unborn guanaco. The inveterate destroyers of these birds are, besides their human enemies, the puma and fence, the former of which will cur-

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136 prize and kill the sitting bird, which he carefully hides, and then proceed to eat the eggs with great gusto. We not unfrequently found the eggs broken and scattered by these animals, whilst the bird was generally discovered hard by. The foxes, I think, content themselves with sucking the eggs; but I was assured that near Geyluan, where wild cats are common, these latter will kill the bird on the nest, like their relatives the genus. Besides these there are the condors, eagles, and hawks, which no doubt commit extensive ravages on the young broods. With all these difficulties to contend with, the Rhea Darwinii exists in great numbers, and if not kept down to a certain extent by the Indians and
229 other enemies would overrun the whole country. We were, while at Chiriq, busily engaged in the destruction of both guanaco and ostrich, the high rugged range of hills that bounded Chiriq on the eastern side literally swarming with guanaco; and as the females, heavy with young, could not keep up their speed for a long distance, one man not unfrequently captured and killed five and six, or even eight; extracting the young and taking its skin for mantles and the carcase for food, while the hide of the mother served, if needed, to repair the toldo. The marrow bones also were taken as a dainty, but the meat was left for the condors, genus, and foxes. We hunted almost every day, and traversed
233 nearly all the surrounding country. The plains lying to the west afforded beautiful ground to ride over, covered with soft grass, but a few leagues from the Cordillera a sudden dip occurs, which forms a large basin, lying about fifty feet below the level of the plain, like the bed of a lake, and extending to the mountains; the surface of this was chiefly covered with grass, but in some parts the yellow clay and beds of stone were visible. On the higher ground, before reaching this basin, numerous lagoons occurred, round one of which there was a large gull-rookery, and the inhabitants made themselves audible at a long distance. Here also I
234 noticed many of the tero-tero, a spur-winged lapwing, com-

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more near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as [34]
low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our 224
hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the
hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted
that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco
had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the
rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The
Northern Indians ride most recklessly, going at full speed 412
down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say,
although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken
limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the
sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when
hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses
fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunt-
ing, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare
horses (and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the
racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their
horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race,
make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to 526
that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of 525
Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on
principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited
before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy;
if ornaments, bolas, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the
winners removing them directly the race is decided. The
horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting them-
selves after cantering side by side for a few yards. Owing
to the great care taken in training the horses, very few
false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long dis-
tances, four miles or a league being the average, although,
of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The 231
Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the
Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses,
and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a
horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed,
the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

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started off; so, as my mantle was fast losing its beautiful 030
appearance, I put compunction on one side, and shortly killed them with a blow on the head. On arriving at the fire where some of the Indians were collected eating ostriches, I was proceeding to take the skins off, when Tankelow, who 262
presided, stopped me, saying that we would skin them in the toldos, where the blood would be a treat to the women and children. We accordingly reserved the luxury, and after a feed crossed a small stream and piece of marsh, beyond which lay the encampment, where the women soon verified Tankelow's words. Though the flesh of the young guanaco is rather tasteless and soft, the blood has a sweeter taste than that of the adult. The rennet, or milk, which is found curdled into a sort of cheese in the intestines, is also eaten with gusto. The most laborious part of young guanaco 281
hunting consists in taking off the skin, which, after the necessary incisions have been made with a knife, has to be taken off by hand, the thumb being used to separate the hide from the body. The calves, when three days old, run at [224]
about the speed of a horse's hand-gallop, but sometimes give longer chases. The Indian plan is to kill them with a blow on the head from a ball, and then pass on to another, and so on, afterwards returning to collect them in a heap and skin them. After the hide is taken off it is necessary to expose it to the air for a few minutes before folding it up, otherwise it is liable to get heated, and will tear easily in the subsequent processes. We hunted in the neighbourhood of Jeroshaik, 137
or 'Bad Hill,' several times, with varying success, sometimes proceeding up into the wooded hills, where the timber in some places grew in clumps, as if planted by the hand of man; in others filled up the rocky dells, until the main forests were reached, which appeared to extend far into the Cordillera. Most of the trees were of a species of beech, on which were many small edible fungi, some of which we gathered for use; and traces of red deer were frequently seen, 136
and a few were chased by the Indians, but owing to the

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[136] thickness of the wood they escaped. Some of the Indians
137 took the opportunity to cut fresh poles for the toldos. The sight of woods and trees was so refreshing that I spent several days consecutively among them, very often alone, or with one companion. Nobody, except a sailor after months on the sea, can imagine the pleasure of wandering under trees to one who had passed so long a time in the barren and monotonous plains. The weather, however, still continued wet and inclement. On the 5th of December,
202 some of us wandering on the heights above, made out smoke to the N.E., and Campan went off at speed on horseback to reconnoitre. He returned towards nightfall very drunk, and riding straight to our toldo, proclaimed that El Sourdo, the Indian left behind in Santa Cruz, had arrived at a place close to us, bringing grog in two small barrels, and letters for me: when he had delivered his news, he, with some difficulty, dismounted without coming on his head; then produced a bottle half full of rum from under his mantle, which he dispensed to the attendant company.

574 Our toldo was soon crowded, and it was proposed that on the following day we should march and meet the visitor, all being eager for a drink. Accordingly, on the morrow we started, in a storm of sleet and rain, and prepared to hunt *en route*. While hunting, just after Jackechan and myself had killed an ostrich, the former perceived a single toldo, which he knew must be El Sourdo's, so we galloped towards it, accompanied by two other Indians, and were received with open arms by El Sourdo and his two wives,
574 Jackechan being a very old friend. We were made to sit
273 down, and the olla, or boiling-pot, was brought out by the two wives, who acted as Hebes by producing the rum, with which our host filled the pot, and dispensed the liquor in a pannikin. One of the wives then produced my letters, which proved to be from Mr. Clarke and Don Luiz P. B., the schooner having arrived on October 5, all safe. El Sourdo then gave me all the news verbatim—how a fight had taken

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133 remedy. Whilst the women were pitching toldos, the men, eight in number, started to hunt again. Riding to the west, where the plain was still open, we came upon another of the huge basins previously described, on the western side of which, beyond a lagoon stocked with waterfowl, flowed a broad winding stream fringed with trees. At a short dis-
133 tance from the other side of the stream open glades extended
137 for the space of perhaps a mile to the verge of the interminable forests, rising high up on the lofty sides of mountains, some of whose summits were still partially snow-clad. To the south were two or three round detached hummocks, hardly deserving the name of hills, crowned with trees. In the foreground were immense herds of guanaco, and on the northern side frowned a high range of arid-looking hills, forming a great contrast to the deliciously-refreshing green aspect of the other points of view. Whilst waiting concealed behind a bush for the coming herd, which had been cunningly encircled by Tehaug and another Indian, and were to be driven in our direction, we gazed long at the beautiful view before us, and Orkeke pointed out a mountain some distance to the north, underneath which, he said, was the entrance to the scene of our future campaign against the wild cattle. Towards evening we returned to the toldos, pretty well loaded with skins. On another occasion, when hunting, we made a circle, finishing off in the wooded district near the banks of the river. On our return we hunted over a park-like country, with alternate open glades and woods. Here we killed a doe red deer and a large descrip-
[136] tion of fox, apparently identical with the Falkland Island species (Lupus antareticus). In the vicinity of the woods, the velvety sward was carpeted with the wild strawberry plants, which, however, were only in bloom. On this occasion our enjoyment was marred by one of the party getting a severe fall, which laid him up for a day or two. Before we reached the toldos rain set in heavily, which during the night turned to snow, and the morning sun shone on a white landscape.

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During our stay the women went to the woods to cut fresh poles for the toldos, and the men brought back from the wooded country a description of fungus, which, when dried, forms an excellent tinder, of considerable value amongst the Indians, as there are only a few spots where it is to be obtained. After some days spent in this pleasant neighbourhood, as the supply of guanaco was failing, we marched over the barren range of hills, and passing a lagoon of considerable extent below the hills, encamped on the other side of them, by the side of a smaller one, in a place called 'Gogomenykaik.'

During the hunt I had singled out a guanaco, and was in full chase across the upper pampa, which was covered with stunted bushes and tufts of grass, when the quarry suddenly disappeared, as if the earth had swallowed him. The next moment my horse halted in mid-gallop, with its fore feet on the edge of a precipitous descent which shelved away without any warning. Below was a long beautiful glen, with a pool of water glistening among the trees which filled it, but did not rear their topmost boughs above the level of the pampa. Here the guanaco had taken refuge, and as the descent was impracticable for a horse, I could only gaze longingly down into the fairy-like scene, and turn away to join the circle, remembering that it was only too easy to lose oneself by delay. Of this an instance occurred the same day, for one of the Chilians did not appear at the fireside when the hunting was completed. At first no heed was bestowed on him, as it was natural to suppose that he had chased a herd of guanaco to some distance, and was detained taking off the skins; but when at sunset he was still missing, some dry grass was fired, for the purpose of directing him to our camp. The following morning he had not appeared when we started to hunt, myself going as pointsman with Orkeke. We galloped for some distance over the plain, and halted in a hollow, where we came on six young skunks outside their parental burrow, into which they quickly vanished on our

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stant he felt the unwonted incumbrance he back-jumped for several yards, finally jumping into the middle of the brook and nearly losing his footing. I spurred him out, and once on the bank he commenced to whirl round and round like a teetotum. At last I got his head straight, and after a few more back-jumps he went off at a racing speed, urged by whip and spur. After a stretching gallop of three miles, I rode him quietly back, now and again turning him to accustom him to the bridle-thong, but not venturing to feel his mouth, and then brought him up to the toldo amidst the shouts of the spectators. Orkaka expressed great surprise, and wanted to know where I had learned to 'domar'; and the gratified owner insisted on presenting me with a piece of tobacco. This was most welcome, as my store was almost exhausted, though it had been replenished occasionally by the possessors of guns and revolvers in return for my services in putting the locks to rights; and the fear of being left tobaccoless—the agony of which all smokers will appreciate—was becoming unpleasantly strong. The following day we bade adieu to the lagoon, which, as usual, was covered with swans and other wild-fowl, which we never molested, husbanding our powder in the event of future disturbances with other Indians. We marched a few miles, and encamped near the river—indeed, on its very banks, under the shadows of the trees. Here we passed our time away hunting, bathing in the stream, smoking, and lying in the shade for three days. One of my horses being lame, I could not hunt every day, so frequently passed hours under the trees by the river, scrubbing my one remaining shirt for future use, and working hide, &c. As writing in the toldo was made almost impossible by the curiosity of the children, crowding round me and asking questions, I generally used to take my note-book to my retreat; here, however, I was often interrupted by the girls, who came on the pretence of bathing, and evinced great playful curiosity as to the contents of my book—for here, too, I used to peruse and re-

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where we smoked. We had previously passed guanaco and ostrich, but no notice was taken of them, the Indians having larger game in view. After passing this brook, the head-water of the river near which we had left the toldos, we skirted a large basin-like plain of beautiful green pasture, and after galloping for some time entered the forest, travelling along a path which only permitted us to proceed in Indian-file. The trees were in many places dead, not blackened by fire, but standing up like ghostly bleached and bare skeletons. It is a remarkable fact that all the forests on the eastern side are skirted by a belt of dead trees. At length, however, just as we came in sight of a curiously pointed rock which in the distance resembled the spire of a church, we entered the forest of live trees; the undergrowth was composed of currant, bay, and other bushes, whilst here and there were beds of yellow violets, and the inevitable strawberry plants everywhere. After crossing a stream, which, flowing from the north, afterwards took a westerly course, thus proving that we had passed the watershed, we proceeded, under cover of a huge rock, to reconnoitre the hunting ground. The scenery was beautiful: a valley, about a mile wide, stretched directly under us; on the southern verge a silver line marked the easterly river, and another on the northern the one debouching in the Pacific; whilst above, on both sides, rose high mountains covered with vegetation and almost impenetrable forests. On the western side of the valley a solitary bull was leisurely taking his breakfast, and above our look-out rock a huge condor lazily flapped his wings. These were the only specimens of animal life in view. Pursuing our way in perfect silence, as from the first entrance into the forests speaking had been prohibited, we followed the leader along the narrow cattle path, passing here and there the remains of a dead bull or cow that had met their fate by the Indian's lazo, and at length descended to the plain. It was about midday, and the day was warm, so we halted, changed horses, looked to our girths, got lazos ready

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133 for use, and then started on. As we were proceeding we
136 observed two or three animals amongst the woods on the
224 opposite side, but knowing that it would be useless to follow, pursued our course up the valley. Having crossed the western stream, we at once entered a thicket where the path was scarcely distinguishable from the cover, but our leader never faltered, and led the way through open glades alternating with thick woods, on every side of which were cattle marks, many being holes stamped out by the bulls, or wallowing places. The glades soon terminated in forests, which seemed to stretch unbroken on either side. We had expected before reaching this point to have found cattle in considerable numbers, but the warmth of the day had probably driven them into the thickets to seek shelter. We now commenced to ascend over a dangerous path, encumbered here and there with loose boulders and entangled in dense thickets, whilst we could hear and catch occasional glimpses of the river foaming down a ravine on our left, and presently arrived at the top of a ridge where the forests became more uniformly dense, and we could with great difficulty pursue our way. It was a mystery to me how Orkeke, who acted as guide, knew where we were, as on one occasion the slightly-marked paths diverged in different directions, and on another we literally found ourselves amongst fallen trees in a forest so dense that the light of day scarcely penetrated its shades. Our leader, however, never hesitated, but led us onwards in all confidence. Whilst brushing along, if I may be allowed the term, trying to keep the leader in sight, I heard something tapping on a tree, and looking up, saw close above
[136] me a most beautifully marked red-crested woodpecker. We at length commenced to descend, and, after passing many channels of rivulets issuing from springs, where a slip of the horse's foot on the wet and mossy stones would have occasioned something worse than broken bones, as they were situated on the edge of a deep ravine, finally emerged from the woods and found ourselves on a hill of some three hundred

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feet in height, when we looked down on a broad plain in the form of a triangle, bounded by the river flowing through the ravine on the north side, and on the southern by another coming from the south, which two streams united in one large river at the western apex, at a distance of about perhaps a league. Above and around, on all sides excepting to the west and the ravines through which the rivers flowed, rose the unbroken wall of the lofty mountains of the Cordillera, many of their peaks snow-clad. No sound was to be heard except the rushing of the river in the ravine, and no animal life to be seen except a condor or two floating high above us in the clear sky. The scene was sublime, and I viewed it in silence for some minutes, till the pipe, being handed to me, dispelled all nascent poetic tendencies. The Indians remained silent and looked disgusted, as a herd of cattle had been expected to be viewed on the plain below. We descended to the flats, and crossed the river, on the banks of which 'Paja' or Pampa-grass grew in abundance, as well as the bamboo-like canes from which Araucanian Indians make their lance shafts, and a plant called by the Chilians 'Talka,' the stalk of which, resembling rhubarb, is refreshing and juicy. On the northern edges and slope of the ravine behind us towered graceful pines sixty feet high, which, though an impassable barrier of rock prevented close inspection, appeared to be a species of Araucaria; the bark was imbricated and the stems rose bare of branches for two-thirds of their height, like those figured by M. Gay. Many had been carried down by landslips, and lay tossed and entangled on the sides of the ravine. The increase of temperature after passing the watershed was sensibly great, amounting to from seven to ten degrees, and the vegetation far more luxuriant, the plants presenting many new forms unknown at the eastern side. After leaving the plain and crossing the shallow stream, we left our mantles, and girthed up near a tree in a thicket festooned with a beautiful creeper, having a bell-shaped flower of violet radiated with brown. The

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A WILD BULL IN THE CORDILLERA.

[facing p. 159]

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and one chased; but he, although balled by Orkeke, contrived to slip the bolas, and escaping to cover stood to bay, where he was left master of the field. This bull would have been taken had the other Indians showed any degree of alacrity when Orkeke balled him; but they were dispirited by the previous failure. As evening was coming on I noticed a cormorant on the river: this and the increase of temperature led me to believe that had we penetrated a few miles farther west we should have reached the shores of the Pacific. Pursuing our track homewards, after the second unsuccessful engagement, we managed to pass the thick forest before dark, and descending to the eastern valley saw numerous cows and bulls at intervals. A short time after dark we encamped for the night under the shelter of some trees near to the head-waters of the western river, and after a pipe—by way of supper—wrapping ourselves in our mantles were soon fast asleep. At daylight we mounted and continued our journey, arriving about two P.M. pretty considerably hungry, having eaten nothing barring strawberries and talka, and a few unripe currants, since our last evening in the toldos. The women were naturally disappointed at our ill-luck, but uttered no complaints or reproaches, and hastened to pound some charqui for our refreshment. Next day, all except myself and my companion in the overthrow, who complained of headache, went out hunting and returned at night with young guanaco, and an ostrich or two. Some of the women had seen cattle near the encampment, and Orkeke informed me that in former years they used to occupy the plains below us in large herds, but that the Indians had driven them into the interior by excessive hunting: he also stated that on one occasion he spent some months in this spot, and caught and tamed a considerable number. His accurate knowledge of the country made his statement credible, and he also showed me a sort of corral that had been made to enclose the wild animals. For my own part, the name of the Cordillera recalls the most hungry

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adjourned to the toldos, situated on the bend of the river near a ford or pass. We had now arrived at the camp agreed on as a general rendezvous at Henno, previous to the dispersion of the Indians. This valley is called Teckel, and is a favourite resting-place after the young guanaco season, both for the purpose of refreshing the horses and manufacturing the young guanaco skins into mantles, previous to proceeding to trade either at the Rio Negro or with the Indians of Las Manzanas. The encampment is usually situated on the ground occupied at this time, viz., on the west side of the river, about a mile from a large barren hill which shuts out the view of the Cordillera. On the east side the valley extends some three miles, and continues open to the north for perhaps six miles. It is all fertile, but the best grazing ground is at the north-east end. The banks of the river, which are destitute of trees, are in many places high, and formed under the surface earth of various stratified clays—blue, white, and red. In the bottom of the stream, which is singularly free from stones, thick beds of clay are of frequent occurrence, almost approaching to the tufa found in the Parana and other confluents of La Plata, and in some spots there are beds of black sand, probably auriferous; fish are procurable in any eddy or pool, and crayfish abound and form the most tempting bait for the others. Out of some of the finest clay I was enabled to manufacture a pipe by the simple process of shaping it in the hand and then baking it in the ashes, but it did not last long. Shortly after our arrival one of the small children, whilst playing with bolas formed out of the foot and sinews of an ostrich, hurt himself, and in consequence a slaughter of mares took place, which opportunely enabled us to dispense with hunting and rest our horses, which by this time stood in sore need of some bye days, though, as there was a good racecourse, we frequently indulged in a race just to keep the horses in exercise. After we had been about a week settled here, the women being all hard at work making up mantles—which will be described in

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592 position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meha, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arina having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

133 The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Cargo-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They

136 are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are

252 very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-

281 415 baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

852 The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

648 576 Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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CW whole cavalcade of women and children were in motion, and the circle formed for the hunt.

133 Several shallow streams, fringed with dwarf beeches, were crossed, flowing into lagoons or into the Teshal River, the course of which lay north-east of our line, and the cavalcade of women struck the valley occasionally in the march. Of the hills dividing these streams, the southern side consisted of gradual slopes covered with coarse grass, while the northern counterslopes were precipitous, and covered with loose rocks and stones. Orkeke, in the previous marches, had often informed me that the Araucanos' country was very stony, and that there were a great many armadillos, but little other game; and this day guanaco were rarely seen, but ostriches were numerous and armadillo abounded.

After crossing several ridges and glens, we at length traversed a hillocky plain, of the usual scrub-covered aspect, and strewn with flint, agate, and other pebbles, and encamped for the night in a place called 'Woolkain,' situated by the side of a water-course which was now nearly dry, the water only remaining in the deep holes. We had left the cañon or valley of the river Teshal a few miles east, from which point it appeared to give a sharp turn in an easterly direction.

To the west the mountains of the Cordillera were visible about twenty miles distant, while on the south were the rocky abrupt hills already passed over, and on the north a range of rather peaked hills running west, and appearing to slope at their western extremity towards the plains beneath the Cordillera. Next morning, before the rime was off the pasture, we were again *en route*, and after a rocky descent of perhaps fifty feet reached a second plain, everywhere strewn with stones, which rendered galloping very difficult; nevertheless a large herd of guanaco were enclosed, and numbers killed, while ostrich, on the contrary, appeared to be very
● 136 scarce. To my great surprise, whilst running some guanaco, two large partridges got up from close to my horse's feet,

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and flying a short distance settled again. Partridges had been described to me in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, but I had never seen one, and these were the first met with in the country. Towards three in the afternoon we emerged from the stony district to a plain covered with sand and scrub, and after rebushing ourselves at a circuit, travelled westward, with the Cordillera in full front, till we turned a high cliff which jutted out from the grassy slopes in which the hills fall gradually down to the plains, and beyond it, turning again northward, entered a level plain, at the far extremity of which we observed with great contentment the ascending smoke from the toldos of the Araucanian Indians. On the south-west edge of this valley the high bustling cliff obscured the view of the wooded mountains, which, however, showed out between the hills skirting in the valley we had traversed up to this point. On the eastern side rose a range of hills, barren and desolate, with here and there a single guanaco in solitary majesty, cropping the stunted grass. In front of us, directly to the north, lay a large lagoon, in which numerous swans and flamingoes were wading and swimming about. Beyond it were visible the toldos of the Araucanians, ten in number.

We halted near the head of the lagoon, under shelter of some thick bushes, to collect our forces, don our best ponchos and silver ornaments, and change our horses, and then proceeded slowly to within about a quarter of a mile of the toldos. To our great surprise nobody appeared to receive us; but at length a woman arrived with the intelligence that all the men were away hunting, but had been sent for, and would arrive shortly.

Our women meanwhile erected the toldos on a green sward, carpeted with strawberry plants, near to a small stream which divided our camp from that of the Araucanos. All dismounted and rested after the long journey of fully forty miles from the previous station; and in about half an hour the Araucanos appeared, galloping like demons. Their

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T
248 Tehuelches would believe this touch the fish caught by me,
226 and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of
177 note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea-fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

T
183 On the 13th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Grimé, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two
T wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the
[illegible] other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos
A already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this
609 day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuleuf's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Esgel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 78.

Tehuelche priests

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Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

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probably Rahuel-huapi. The pasture in the immediate[33
vicinity of the camp was scanty, having apparently been recently burned, but the soil was of a rich alluvial description. In the chase the most remarkable thing observed was the[34
abundance of armadillos, one hunter frequently bringing in two or three. Fish also were abundant in the river, and averaged a larger size than those previously caught.

On February 18th smoke was observed to the northward, not far distant, and towards evening a chasqui arrived, bringing with him a couple of bottles of liquor for Quintahual, as well as news that things were going on well amongst Foyel's people; and on the 21st we again marched over a high plateau broken by numerous irregular ravines which appeared to have been swept by an inundation. High isolated cliffs stood up as though the waters had washed round them and swept away the intervening soil, leaving their water-worn faces marked with the indelible record of the floods, as plainly as the torn and blasted rocks in the southern districts bore the traces of volcanic fires. At last a more unbroken plain terminated suddenly in a shelving descent of 300 to 400 feet, the wall of a chasm covered with grass and shrubs interspersed with scattered boulders, down which we made our way, encamping near the base, where a beautiful spring gushed from the side. The bottom of the cañon, which was nearly half a mile in width, contained a watercourse, the bed of which was dry at this season, except a few pools of stagnant water unsuitable for drinking.

It was intended to despatch messengers from this place,202
which was called Cushamen, to Foyel, and also Chocoque, the chief of Las Manzanas, warning him of our near approach; and accordingly, after our arrival in camp, I wrote a letter to the said chieftain at the dictation of Casimiro, which in well-rounded periods and with much complimentary verbiage explained the fact and reasons of our having united all the Indians and inviting their co-operation.

The following morning, after the letter had been read and

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202 explained to the assembled caciques, the two messengers (sons of caciques) appeared with two horses each, and after receiving some verbal injunctions, started on their journey, amidst the howlings of a few old women and a blast from the 000 cornet. The remainder of us, who had mounted, to add to the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, went out hunting, some following the ravine in an easterly direction, which, penetrating high pampas, opened into a plain containing a lagoon fed by the waters of the brook, whilst others encircled the high pampas above. Hinchel, whom I accompanied on
● 136 this occasion, pointed out to me several small holes with little mounds of earth and rubbish at the mouth, which he asserted to be the abodes of snakes, but no occupants were visible outside. He described the snakes as dark in colour, about two feet six inches long, and perfectly harmless,
[262] adding that they would be good to eat, which facts were subsequently corroborated by Casimiro.

231 One of the troubles of pampa life is occasionally losing one's horses, as was my case in this place, and I spent one entire day in search before I recovered them, as they had strayed in company with a troop of mares far up the valley, which here divided into two branches, opening into watered grassy plains extending to the Cordillera. As there were horse tracks up both valleys, according to the usual law of contrariety I took the wrong one at first and had a long gallop for nothing. At any time it is troublesome to have to look through about two thousand horses all unmarked, and many of the same colour, and perhaps resembling those belonging to the perplexed searcher. An Indian, however,
[151] with his natural quickness of sight, will distinguish his own horses at a great distance amongst a hundred others. It has been already said that in this roving life all must look after their own horses, for Indians do not understand another person doing it for them, unless he be a son or relation, and in all cases when preparing for the march every one is expected to find and bring up his own.

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During our stay (until the 28th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chasquis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Telck, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Foyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaitu, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The caciques having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Casimiro, the chasquis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Casimiro. After this function, with my deportment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a mount, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 8, and travelling always north-

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755 his mouth close to its chest and shouted to bring the devil out: he then turned it on its face and repeated the same process. The child's health mended next day, and it was shortly out of danger.

224 About ten o'clock at [redacted] Casimiro returned with his horses, which had strayed a considerable distance on the road back to Geylum. The next day a long march of twenty miles brought us to an encampment on the western verge of a broad plain, watered by a brooklet. During the [136] hunt the first Patagonian hares, or cavies, were caught. These little animals live in burrows, but are generally out feeding or sleeping in the grass during the day. They are excessively swift for perhaps a mile, but, like the foxes of this country soon get tired. The chase of these small deer afforded an agreeable relief to the monotony of the journey. As soon as we entered a plain or valley where they abounded, as they always were found in numbers where the pasture was good, all hurried off to 'stop the earths,' *i.e.*, close up the burrows with bushes; but the cunning little beasts often evaded us by slipping into a burrow overlooked by the earth, stoppers. It required considerable skill to bring them down with the bolas, as, if only caught round the legs or body, they disentangled themselves quickly, but a blow on the head proved at once fatal. They are good eating, though the flesh [262 281] is somewhat dry when roasted. Their skins are made up into mantles, but are of little value, as the hair soon comes off.

133 About a mile below the encampment, where the sandy plain narrowed and sloped down to a low-lying grassy valley, a singular phenomenon presented itself. The morning after our arrival, when going out to look for the horses, a furious easterly gale whirled the dust aloft in dense clouds, and, to my great surprise, the sand, which was driven into our faces, was as hot as when the fire so nearly encircled us. Almost blinded in forcing our way through this curtain of driving sand, we rode right into a hollow, where the earth appeared to be on fire; as the horses plunged

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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting in the surrounding country (where hares abounded), we observed a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter, reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific, being administered to the invalids with great success. In
133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swelling eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a saline was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner, determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been destitute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
[135] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.
132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much lighter: indeed whilst in Telck some warm days were experienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously described as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in abundance, and was collected by the women and children.
[136] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

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dered observation and record, in addition to hunting and the usual toils of marching, impossible. It was the more needful for me to endeavour to keep up, as all were more or less ill, and becoming increasingly gloomy and dispirited. To add to the troubles which weighed down the Indians' spirits at this place, the doctor's horse fell while descending a precipitous rocky hill. The unfortunate physician was stunned, and very nearly crushed to death by the horse falling on him; great grief was universally expressed at this catastrophe, as no one was left to cure the invalids and contend with the malignant Gualichu, who, it was natural for the Indians to imagine, had laid a trap for his opponent, and upset the medicine man's steed in order to have the field clear for himself.

We encamped in a sort of morass, by the side of the hills overlooking the plain, and were woke at daylight by the chattering of a flock of blue and orange paroquets; these birds, which brought back old pleasant associations of the banks of the Parana, and almost seemed to be harbingers of civilised life, were numerous in this locality, though they were the first of the species that I had observed in the country.

The distant signal smoke was concluded to indicate the presence of Jackechan and the Pampa Indians under Teneforo, and all were in spirits at the prospect of obtaining news, and perhaps luxuries in the shape of flour, yerba, &c., from Patagones. The order was accordingly given to march, and a large answering signal fire kindled in some dry pasture bordering the hill side, a messenger being at the same time despatched to ascertain the news. After a rather long march over a barren plain strewn with angular masses of chalcedony and projecting rocks resembling alabaster, we arrived at a dreary encampment, sheltered under a bank, from which a spring gushed out, forming a refreshing rivulet.

The mutiny of my page had compelled me to enjoy the pleasure of driving my own cattle, following the track in

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203 be peaceable at Patagones, and a rumour was current that Commandante Murga was about to give up his governorship. Casimiro, on receiving all this intelligence, immediately wished a despatch to be indited, although I pointed out to him that it would be better to wait until we had arrived at a nearer point; he was so urgent that on the following morning I composed an elaborate letter, detailing the union of the tribes, the precautions taken for protecting Patagones, and requesting a hundred mares for Casimiro and his people: when finished it was carefully wrapped up and stowed away in my baggage till wanted.

202 The talk then naturally turned on the subject of the choice of messengers to be despatched to Patagones on our arrival at Margensho. It had been previously arranged that I should be sent fully commissioned, as being better able to represent to the authorities what had been resolved on, as well as to impress upon them the immediate requirements of the Indians, and several others now volunteered to accompany me, and got quite merry at the thoughts of a drink. But we were still three marches distant from Margensho. The following

133 day we were again *en route*, traversing a succession of plains with rocky ridges cropping up at intervals, until we at length reached a grassy valley enclosed by steep walls of rocks sixty feet high; gravely perched on the summits of

[136] which several slate-coloured Chilian eagles were visible, their occupation being to prevent the excessive multiplication of little cavies. On the hill sides bordering this valley, our old friend the incense bush, which had for many marches back been very scarce, grew in luxuriant profusion. At this

[272] season it was covered with berries which, though uneatable, are used by the Indians mixed up with water as a drink; this infusion has a very sweet taste, but I should think must be very unwholesome. On arriving at the encamp-

165 ment, at the head of the valley, near some pools of standing water, we were apprised, by the lugubrious sounds of the women's monotonous chants, that the number of the children

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484 passed the time in talking over what we would get, how we should be received, and in smoking and singing. Our route lay along the barranca, which changed as we proceeded in a N.E. direction, to higher rugged hills interspersed with sandy valleys covered with scrub and incense bushes.

By nightfall we had arrived at a pointed hill, under the brow of which we encamped. We had seen plenty of ostrich and guanaco, but had not delayed to hunt, only pausing to pick up an armadillo that happened to be basking in our road.

On dismounting we secured all the horses with lazos or maneos, as they might probably be inclined to stray away. After gathering a little firewood, kindling a fire, and discussing the armadillo and a small piece of meat each, we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and lay down to sleep, every now and again during the night getting up to have a look at the horses. The morning star was shining brightly above the horizon when we saddled up, and crossing the brow of the hill mounted to an adjoining pampa, where the rocky nature of the ground obliged our unshod horses to go at a foot pace. Added to this a bitter cold wind and small driving rain were not improving to the temper, until after an hour or two of difficult and slow travelling, the sun rose magnificently and dispelled the mists and drizzle, and re-
484 stored our cheerfulness. We at length descended into a
133 ravine leading to a series of small valleys, containing here and there ponds covered with teal and other water birds.
[136] We travelled at a gallop through the same description of country till five P.M., when, after passing a high barren plateau, similar to that encountered at starting, we suddenly came to an abrupt declivity, at the bottom of which, in a plain extending for about five miles, lay a large salina.

484 We descended where it was feasible, and after stopping to get a little salt, proceeded to encamp near a small spring of fresh water. About a mile to the eastward large herds of

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guanaco and several ostrich were visible in the plain, and near our halting-place we found the tracks of a puma, for which we searched diligently, but without success.

After securing our horses, as on the previous night, we dined, minus armadillo, off a piece of scraggy meat, and turned in. The salt from the salina was of excellent quality; it was necessary to remove a little of the upper surface, which had slightly deteriorated by exposure to the atmosphere, and then we cut out cakes of salt like pieces of ice, which served for plates. It is a strange fact that both into this and other salinas small rivulets of fresh water flowed, fed by springs in the neighbouring hills.

The next morning (if it could be so called) at the same hour we were in the saddle, and traversing the plain crossed some ridges of moderate height, and continued passing through a tract of country thickly wooded with incense and other bushes. About two P.M. we arrived at a rivulet of water, near which were marks of a recent encampment; after examining these, we came to the conclusion that a week had perhaps elapsed since the occupants had left. We travelled forward at our utmost speed over ground of much the same description, diversified now and again by ranges of low hills, putting up occasionally a partridge, of which birds we observed two different species, one crested, and nearly as large as a hen pheasant, and the other smaller than an English bird, and which took only short flights and then cowered—and were fortunate enough to kill a couple. The sun went down behind some hills, and still we found no suitable place to halt in; at last, however, we came to some ponds of water, where we all, being pretty well tired, dismounted, and tethering two of the horses allowed the remainder to go loose. We found the water brackish, though drinkable, but the animals would scarcely touch it, and wandered about, necessitating a watch on them all night; this was rather weary work, especially as a sharp frost came on, and with all our care, at starting-time two horses were missing. After a

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521 the tea came from, and various other questions evincing a considerable amount of information; and wound up by proposing that I should set up a trading establishment near the Chupat; Jackechan—who, if any one can claim it, is the real lord of the soil—having volunteered to cede the ground to me. In the event of establishing a store in that neighbourhood, this astute Indian considered that all the Indian trade would be taken out of the hands of the people of Patagones, who notoriously used false weights, besides charging exorbitantly for all articles supplied to the Indians.

484 About two P.M., as the rough shingle had already begun
133 to tell on our horses' feet, a halting-place was found near a laguna containing rain-water of the colour of *café au lait*. The horses were for the present let loose, to pick up the best meal they could off the stunted grass near the borders of the lagoon. Before dark most of them were tethered, and a careful watch kept all night, lest they should return to Valchita in search of pasture and water. After a lengthened conversation by the fireside—in which I was informed that the track we were travelling was called Pigs' Road, from
[134] wild pigs, or perhaps peccaries, having been killed near one of the lagoons in the route—we wrapped ourselves in our manties and sheltered ourselves like hedgehogs under the bushes, from time to time getting up to look round for the horses. Next day we rode o[illegible] the same interminable
137 desert of stones, and bushes of the following descriptions: chañal or whitethorn; picayun, furnishing the best firewood; the osier-like switches before described; black bush, which is useless for burning, owing to the pestiferous smell it emits; algarroba, incense, which are, however, very scarce; and some others whose names I was unable to procure. The chañal is the only one that impedes the traveller's progress, as the thorns are large and sharp. In the other road (more to the west), which we had avoided, although the distance is shorter across the travesia, and therefore more used by the Tehuelches, who dread this crossing, especially in summer

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or for small parties, the chañal grows to the height of ten to fifteen feet, and, like the 'waitabit' thorns in Albania, renders fast riding impossible. 137

This day we were about to start hunting, when a demi-john of rum was discovered in a bush. This put an end to the sport, for, although it was hidden again in another place, enough was taken out to render most of the party talkative, a bottle or two also being reserved for discussion at the camp fire. 425

At four P.M. we encamped by the side of a lagoon similar to the previous one, and, our Valchita water being finished, diluted the rum with meal and water about the consistency of Spanish chocolate. I forgot to state that in the excitement of the 'find' the horses were not looked after, and on mustering to proceed, one of Nacho's had disappeared, and, although carefully searched for, he was not found again. 484

The next day, despite the dissipations over night, we were in the saddle at daybreak and had hardly traversed a league of this weariesome waste when we came suddenly upon seven wild horses. An effort made to surround them failed, owing to the difficult nature of the ground; but the failure was to me fully made up by the magnificent spectacle of these splendid creatures careering in their untamed strength and beauty across the plain. 136 ● 484

We subsequently hunted and killed guanaco and ostrich, and also saw some hares and partridges. At about ten A.M. our eyes were gladdened by the sight of the sea, and presently the level plain rose into more undulating country, and from the crests of the elevations at times a full view of the inlet called the Laco de San Antonio presented itself. 133 484

Smoke was visible ahead, and we accordingly pushed on, and made a long and rapid march, the surface being here altogether free from the small stones which had previously caused so much damage to the horses' feet. That night we halted, as usual, by the side of a lagoon, the water of which was not more than two inches deep.

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the river. A large troop of horses can scarcely find pasture, and after the rapid journey would not be in a condition for their riders to attack with success, if opposed vigorously by people able to defend themselves.

This district[1] appeared to form a distinct and well-defined limit between the habitats of various animals; as, for instance, the Rhea Darwinii, or smaller ostrich of Patagonia, and the Rhea Americana. The latter, according to my experience, is never found to the south of it, and I am at a loss to understand how Mr. Cunningham could have met with any specimens of it, as he seems to imply.*

The Tehuelches often described the larger Rhea as found north of the travesia, and as distinct from that hunted in their country. They also particularly insisted on the fact that the Gama, or deer—abundant in the Rio Negro valley and the country north of it—is never met with south of the travesia. The same remark is true of the Viscacha and the Aguarra (Lupus manatus), though the latter is probably to be met with in the spurs of the Cordillera.

Patagonia may thus be properly considered as cut off by the Rio Negro and the line of the Cordillera, and possessing its own races and a separate Fauna and Flora.

It may be added that only one species of armadillo, the Quirquincho (Dasypus minutus, Gay), occurs within these limits. The algarroba and other bushes, though found in and near the borders of the travesia, do not occur south of its immediate vicinity.

It was a joyful hour for all when, on the fourth day, after galloping from dawn till ten o'clock, we at length came in sight of the valley, still three miles distant, where large willows—which, by the way, are unknown in Patagonia, save a few at Chupat, probably introduced by the settlers—marked the winding course of the Rio Negro. We halted at the head of an abra, or lateral opening which ran up into the barranca from the main valley, and saw in the

* 'Natural History of the Straits of Magellan,' p. 184.

[1] [i.e. the travesia, or desert -- Analyst]

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484 distance a solitary rancho, the first civilised dwelling beheld since my departure from Santa Cruz.

After a rest, to enable all to come up, some having lagged behind perforce, their horses being hardly able to limp along, we made our way down the slope, and at length reached the river, in which our thirsty steeds soon drank their fill.

The rancho, which belonged to Hernandez, for whom the convoy of mares was intended, was then visited. The owner was absent, but his Indian wife did the honours, at least as far as serving us with maté, for no food was produced, though all were dreadfully hungry. I wished to stop and don what an American would call my citizen's clothes, thinking that we should immediately proceed to the Guardia I had heard so much of from Luiz Aguirre; but he told me not to be in a hurry, so in my dirty mantle I remained for the present.

After half an hour's delay we left the rancho and followed the south bank of the river, which here was a swift stream 200 yards wide, passing the farm of Hernandez, where a man was occupied in ploughing, and mares and cattle were grazing.
[133] The river here made a bend towards the southern barranca, which so nearly abutted on it as to compel us to ride close along the bank. Small partridges got up frequently, and I made a mental resolution to come and have a day's shooting
[134] at a future period in the magnificent willows bordering the river; blue pigeons were cooing in the trees; and through an opening we caught a glimpse, on the opposite bank, of a well-built, comfortable-looking estancia in the foreground of a wide extent of rich flat land, with corral, galpones, and the usual surroundings, which Luiz Aguirre informed me belonged to Mr. Kincaid. The feeling of having safely emerged from the desert into the settlements put us, though
484 very hungry, into the best of spirits; and after a cheerful
133 half-hour's ride, passing on our road a tumbledown, unused rancho, we arrived at Sauce Blanco, or 'White Willow;'

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other species of armadillo besides the quirquincho were described as being found in their neighbourhood, but I was not fortunate enough to meet with either description, as they were at this season hybernating. Puma have been killed in the neighbourhood of one of the sheep stations. The shepherd heard two outside the corral on one occasion, and giving chase the puma ascended a small tree. The shepherd was only lightly attired, but he stripped off his shirt and fastened it to a stick planted by the tree, which unknown white object so terrified the 'leones' that they remained quiet while he fetched his gun and shot them both.

The skin of an aguarra killed on the premises was also shown to me, but I had not the good fortune to see one alive. The rarity of the animal causes the skins to be highly valued, being worth £5 each in Carmen.

From the second Guardia a short gallop past the advanced barrancas, near which the river flows in another bend, brings the traveller to another wide plain, which to the north runs up into an abra deeply recessed in the receding barranca: in this there are several farms; one of which, six miles below the Guardia, belonging to Messrs. Fraser and Grenfell, is named the Estancia San André, and is also situated (*i.e.*, the house and parts intended for wheat growing) inside a rincon or corner partitioned off by a good whitethorn or chañal fence, resting at each end in the river. The sheep and cattle graze during the day outside, but the latter and the horses are invariably brought within the enclosure at night for fear of theft. This foresight of enclosing the cattle had saved Mr. Fraser a considerable loss. A short time previous to my visit, a party of maranding Indians rode along outside the fence, and finding nothing but sheep, which travel too slowly to be securely lifted, proceeded to the next estancia, and drove off the cattle and horses, after stripping the shepherd of his clothes, but doing him no bodily injury.

When the news reached Mr. Fraser, he got some men

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007 together and started in hot pursuit; although a stern chase is a long one, the cattle grew tired, and the Indians, probably some of Calfcura's people, abandoned them, escaping with the horses only.

I passed several days at the Estancia San André, spending the greater part of my time in reading, first the papers, and then all the available books, and now and then sauntering about with a gun to shoot partridges or pigeons, whilst my companions were busy, each with his team of oxen ploughing in the seed, or carting bricks down to the new house in course of completion.

The house we occupied was of adobe, and getting rather into a tumbledown condition; but the new house was a substantial brick building, the bricks burnt by the future occupiers, and the walls run up by some Italian masons. This new house was situated on the extremity of the rincon, or corner, or where its apex touched the river: in front of it was a small island, rapidly undergoing conversion from its original reed-covered state to a fertile garden, in which a good crop of potatoes had already been grown and fruit trees were being planted.

The old house was to be given up to the Capataz, or headman, who then resided with his wife in a portion of it. This man was a native, named Medado; and I have since heard that, when pursuing the Indians who had invaded some stations near Bahia San Blas, he swam the river unaccompanied, and rescued two captives, for which he was made an officer of National Guards. His chief business consisted in looking after the cattle and horses, and training the race-horse, of which Mr. Fraser was justly proud.

During my stay the San André crack was entered against a horse of Linares' over a short course, and won easily, landing stakes of about eighty head of cattle.

136 I noticed, whilst at San André, a very beautiful description of small hawk, which appeared closely allied to our merlin, and shot one specimen.

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However bare and unpromising the land may seem, such is the fertility of the soil that wheat may be grown, crop after crop, and year after year, on the same land. Potatoes attain a very large size, and are of excellent quality, but these are chiefly grown in the islands of the river.

The Government have lately issued orders that all islands belong inalienably to the State, and all present occupiers are obliged to pay a small head rent to the authorities, which seems to point at future occupation of Choelechel.

Besides potatoes, all other European vegetables and fruit-trees grow well; tobacco seems to thrive, and vines promise to furnish a staple of export in the shape of Rio Negro wine. In one of the islands, occupied by Don Benito Crespo, and leased by him on shares to some Spaniards from the neighbourhood of Cadiz, a great number of vines have been planted and large quantities of grapes pressed out yearly. The wine, which is called 'Chacoli,' has the muscated flavour and bouquet of Moselle, and is a thin pure wine, excellent to drink in the warm weather, as it is by itself not at all strong or heady. I should imagine that it would not bear exportation, but Don Benito has hopes that his Andalusians will shortly be able to produce a superior quality. Besides wine, I tasted at the table of this hospitable gentleman some brandy, the produce of the same grape; it was of course colourless, of good taste, but any number of degrees over proof.

A sportsman can always find amusement either in shooting ducks, partridges, geese, and other wild fowl, or mounting his horse and chasing ostriches or deer in the abras or openings running far up like inlets of grass between the scrub-covered promontories of the barrancas. Fish may be caught in the river, chiefly, I believe, the delicious pejerey,* or large smelt, and those perch-like fish described as existing in the rivers of Patagonia.

For guanaco, the pampas near San Blas must be visited,

* Atherinichthys Argentinensis. Cunningham, p. 54.

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but the valley and the lagoons formed by backwaters of the river furnish abundance of black-necked swans, upland geese, red-headed ducks, widgeon, teal, flamingoes, and roseate spoonbills. 136

It will be evident that to any active and enterprising young men, prepared to rough it a little, and possessed of a small sum of ready money, who wish to invest in land and cultivate, there is much to be said for and against the Rio Negro as a home. The land may be had at a reasonable price, and little clearing is required. Implements may be brought from Buenos Ayres, either in a sailing ship or by the steamer which is supposed to run monthly, though rather uncertain in its movements. The climate is pleasant and healthy, and one good season of harvest would almost repay the outlay on a moderate establishment.

As to the drawbacks to be placed on the contra side, the river is subject at times to floods, at other times droughts prevail, and, unless artificial irrigation be resorted to, crops will fail, besides which occasionally a million of locusts will save the farmer the trouble of reaping his harvest; the cattle, of which most people keep enough to supply milk and meat for home consumption, may be run off by Indians; and last, but not least, the settler may lose his life by the hand of some felon. But no colony offers a certainty of making a rapid fortune.

The great mistake most English settlers make is going out to a place with the idea they are going to make a "pile" in a year or two, and then return to Europe.

In my opinion the settler should go with the intention of making the place he has chosen his home: then if successful he can return, but he should not look forward to it. The Basque population are looked upon in the Argentine provinces as the best immigrants, as they generally stay in the country. The Italians, on the contrary, grub away for some years, starving and pinching, until they have amassed a small sum of money sufficient to enable them to live at ease in

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tunity of becoming acquainted with that little-known part of America and its wandering inhabitants.

The name Patagonia is here applied to the country extending from the line of the Rio Negro, about latitude 40 deg. south, to the Straits of Magellan; and is bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Cordillera of the Andes, although the Chilians, for their own purposes, make the Pacific the western limit. The ordinary notion that this great tract is an inhospitable desert of high barren plains and rocky hills is only correct as applying to portions of the coast line and certain isolated districts of the country. The interior presents abundance of watered valleys, and pasture over which roam countless herds of guanaco and innumerable ostriches, by which name the Rhea Darwinii is generally known. And the numerous horses of the wandering tribes never fail to find food and water.

The Indians (to use the misnomer handed down from the first Spanish discoverers) inhabiting this country are divided into three distinct races, differing in physique and language, and, in some marked respects, in their modes of life. Besides these the Fuegians, or, as the Tehuelches call them, Yamonascunna, though properly inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, are sometimes found upon the south-west coasts of the mainland; with these I had no intercourse, and their habits have been described by many other travellers, and they are mentioned in order to avoid unnecessary queries.

The Patagonians are called by themselves Aboniconka, or Tehonek, but are more usually known as Tehuelche or Tehuel people, a name probably given them by the Araucanians, and by which they are generally designated. These are divided into northern and southern. The northern generally frequent the district extending from the Santa Cruz river to the Rio Negro. And the southern range over the remainder of the country from the Santa Cruz river to the Straits. These two tribes are however much intermixed, and, as in the case of the party of Indians with whom I travelled, are to be met with hunting and roving in company in all parts of the country; they are, however, distinguishable by dialectical differences in accent, and differ slightly in physique, and in the frequent feuds and quarrels they display as much hostility as if they were distinct races.

The second race of natives is usually known as the Pampas or Penck, whose district lies between the Chupat river and the Rio Negro; these are an offshoot of the Pampas Indians of the plains north of the Rio Negro, having their head-quarters at Las Salinas near Bahia Blanca. They speak a distinct language, somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of the Araucanos, and are notably different in physique and feature from the Tehuelche.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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History, the United States National Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

In regard to the material preferred by the Tehuelche for their robes, Father Falkner[6] writes:

> Those made with the skins of young colts and mares are the least valuable. The mantles made of the skins of a small, stinking animal, like our polecat, which they call yaguane, are superior to these last. . . .
>
> The fur of the coipu, or otter, is in equal esteem with that of the yaguane, or mulkel. . . .
>
> The mantles made of the skins of guanaco are in still greater estimation than those before-mentioned, on account of the warmth and fineness of their wool, and their long duration. But those which are in the highest esteem of all are made with the skins of small foxes, which are exceedingly soft and beautiful. They are of a mottled grey, with a red cast, but not so durable as those of the guanaco.

On this subject Musters[7] writes:

> Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat being the most valuable, but like the others, are generally intended only for barter.

In addition, the present writer has seen several mantles of ostrich-skins from Patagonia. While these have undoubtedly been made by the Indians and exhibit characteristic indigenous sewing, yet it is exceedingly doubtful that they were ever used locally. On the contrary, it appears that they were manufactured merely in order to trade with white settlers.

A considerable variety of furs, then, were used on occasion in Tehuelche robes, but in most cases the guanaco was selected. This wild relative of the llama, one of the four New World camels, has been most succinctly described by the friend of Capt. Musters[8] who exclaimed that it contained "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil." We shall examine the methods of hunting guanaco and the weapons employed.

When first encountered by Europeans the Tehuelche armed themselves with bows and arrows. Their bows apparently were not like those of the Ona, for they are described as short and stiff.[9] After

[6] 1774, p. 108.
[7] 1871, p. 180.
[8] Ibid., p. 197.
[9] Oviedo, lib. xx, cap. vi.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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088 through which I passed were viewed with a calmness that had been before unattainable, and which is now scarcely credible, on recollection. So true is it that our strength is unknown to ourselves till it is thoroughly tested.

The hope of immediate release, however, was at an end: my savage captors, it seemed, must be looked upon as for an indefinite period my masters and companions; and I had nothing at present to do but to divert myself by a study of their manners and habits; to commit my safety by a close study of their character, and of the ways and means by which so to adapt my deportment to it as to win their confidence, to disarm hostility, and to seize opportunities.

133 Patagonia, as it offered itself to my observation, more than answered the descriptions of geographers, — bleak, barren, desolate, beyond description or conception, — only to be appreciated by being seen. Viewed from the Straits of Magellan, it rises in gentle undulations or terraces. Far as the eye can reach, in a westerly direction, it assumes a more broken and hilly appearance, and long ranges of mountains, extending from north to south, divide the eastern [34] from the western shore. The soil is of a light, sandy character, and bears nothing worthy the name of a tree. Low [37] bushes, or underwood, are tolerably abundant, and in the valleys a coarse, wiry grass grows luxuriantly. Streams [32] of water are rare. The natives draw their supplies principally from springs or pools in the valleys, the water of which is generally brackish and disagreeable.

•131 The variety of animal is nearly as limited as that of vegetable productions. The guanaco, a quadruped allied to the lama, and with some resemblance to the camelopard,

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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is found in considerable numbers. It is larger than the red deer, feet on the feet, usually found in large herds, frequenting not only the plains, but found along the course of the Andes. Its flesh is a principal article of food; its skin is dried with the hair on, in such a manner that, when wet, it retains its pliability and softness. This process of preserving skins seems to be peculiar to the Indian tribes, and is not unlike that by which buffalo-robes, bear-skins, jackskins, and other articles of luxury, and even necessity, among us, are prepared by the North American Indians. Guanaco-skins are cut into pieces of all sizes, and sewed into a thousand fanciful patterns, every workman originating a style to suit himself. The heads are sometimes turned to account by the natives as mats for shoes, when they indulge in such a luxury, which is not often.

The enemy of the guanaco is the cougar, or "American lion," smaller than its African namesake, and more resembling the tiger in his character and habits, having a smooth, sleek coat, of a brownish yellow color,—altogether a very beautiful but ferocious creature. His chase is a favorite, though rare and dangerous, sport of the natives. Patagonia likewise boasts of the skunk, whose flesh is used for food. There are also foxes, and innumerable mice. Of birds, the only noticeable varieties are the condor, in the Andes, and the ostrich, a species of ostrich, smaller than that of Africa, on the plains; its plumage is not abundant, generally of a gray or dun color. Its flesh is tender and sweet, and with the fat much prized by the Indians. Like the African ostrich, it is exceedingly swift, only to be captured on horseback, and often fleet enough to outrun the fastest racer.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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purpose, till I got so tired of my showman's duty that I wished the watch in the bottom of the sea. The Indians, as they listened to its vibrations, would stand in every attitude of silent amazement, their eyes dilated, their countenances lighted up in every feature with delighted wonder and then break out in a roar of hoarse laughter, the tone of which strangely contrasted with the infantile simplicity of their demeanor. The business was dreadfully annoying, and yet it was plain that a new and almost unbounded power affecting my destiny was hidden in that little machine. It had captivated the chief, and struck an awe over the tribe like the rod of an enchanter. Whether it boded good or evil, was another question.

Our next move took us in a west-north-west direction, and in our progress we not only secured abundant game of the ordinary varieties, but encountered and killed a young lion, — to use the popular term, — the first living specimen I had seen in the country. I had seen their skins in possession of the Indians, and heard stories of their chase. This was a youthful creature, about the size of a well-grown calf of six weeks. I was riding side by side with the chief across a piece of low bushy land, when the dogs gave token that they scented something uncommon. We halted, and the chief cried out to the dogs, "Chew! Chew!" They were off in a jiffey, rushing hither and thither through the bushes, barking furiously, and soon drove the beast from his covert. Other Indians, a little distance off, ascertaining what was in the wind, made after the game with a reinforcement of dogs. The chase began in good earnest. Horses, riders and dogs, from all points of the compass, were scampering to the scene of action, hal-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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Nothing of importance occured at our encampment near the lakes, except — what was a very noteworthy fact with me — such an abundance of ostrich that I was surfeited with the delicious fare, and was compelled by the chief to take a horse-rein emetic, — a more precise description of which the reader will have no difficulty in excusing. Had I not so completely disavowed the medical character, the chief might probably have allowed me to feel my own pulse, — if I could find it, — and to prescribe for myself; but the renunciation of professional honors brought me under the sanitary, as well as the political, jurisdiction of Parosilver.

Our line of march was now in a northerly direction, soon deflecting to the eastward, — a movement that revived my sinking hopes. There seemed to be some prospect of striking the Atlantic coast, and coming within reach of civilized men. On our way we observed the tracks of some animals different from any I had met with. The chief said it was the *limerer*, with which lucid definition I was fain to be content; and, as no specimens were visible, the inquisitive naturalist must trust to his imagination for the rest.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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night in commending myself to the mercy and good providence of God, praying that he would soften the heart of the savage and open a way of deliverance.

Among other matters that excited my curiosity, I was anxious to know whether the Indians were expert swimmers. The only occasion on which I had seen them attempt it was at the time of the accident in crossing the river. Then two of them swam across, while the others floated on their horses' backs, clinging to the mane. In answer to some questions dropped on the subject, the chief assured me that they were all expert swimmers, and could stretch off a long distance without resting, as they would show me, but that the coldness of the season made the experiment too unpleasant. Others of the tribe told the same story. The question was interesting, for obvious reasons. I had thought a time might come when it would be a very practical one.

Some new specimens of birds made their appearance from time to time. One was a large black bird, resembling the turkey-buzzard, and subsisting on carrion. Another resembled the snow-birds of the north. I had also seen, near the sea-shore and by the lakes, several species of water-fowl, — one not unlike the wild goose, but the chief said they were not good for food.

Our course, the next day, was northward, and the day following turned once more decidedly towards the east, whereat my hopes, varying with the compass, began to revive, though their buoyancy was tempered by experience of the uncertainty of Indian movements. Observing a spot covered with small trees, over which a great number of carrion birds hovered, we approached and found the carcass of a poor old guanaco, which had most likely paid the debt of

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

133 The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by [312] a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small [137] springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which 313] there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian [221] chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. ● 136 Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, [115] have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many [262] ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

133 The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of [134] Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile [622] than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called 136 Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but [226] the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot [313] of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

133 The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

133 many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 48' of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts: there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [66] The earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21' of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams, an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses, which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian. This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[49] The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall,
142 their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[94] Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating
195 the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not inter-
537 rupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others
[562] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

391 The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six
[63] feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet nine inches. - Analyst]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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THE PATAGONIAN AND PAMPEAN HUNTERS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Pa T 131 The section of the Pampa which here interests us (map 1, *Nos. 1D, 1E, 1F;* map 2) extends about 600 miles (960 km.) north to south from about a line between Córdoba and the mouth of the La Plata to a line between the Río Colorado and the Río Negro (pl. 3, *bottom, right;* pl. 4, *top, left*), where Patagonia begins, and thence stretches about 1,000 miles (1,600 km.) from north to south to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the mainland. The Pampa is a low-lying plain, nowhere over 1,000 feet (305 m.) above sea level, except for the Sierra del Tandil and Sierra de la Ventana in southern Buenos Aires Province. Apart from the low coastal belt, Patagonia is mostly a broken tableland, one to five thousand feet above sea level (pls. 1 and 2).

Pa T 132 Average temperatures at Buenos Aires, near the northeastern limit of the Pampa, are 48.9° F. in July, the coldest month, and 73.6° in January, the warmest month; at Choele-Choel, near the border line between the Pampa and Patagonia, 45.1° and 75.4°; at Santa Cruz, in far southern Patagonia, 35.2° and 58.6° (cf. New York City, 30.6° in January and 73.5° in July). The Pampa is marked by frequent steady-blowing high winds; Patagonia, by still more frequent blustery violent winds from the west and southwest.

Pa T 137 The eastern, or Humid Pampa, is, or was, treeless grassland (pl. 3, *top, right,* and *bottom, left;* pl. 4, *top, right*); the western or Dry Pampa (pl. 3, *top, left*), xerophytic scrub-tree and bush land; most of Patagonia has cover largely like that of the Dry Pampa, but considerable grassland especially in the western part. Along the piedmont and eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera flanking the Pampa and Patagonia to the west, is a broken forest belt (pl. 4, *bottom, left* and *right*), constituting an extension of the Antarctic flora with its beeches and other characteristic trees and shrubs. (For fuller details on environment, cf.: Jones, 1930; James, 1942.)

Pa T 136 Of the land fauna, the most important from the native standpoint were the guanaco (*Lama glama guanicoe:* Cabrera and Yepes, 1940,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

the southern part of Tierra del Fuego, came into sight, appearing to rise out of the water, ninety miles distant, if not more. Steaming along the coast through numerous beds of the characteristic kelp seaweed, which in the most forcible way attracted our attention, by fouling the screw, and holding the ship as if anchored for about an hour, we passed Cape Negro, and opened completely different scenery. Instead of undulating plains, hills thickly wooded were seen; at the foot of one of which, on a low piece of flat ground, numerous horsemen, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, were visible, careering about.

It was the afternoon of Sunday, which in all Spanish South American countries is a gala day, more or less appropriated to horse-racing. However, the sight of a steamer appeared to cause a diversion, and, in fact, a general race to the settlement ensued, all being apparently anxious for anything new or strange. The anchor was soon dropped, near an American schooner lying off the Sandy Point, from which the Chilian settlement of Punta Arenas derives its name.

There was no sign of the Nassau, then engaged in the survey of the Straits, which we had hoped to find in this anchorage; but from the Chilian officer, who speedily boarded us, we learned that she had sailed to the westward a day or two before our arrival, and was expected to return immediately. The results of the careful observations made by Mr. Cunningham, of the scenery and natural history of the Straits, have appeared while these pages were in preparation for the press; and it affords me pleasure to refer such as desire more scientific accounts of the botany and zoology, at least of Southern Patagonia, than it was in my power to obtain, to his work.

My own object in visiting Punta Arenas was to proceed thence to Santa Cruz with the Indians, or in whatever way might prove feasible; but, in truth, it was by no means clear to my mind how it was to be accomplished; it was, therefore,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Quillota (parched corn meal and water), we resumed our route north. After leaving the lagoon, a scarcely perceptible slope ascended from the valley, and a more undulating course was traversed until we reached a small cañon, which after a gradual descent dipped down between walls a hundred feet high, sloping up at either hand, and finishing in a rounded summit leading to the high plain. 'Here,' said J'aria, 'there is no firing, and those *stupid* Indian women actually carry loads of it from the next stage.' But the event proved that the Indians were wiser than ourselves. Following this, we arrived at another cañon running at right angles, east and west, on one of the grass-covered sides of which we observed a couple of horses feeding in a hollow which looked more verdant than the rest of the ground, but the animals being caught and examined proved unsound and useless. In the bottom of the cañon there flowed a small but deep stream spreading into lagoons in places. We crossed this and encamped on the northern side, and found J'aria's words, as to no fuel to be found about this valley, verified, much to our discomfort. Towards evening we went out and shot some ducks, but having no fire to cook with, were content to turn in on meal and water. During the night the tent pole, having been first soaked with rain and then frozen, snapped in two, and down came the spread of wet canvas; and altogether we did not spend a very pleasant time.

Misfortunes never come single; at daylight no horses were to be seen, and we had to wait until near ten o'clock before they turned up. During this interval we burnt the tent pegs and some chips from the tent pole, and raised sufficient fire to make coffee. J'aria informed me that this cañon extends from the Cordillera to the sea, but runs in a tortuous manner, and we afterwards again struck either the main line or some cañon leading from it. Having scaled the precipitous banks, we headed towards a range of peaked hills, curiously resembling one another, and after passing down one or two more cañons, where we refreshed ourselves with the berries

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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tolerably good order, to receive the present. There were undoubtedly some very tall men amongst them, but what struck me particularly was their splendid development of chest and arms. Although the wind was very sharp, many of them had their mantles thrown back in a careless way, leaving their naked chests exposed in the air, and appeared not the least incommoded. They readily recognised me for an Englishman, coming and examining me closely, and asking for tobacco with a broad grin on their faces, exposing a wonderfully clean and regular set of teeth. My gratifying their importunate requests for tobacco made Sam very jealous, and for some time he bothered me with remarks such as 'Me very cold, no got poncho,' 'Me no got knife, me no got "pellon"' (saddle-cloth), until, finding it useless to beg, he relapsed into sullen silence. A smoke of the pipe, however, brought him back to his usual cheerful temper, and as we galloped along he chanted an Indian song, which consisted of the words 'Ah ge lay loo, Ah ge lay loo,' expressed in various keys.

After a ride of some leagues in a rather more open but still undulating country, a break in the Pampas was reached. Hills of irregular and picturesque outlines, with labyrinthine valleys or ravines, not running in parallel order, but communicating with each other, occupied an extensive district, and though travelling was considerably more difficult, yet the change in the aspect of nature was grateful after the barren monotony of the plains.

We halted in an Indian encampment, situated in a valley underneath a peaked hill called 'Otiti,' where there were pools of fresh and salt water in close proximity. Amongst the incense and thorn bushes, which grow at intervals in these regions, we passed to-day another description of shrub with a thick rough bark, which is readily detached, and leaves a long rattail-like sort of twig. From the Rio Gallegos the soil had become generally of a yellower colour than on the south side of that river, although in the valleys and hollows

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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dark peaty earth was generally to be found, and the surface of the Pampas had assumed a more desolate appearance, being strewn with small pebbles, and studded with bushes—generally of a thorny species. Round clumps of prickly thistles—which burn like tinder on applying a lighted match—and a few stray tufts of withered grass, only made more desolate the hungry barrenness of the deserts, over which the wind blew with cutting violence, yet they are the home of large herds of guanaco, ostriches, puma, and armadillo, though the latter were at this period comfortably hybernating.

Next morning no horses were visible, and as time went on till ten o'clock without any appearance we all began to suspect Indian treachery. Sam volunteered the remark that if they (the Indians) had played us such a trick, he would go and clear all their animals out the following evening. This threat there was fortunately no occasion for him to put into execution, as the troop proved only to have strayed into another valley. As we were now nearing Santa Cruz, which the last of the Indians were just leaving, having completed their trade and finished all the grog, we saw numerous columns of smoke, caused by their hunting parties. After passing the broken ground and reaching the high Pampa, Sam and myself rode on ahead, amusing ourselves by fruitlessly chasing guanaco or ostrich, but Sam's dexterity with the bolas was frustrated by his being mounted on a horse belonging to the expedition and unused to this work. Towards evening, after again passing numerous salt lagoons, we came to a descent of 800 or 400 feet leading to a valley containing a large salina, and halting, made our fire by the side of a spring, near which, Sam informed me, were the graves of two Indians, which he mentioned with the deepest respect and in an awe-stricken undertone.

Our signal smoke, which was as much to attract Indians as to give the direction of our route to Gallegos and J'aria, was soon responded to from the opposite hills on the northern

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pointed out to me in the Falklands, and numerous oyster shells and other marine shells occured in various localities. There are no streams, but frequent lagoons in the hollows, and surrounded by a luxuriant growth of incense bushes. The unbroken plains abound in round thistle, califate, and the curious shrub called 'ratstail,' from the appearance of its twigs when the thick bark is pulled off. When burned it emits a dense black resinous smoke. To the north the horizon is bounded by a lofty range of hills which form the barrier of the valley of the Rio Chico, about sixty miles distant. These northern hills abound with puma, some of which, killed in our hunts, were of unusual size, measuring fully six feet exclusive of the tail, which is generally half the length of the body. They are, of course, most numerous where the herds of guanaco and the ostriches abound; in the southern part of Patagonia their colour is more of a greyish-brown than that of the species found in the Argentine Provinces. These 'Leones,' as they are universally called in South America, always appeared to me to be the most cat-like of all the felidæ. They are very timid, always running from a man on horseback, and, by day at least, from a pedestrian; they run for a short distance in a series of long bounds, at great speed, but soon tire and stand at bay behind or in the midst of a bush, and sitting upon their haunches, spit and swear just like a monstrous tabby; sometimes endeavouring to scratch with their formidable claws, but rarely springing at the pursuer. Mr. Clarke on one occasion had his mantle torn off in this manner. At another time, when hunting in the vicinity of Santa Cruz, I observed from a distance Gonzalez hacking with his knife at a big incense bush, and on reaching the spot found him occupied in clearing away branches to allow him to knock a huge puma on the head with his bolas. He was dismounted and attended by his dogs, which bayed the animal. Still, had the puma not been a cur, he could doubtless have sprung out and killed or severely wounded the gaucho.

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The next day was got through by having a thorough 'wash' of my clothes, and cultivating a closer acquaintance with the Chilian Arica, from whom I obtained a dog in exchange for an old guanaco mantle. But as on the third day no signs of the return of Orkeke appeared, the inaction became insupportable, so after the departure on a hunting excursion of Tankelow and his son, Arica and myself determined to start in pursuit of Casimiro and his party. As Arica had no horse, it would be necessary for us to ride and tie; but even thus we could make quick travelling. Accordingly at two P.M. we started, much to the astonishment of the ladies, who protested that we were certain to lose our way or be killed by the pumas. One old lady, Orkeke's sister, after trying in vain to dissuade us, presented me with a slice of charqui, which with a few handfuls of coffee formed our stock of provisions. That day we did not get very far; but in the next march, as the track of the Indians was plain, we had made thirty miles by the time we halted, at nightfall, at a place where another valley from the northward joined that of the Rio Chico. Our charqui had barely sufficed for an evening meal, so this day we satisfied our appetites with the supply of the tuberous roots of a plant which grows in great quantities in most parts of Patagonia.

The plant, which in its growth resembles very closely the balsam bog of the Falkland Islands, and might be easily taken for it but for the absence of the gum, which perhaps was attributable to the quality of the soil or the season of the year, is easily recognisable by its mass of tiny green leaflets, and presents the appearance of a small hillock of earth crowned with delicate moss. By digging down into the heap, one large and several small tuberous roots are found, which when roasted in the ashes prove sufficiently palatable to hungry men.

We went to sleep in the open air, rolled up in our guanaco mantles, but awoke to find that a heavy fall of snow had covered everything a foot deep, and totally hidden all trail of

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routine of hunting, as we made our way slowly up the valley of the Rio Chico, which was still frozen over. The weather was cold, and occasional showers of snow accompanied the strong piercing westerly winds which blew every day. The valley sometimes opened out into wide grass-covered plains, dotted with incense-bushes, then rose again in huge bare ridge and furrow-like undulations. Occasionally there occurred patches of swampy ground with frozen lagoons, and here and there open springs, the resort of numerous waterfowl. The hills on the northern side appeared bare and rugged, rising abruptly out of irregular forms, while the southern heights were lower, and presented more of the steep declivities known as barrancas, interrupted at intervals by high rugged hills of basalt, often assuming the appearance of ruined castles, closing in at the bends of the winding river. To one of these—a remarkable hill under which we were encamped on August 23, about 120 miles from Santa Cruz—I gave the name of Sierra Ventana, from a window-like opening through its peak; the Indians called it Môwaish. (See Illustration.) In many places the bases of these hills were formed entirely of a description of lava, and one of the Chilians informed me that whilst passing over a ridge, he had observed several large masses of pure iron: this, however, I was inclined to disbelieve, as although farther up the country iron ore exists in large quantities, I only observed in this part a species of ore similar to that common at Drobak, in Norway.

On one occasion, while marching, we observed smoke in our rear, which was thought to be caused either by a messenger in search of us announcing the arrival of the schooner, or else by a party of the Southern Indians who had some idea of marching north. However, no scout was sent back to discover the truth, so we remained in ignorance. On the 26th we halted, and encamped by the side of the river in a broad opening of the valley; here there was a lagoon, not completely frozen, in which grew a description of flag, of

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137 262 which the root, or rather lower stem, is eaten by the Indians, and is succulent and juicy, with a pleasant taste. The boys and girls soon brought a large supply into the toldos. The 881 day after our arrival in this place, the attainment of the age of puberty of one of the girls was celebrated according to custom. Early in the morning the father of the child informed the cacique of the event, the cacique thereupon officially communicated the intelligence to the acting doctor or medicine-man, and a considerable shouting was set up, while the doctor adorned himself with white paint and was bled in 881 the forehead and arms with a sharp bodkin. The women 346 immediately set to work to sew a number of 'mandils' together. When the patchwork was finished, it was taken with pomp and ceremony by a band of young men, who marched round the poles—already fixed to form a temporary toldo—singing, whilst the women joined in with the most dismal incantations and howlings. After marching round several times, the covering was drawn over the poles, and lances were stuck in front, adorned with bells, streamers, and brass plates that shook and rattled in the breeze, the whole thing when erected presenting a very gay appearance (its Indian name literally meaning 'The pretty house'). The 881 girl was then placed in an inner part of the tent, where nobody was admitted. After this everybody mounted, and some were selected to bring up the horses, out of which certain mares and fillies were chosen, and brought up in front of the showy toldo, where they were knocked on the head by a ball—thus saving the blood (which was secured in [262] pots) to be cooked, being considered a great delicacy. It is a rule amongst the Indians that any one assisting to take off the hide of a slaughtered mare is entitled to a piece of meat, but the flesh was on this occasion distributed pretty equally all round. Whilst the meat was cooking, Casimiro, who was 881 ruler of the feast, sent a message for me to come to Crimé's 252 toldo, where I found him busy working at a saddle, in the construction of which he was, by the way, an adept. His

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526 speed of our horses to while away the interval; and when the women appeared, proceeded to the chase, over a pampa formed by a bend in the range of hills. During the hunt
136 we found the carcase of a guanaco, which had been killed by a puma, carefully covered up in grass and scrub. It was a fat animal, such as the puma always singles out, although I have read in some accounts that he follows the herds and picks up the weakly ones. That this is not the case was proved on various occasions, by finding the carcases left by these cats, which were always those of animals in good con-
133 dition. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the encampment, by the side of a small river, flowing in an easterly direction from the hills. The women, with the exception of one or two, were not present, and might be seen about two miles off,
137 grubbing up a description of potato which grew in the neighbouring hill side. The day was warm; and Orkeke invited me to go to the top of one of the hills to see if any smoke or signs of Indians were visible. We accordingly crossed the stream, and while riding along the northern bank I observed fish swimming lazily on the top of the water. After crossing a marshy patch of ground, we ascended the hills, and dismounting near a bank of blue earth, climbed on foot to the summit, which was composed of a description of quartz, with crystalline veins running through it. Scrambling up this formation, we arrived at the top, whence we had a beautiful view of the encampment and the green pasture bordering the stream. To the northward the view was rather shut in by hills rising to a considerable elevation. Just below us lay a valley, in which several guanaco and ostriches were taking their evening meal. We remained here for some time smoking and enjoying the face of nature generally, but could discern no smoke or signs of Indians. Orkeke remarked that the pasture had a fresher appearance lower down the course of the stream, and proposed that we should inspect it. We accordingly descended from our elevated position, mounted, and proceeded to the valley below; in our descent

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being lucky enough to kill a fat male ostrich, which was sit- [33
ting on a nest of twenty-four eggs. We investigated the grass, which was of good quality; and after an *al fresco* meal, in which we were joined by Tehang, returned to the toldos, where the women had just arrived with a considerable supply of potatoes. I again, on our way back, observed fish in the [36
stream, so, turning my horse adrift, proceeded to extract my hooks and line from the baggage under the charge of Mrs. Orkoke. After a little delay all was ready; a piece of meat supplied the place of fly as bait; and dropping it gently into the pool, I soon had a bite, and pulled out a fish about two pounds weight, of the perch class, similar to that called dorado in the River Plate. After half an hour's fishing I landed several others as large, and as it was nearly dark, returned to supper off fried fish and boiled potatoes.

I had no opportunity of seeing the plants which produced [37
these tubers, but they exactly resembled those I afterwards obtained in the northern country from a plant, the feathery fern-like leaf of which springs from a long slender stem. The following day we shifted camp down river, to the neigh- [39
bourhood of the green pasture, and found large quantities of the eggs of the upland geese, ducks, &c. In the neighbourhood one lonely tree grew by the side of the stream, although the banks were lined with driftwood, probably carried down by the wooded slopes of the Cordillera, ten miles farther west, during floods. This day, smoke having been distinctly seen to the northward, Hummums was despatched to ascertain whether it were a signal from the much-looked-for Northern Indians. Three days subsequently, about nine in [49
the evening, whilst I was lying dreaming of home, and had just—in dreamland—taken a glass of sherry, Orkoke woke me up with the intelligence that fires were to be seen to the north, which were no doubt caused by the 'chasqui' or messenger previously despatched. In about three hours' time —somewhere about midnight—Casimiro, Hummums, and another Indian rode into the camp, and our toldo was soon

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a 517
man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream
groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking [137]
the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the
water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion 252
with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of
wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden
with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was
made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combination
was universally approved of. Another day we went
fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line,
voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos
together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow
parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather
impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting [134
of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the [135]
Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish,
and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an
Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood.
Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species 222
of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we
grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily
rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the
children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invitation
I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather 512
was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the
absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but
whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the
passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to
recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against
the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable
to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding
months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced
marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of
adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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as to what there could possibly be in that place to write 203
about, as although the Tehuelche mind can comprehend writing letters to friends or officials, it by no means understands keeping a journal; and 'some untutored Indian' might probably, if suspicious that 'Faith he'll print it,' instead of waiting to cut up the book, anticipate all reviewers by cutting up the intended author himself.

On the 18th of November the camp at Henno was broken 133
up, and all marched a few leagues to the west, crossing successive rocky ridges running parallel to the Cordillera, and divided by well-watered valleys, and encamped near a valley watered by the same river, which between this place and Henno makes a considerable bend. This station was named 137
'Chiriq,' from a description of bush, with a leaf somewhat resembling that of the aloe, which grows abundantly on the banks of the stream. The wood of this shrub is soft and of little value, but burns well when dry. At this time neither flower nor fruit was visible, but it was described to me as bearing a berry resembling the currant. Since our departure from the wooded river Senguel, a description of cactus, or, as the Spaniards call it, tuna, bearing a tasteless fruit something like the ordinary prickly pear, had been met with occasionally, and found very troublesome, for as it grows close to the ground its spines are very apt to lame the horses if not carefully avoided in the chase. From Chiriq a large plain 133
appeared to extend for some leagues to the westward, bounded north and south by a wooded range of hills, and extending apparently to the bases of the lofty snow-covered peaks of the Cordillera, which appeared to form a complete barrier.

During our stay here an incident occurred which led to 53
the collection and comparison of the traditions concerning the hidden or enchanted city which still are current and believed among the Indians and Chilotes.

One day while hunting we were startled by a loud report, as of the discharge of a cannon, and looking to the west saw a black cloud of smoke hanging above the peaks of the Cor-

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started off; so, as my mantle was fast losing its beautiful appearance, I put compunction on one side, and shortly killed them with a blow on the head. On arriving at the fire where some of the Indians were collected eating ostriches, I was proceeding to take the skins off, when Tankelow, who presided, stopped me, saying that we would skin them in the toldos, where the blood would be a treat to the women and children. We accordingly reserved the luxury, and after a feed crossed a small stream and piece of marsh, beyond which lay the encampment, where the women soon verified Tankelow's words. Though the flesh of the young guanaco is rather tasteless and soft, the blood has a sweeter taste than that of the adult. The rennet, or milk, which is found curdled into a sort of cheese in the intestines, is also eaten with gusto. The most laborious part of young guanaco hunting consists in taking off the skin, which, after the necessary incisions have been made with a knife, has to be taken off by hand, the thumb being used to separate the hide from the body. The calves, when three days old, run at about the speed of a horse's hand-gallop, but sometimes give longer chases. The Indian plan is to kill them with a blow on the head from a ball, and then pass on to another, and so on, afterwards returning to collect them in a heap and skin them. After the hide is taken off it is necessary to expose it to the air for a few minutes before folding it up, otherwise it is liable to get heated, and will tear easily in the subsequent processes. We hunted in the neighbourhood of Jeroshaik, or 'Bad Hill,' several times, with varying success, sometimes proceeding up into the wooded hills, where the timber in some places grew in clumps, as if planted by the hand of man; in others filled up the rocky dells, until the main forests were reached, which appeared to extend far into the Cordillera. Most of the trees were of a species of beech, on which were many small edible fungi, some of which we gathered for use; and traces of red deer were frequently seen, and a few were chased by the Indians, but owing to the

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[136] thickness of the wood they escaped. Some of the Indians
137 took the opportunity to cut fresh poles for the toldos. The sight of woods and trees was so refreshing that I spent several days consecutively among them, very often alone, or with one companion. Nobody, except a sailor after months on the sea, can imagine the pleasure of wandering under trees to one who had passed so long a time in the barren and monotonous plains. The weather, however, still continued wet and inclement. On the 5th of December,
202 some of us wandering on the heights above, made out smoke to the N.E., and Campan went off at speed on horseback to reconnoitre. He returned towards nightfall very drunk, and riding straight to our toldo, proclaimed that El Sourdo, the Indian left behind in Santa Cruz, had arrived at a place close to us, bringing grog in two small barrels, and letters for me: when he had delivered his news, he, with some difficulty, dismounted without coming on his head; then produced a bottle half full of rum from under his mantle, which he dispensed to the attendant company.

574 Our toldo was soon crowded, and it was proposed that on the following day we should march and meet the visitor, all being eager for a drink. Accordingly, on the morrow we started, in a storm of sleet and rain, and prepared to hunt *en route*. While hunting, just after Jackechan and myself had killed an ostrich, the former perceived a single toldo, which he knew must be El Sourdo's, so we galloped towards it, accompanied by two other Indians, and were received with open arms by El Sourdo and his two wives,
574 Jackechan being a very old friend. We were made to sit
273 down, and the olla, or boiling-pot, was brought out by the two wives, who acted as Hebes by producing the rum, with which our host filled the pot, and dispensed the liquor in a pannikin. One of the wives then produced my letters, which proved to be from Mr. Clarke and Don Luiz P. B., the schooner having arrived on October 5, all safe. El Sourdo then gave me all the news verbatim—how a fight had taken

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sacrifice to the Deity at a certain time of the year, I never saw anything of it. Whenever this sort of sacrificial feast took place, there was always a special occasion for it—either a death, or a child hurt, or some escape from danger, when the animals are killed as a thankoffering. Rather tired of remaining so long in one place, on the 12th we marched due north across the plain, which was called 'Gisk,' and encamped under a hill covered with trees, and the sides furrowed with small gullies, densely filled with vegetation and shrubs of two or three species. Here there were plants of the description of potatoes before mentioned, but growing very deep in such unfavourable ground that few were extracted. On the hill sides a plant bearing a yellow flower grew in abundance, the leaf of which, the Chilians informed me, was an excellent remedy for wounds and bruises, and much used in Chili. Four days' hunting took place here, at the end of which Orkeke, who had heard some story that the Pampas had been stealing a march by hunting at night, and was rather disgusted at his continual ill-success, proposed that we should separate, and, in company with the toldos of Tchang, go westward to a plain below the higher mountains, which he stated to be abounding in guanaco. He also proposed a trip into the Cordillera in search of wild cattle. This plan was eagerly approved, as I anticipated persuading him, if possible, to penetrate to the Chilian shores of the Pacific. We accordingly set out on our travels, but had not gone far before a frightful storm of wind, sleet, and rain set in, which wetted us all completely. We huddled for shelter under a bush for some time, but as it continued there was nothing for it but to push on, and about three P.M. the weather cleared up; we then entered a glen with a wooded stream running down it, expanding higher up into an open plain. A short distance up the valley the intended camping-ground lay, so a small circle was made, in which some ostriches and guanaco were killed. We then adjourned across the river under the trees, and soon had a roaring fire blazing, by the side of

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133 remedy. Whilst the women were pitching toldos, the men, eight in number, started to hunt again. Riding to the west, where the plain was still open, we came upon another of the huge basins previously described, on the western side of which, beyond a lagoon stocked with waterfowl, flowed a broad winding stream fringed with trees. At a short dis-
133 tance from the other side of the stream open glades extended
137 for the space of perhaps a mile to the verge of the interminable forests, rising high up on the lofty sides of mountains, some of whose summits were still partially snow-clad. To the south were two or three round detached hummocks, hardly deserving the name of hills, crowned with trees. In the foreground were immense herds of guanaco, and on the northern side frowned a high range of arid-looking hills, forming a great contrast to the deliciously-refreshing green aspect of the other points of view. Whilst waiting concealed behind a bush for the coming herd, which had been cunningly encircled by Tchang and another Indian, and were to be driven in our direction, we gazed long at the beautiful view before us, and Orkeke pointed out a mountain some distance to the north, underneath which, he said, was the entrance to the scene of our future campaign against the wild cattle. Towards evening we returned to the toldos, pretty well loaded with skins. On another occasion, when hunting, we made a circle, finishing off in the wooded district near the banks of the river. On our return we hunted over a park-like country, with alternate open glades and woods. Here we killed a doe red deer and a large description
[136] of fox, apparently identical with the Falkland Island species (Lupus antarcticus). In the vicinity of the woods, the velvety sward was carpeted with the wild strawberry plants, which, however, were only in bloom. On this occasion our enjoyment was marred by one of the party getting a severe fall, which laid him up for a day or two. Before we reached the toldos rain set in heavily, which during the night turned to snow, and the morning sun shone on a white landscape.

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During our stay the women went to the woods to cut fresh poles for the toldos, and the men brought back from the wooded country a description of fungus, which, when dried, forms an excellent tinder, of considerable value amongst the Indians, as there are only a few spots where it is to be obtained. After some days spent in this pleasant neighbourhood, as the supply of guanaco was failing, we marched over the barren range of hills, and passing a lagoon of considerable extent below the hills, encamped on the other side of them, by the side of a smaller one, in a place called 'Togomenykaik.'

During the hunt I had singled out a guanaco, and was in full chase across the upper pampa, which was covered with stunted bushes and tufts of grass, when the quarry suddenly disappeared, as if the earth had swallowed him. The next moment my horse halted in mid-gallop, with its fore feet on the edge of a precipitous descent which shelved away without any warning. Below was a long beautiful glen, with a pool of water glistening among the trees which filled it, but did not rear their topmost boughs above the level of the pampa. Here the guanaco had taken refuge, and as the descent was impracticable for a horse, I could only gaze longingly down into the fairy-like scene, and turn away to join the circle, remembering that it was only too easy to lose oneself by delay. Of this an instance occurred the same day, for one of the Chilians did not appear at the fireside when the hunting was completed. At first no heed was bestowed on him, as it was natural to suppose that he had chased a herd of guanaco to some distance, and was detained taking off the skins; but when at sunset he was still missing, some dry grass was fired, for the purpose of directing him to our camp. The following morning he had not appeared when we started to hunt, myself going as pointsman with Orkeke. We galloped for some distance over the plain, and halted in a hollow, where we came on six young skunks outside their parental burrow, into which they quickly vanished on our

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dismounting; but as their burrows do not penetrate far, Orkeke soon grubbed out a couple. As they were too small to kill for the value of their skins, and too much trouble to carry home as pets for the children, we set them free again, and I proceeded, leaving Orkeke to pursue his way slowly. A slight rise brought me in front of a rocky hill, on the other side of which was a river with wooded banks, across the valley of which river lay my route. I at first considered it to be the same as that seen in the previous encampment, but on reflection it was plainly another, this flowing north-east, whilst the other took a south-west course. Our hunt progressed very fairly. On closing the circle, one of the Chilians, who was running a guanaco with me, and not expert in the use of the bolas, entangled his horse and himself instead of the chase, which lost him his spoils, and caused much merriment amongst the remainder of the party; although I may as well state here that when a horse gets a ball round his legs or under his tail, it is not much of a joking matter for the rider. On our way back to camp, halting by a spring, we found large quantities of wild celery; nettles were also common—the real old English white-flowering one being prevalent. Although my bare legs got considerably stung, I forgot to swear in Tehuelche, and forgave the plant for old acquaintance sake. At the toldos we found the Chilian, who had arrived recently, having run a herd some distance and lost his way, but had been safely directed by our signal fires. In the afternoon some of the party were occupied in breaking their horses, while others were sitting at home lazily watching the performance. Conde's step-father, generally known as 'Paliki,' had a three-year-old iron-grey, with a white star, and a very fine animal, tied up ready to be mounted for the first time. Paliki entered our toldo to borrow my cincta, or girth, and chaffed me, asking if I would venture to 'domar' him. Orkeke seconded the proposal, and accordingly, having stripped off mantle and boots, I proceeded to take the lazo and reins and mount. The in-

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peruse my library, namely, half of the delightful 'Elsie Venner,' which Crimè had picked up on board some ship to serve as wadding for his guns, and sold to me for a little powder. To enable the reader to follow our somewhat devious course and the intricacies of these hills and frequent rivers, the sketch map at page 164 will be found useful; it does not pretend to be exact, but gives a very fair idea of the line of country traversed, and of our migrations between Henne and Teckel.

On the 23rd, Indians having been seen to the north and guanaco hunting proving a failure, Orkeke, to my great delight, proposed a visit to the wild-cattle country. The camp was accordingly struck, and following more or less the valley of the river, which flowed after one turn nearly due east, we shortly came out into an open plain running up between the mountains, at the head of which we encamped by some tall beeches on the banks of the stream. The whole of the latter part of the plain traversed was literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom, the soil being of a dark peaty nature. Young ostriches were now numerous, and every hunt some were captured, and formed a welcome addition to our dinner. The children had several alive as pets, which they used to let loose and then catch with miniature bolas, generally ending in killing them. Our programme was to leave all the women, toldos, and other encumbrances in this spot, named 'Weekel,' or Chaykash—a regular station, and which Hinchel's party had occupied a few weeks previously—and proceed ourselves into the interior in search of cattle. The following morning at daylight horses were caught and saddled, and, after receiving the good wishes of the women, who adjured us to bring back plenty of fat beef, we started off just as the sun was rising behind the hills to the eastward. The air was most invigorating, and we trotted along for some distance up a slightly irregular and sandy slope, halting after an hour or two by the side of a deliciously clear brook, flowing east,

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feet in height, whence we looked down on a broad plain in the form of a triangle, bounded by the river flowing through the ravine on the north side, and on the southern by another coming from the south, which two streams united in one large river at the western apex, at a distance of about perhaps a league. Above and around, on all sides excepting to the west and the ravines through which the rivers flowed, rose the unbroken wall of the lofty mountains of the Cordillera, many of their peaks snow-clad. No sound was to be heard except the rushing of the river in the ravine, and no animal life to be seen except a condor or two floating high above us in the clear sky. The scene was sublime, and I viewed it in silence for some minutes, till the pipe, being handed to me, dispelled all nascent poetic tendencies. The Indians remained silent and looked disgusted, as a herd of cattle had been expected to be viewed on the plain below. We descended to the flats, and crossed the river, on the banks of which 'Paja' or Pampa-grass grew in abundance, as well as the bamboo-like canes from which Araucanian Indians make their lance shafts, and a plant called by the Chilians 'Talka,' the stalk of which, resembling rhubarb, is refreshing and juicy. On the northern edges and slope of the ravine behind us towered graceful pines sixty feet high, which, though an impassable barrier of rock prevented close inspection, appeared to be a species of Araucaria; the bark was imbricated and the stems rose bare of branches for two-thirds of their height, like those figured by M. Gay. Many had been carried down by landslips, and lay tossed and entangled on the sides of the ravine. The increase of temperature after [132] passing the watershed was sensibly great, amounting to from seven to ten degrees, and the vegetation far more luxuriant, the plants presenting many new forms unknown at the eastern side. After leaving the plain and crossing the shallow stream, we left our mantles, and girthed up near a tree in a thicket festooned with a beautiful creeper, having a bell-shaped flower of violet radiated with brown. The

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133 variety of flowers made an Eden of this lovely spot: climbing
● 137 clusters of sweet-peas, vetches, and rich golden flowers re-
224 sembling gorgeous marigolds, and many another blossom, filled the air with perfume and delighted the eye with their beauty. Proceeding still westward we entered a valley with alternate clumps of trees and green pastures, and after riding about a mile I espied from a ridge on one side of the valley two bulls on the other side, just clear of the thick
224 woods bordering the ascent of the mountains. The word was passed in whispers to the cacique, and a halt being called under cover of some bushes, a plan of attack was arranged in the following manner. Two men were sent round to endeavour to drive the animals to a clearing where it would be possible to use the lazo, the remainder of the party proceeding down towards the open ground with lazos, ready to chase if the bulls should come that way. For a few minutes we remained stationary, picking the strawberries, which in this spot were ripe, although the plants previously met with were only in flower. At the end of five minutes spent in anxiously hoping that our plan would prove successful, a yell from the other side put us on the alert, and we had the gratification to see one of the animals coming straight towards our cover. Alas! just as we were preparing to dash out, he turned on the edge of the plain, and after charging furiously at his pursuers dashed into a thicket, where he stood at bay. We immediately closed round him, and dismounting, I advanced on foot to try and bring him down with the revolver; just as I had got within half a dozen paces of him, and behind a bush was quietly taking aim at his shoulder, the Indians, eager for beef, and safe on their horses at a considerable distance off, shouted, 'Nearer! nearer!' I accordingly stepped from my cover, but had hardly moved a pace forward when my spur caught in a root: at the same moment 'El Toro' charged. Entangled with the root, I could not jump on one side as he came on; so when within a yard I fired a shot in his face, hoping to

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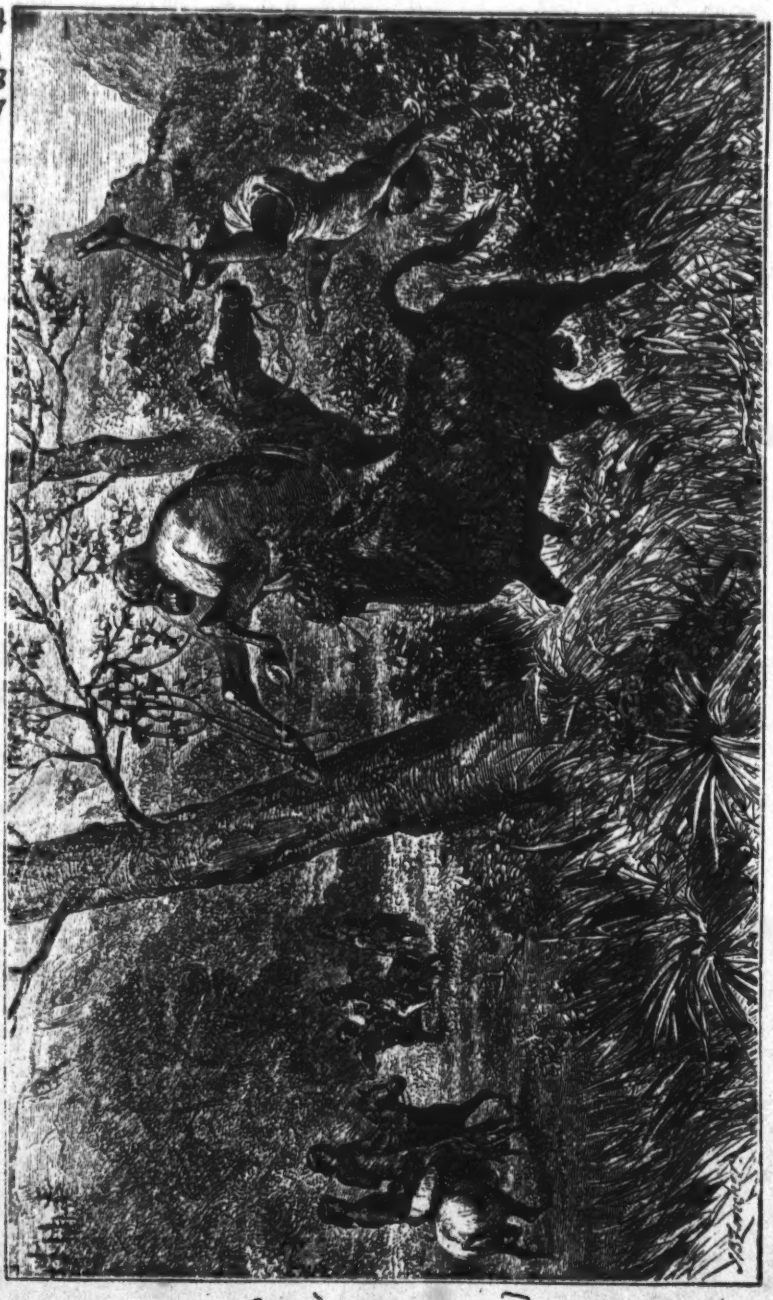

A WILD BULL IN THE CORDILLERA.

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[facing p. 159]

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and one chased; but he, although balled by Orkeke, contrived to slip the bolas, and escaping to cover stood to bay, where he was left master of the field. This bull would have been taken had the other Indians showed any degree of alacrity when Orkeke balled him; but they were dispirited by the previous failure. As evening was coming on I noticed a cormorant on the river: this and the increase of temperature led me to believe that had we penetrated a few miles farther west we should have reached the shores of the Pacific. Pursuing our track homewards, after the second unsuccessful engagement, we managed to pass the thick forest before dark, and decending to the eastern valley saw numerous cows and bulls at intervals. A short time after dark we encamped for the night under the shelter of some trees near to the head-waters of the western river, and after a pipe—by way of supper—wrapping ourselves in our mantles were soon fast asleep. At daylight we mounted and continued our journey, arriving about two P.M. pretty considerably hungry, having eaten nothing barring strawberries and talka, and a few unripe currants, since our last evening in the toldos. The women were naturally disappointed at our ili-luck, but uttered no complaints or reproaches, and hastened to pound some charqui for our refreshment. Next day, all except myself and my companion in the overthrow, who complained of headache, went out hunting and returned at night with young guanaco, and an ostrich or two. Some of the women had seen cattle near the encampment, and Orkeke informed me that in former years they used to occupy the plains below us in large herds, but that the Indians had driven them into the interior by excessive hunting: he also stated that on one occasion he spent some months in this spot, and caught and tamed a considerable number. His accurate knowledge of the country made his statement credible, and he also showed me a sort of corral that had been made to enclose the wild animals. For my own part, the name of the Cordillera recalls the most hungry

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Christmas time of my life: to parody the 'Ancient Mariner,' it was 'Cattle, cattle everywhere, and never a bit of beef.' The following day was spent in the toldos, and some of the Indians were desirous, or pretended to be, of going once more in search of cattle. Orkeke would not hear of it, so on the 28th we marched, following the course of the river in a more or less north-east direction. The weather was beautiful, and after leaving the plain we rode along the winding valley, now and then starting a herd of guanaco or a solitary ostrich. Towards evening we encamped on the banks of the river, and the women, after pitching the toldos, employed themselves in grubbing up potatoes. This day we saw smoke to the north, caused by the hunting-parties of the other Indians, and also some at a greater distance, which Orkeke said was that of the Araucanian Indians, whom it was expected that we should shortly meet with.

On the 29th we were preparing to march, and while the women were engaged in lading the horses some of us were picking the berries of the 'Califata,' or barberry (Berberis buccifolia), or looking for strawberries, when a boy, from a party of other Indians occupying the toldos near at hand, rode up as if despatched as a chasqui, and stated that his party had communicated with the Araucanians, amongst whom there had been a row in a drinking bout, resulting in the death of the cacique. This story was fully believed, and Orkeke was rather perplexed, as perhaps the new cacique might not be friendly disposed towards the Tehuelches. Without hunting, we rode quietly down to the next encampment, where the two strange toldos had already arrived. On our near approach one of the Indians came to meet us, and whilst discussing a pipe, after the observance of the usual ceremonial prescribed by etiquette (as we had not seen the man before), we asked him about the row amongst the Araucanos, which turned out to be all a hoax on the part of the promising youth who had visited us. After a while we

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After a good diner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Esgel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimè, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Cheoeque, and the much-praised

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We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

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Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

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Araucanians SG4

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137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

A
567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintuhual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his desertion.

T A
525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

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On the 16th of February we left Lilly-haik, and bid[36] adieu to the pleasant river and the sylvan delights of this Paradise, as it seemed to us, with its flowery shades. As we ascended the northern declivity of the high ground bounding the valley, I halted to take a farewell look; and nowhere has a more beautiful scene presented itself to my gaze. The valley narrowed as it curved to the west, and at its head, through a gigantic cleft, the perpendicular walls of which rose several hundred feet, the waters of the river issued from their mountain cradle. So deep was the gloom of this gorge, that it was impenetrable to even Indian eyes, and the river seemed to flow into the sunlight out of unknown darkness. Above, on either hand, the precipitous cliffs sloped upwards into high mountains clothed with a rich mantle of the dark green, cedar-like foliage of the beech forests; and between[37] their summits might be discerned the dazzling peaks of far-distant loftier mountains crowned with perpetual snow.

Turning our backs upon this lovely scene, we crossed a remarkable succession of barren and stony terraces or benches of curiously irregular formation, the terraces running in different directions, and presenting no parallel lines to indicate any uniform action of water; the irregular slopes and level surfaces resembling a complication of gigantic steps. We at length descended to a plain bordering a river, which all the Indians agreed in declaring to be the main branch of the Chupat. The banks on the southern side were remarkable for being fringed with a species of pampas grass, while on the northern side grew a few trees, near which the toldos were pitched.

The river was about forty yards in width, and easily fordable in most places, although there were deep reaches where a horse had to swim. The foremost party of the hunters crossed first, and some, either not knowing or careless of the fords, enjoyed a bathe, swimming alongside their horses. By eventide all our party, women and baggage, had arrived. A few days' halt was occasioned in this place,

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Starting thence on March 3, and travelling always north-
648 wards over the barren upper pampas with scarcely a shrub on them, the wall-like Cordilleras rising on the west, and ranges of hills bounding the view to the east, about two P.M. we arrived at a marshy plain: there, as we were halting to make a fire, a cloud of smoke rose suddenly from the opposite side, indicating the near approach of the chasqui sent to Las Manzanas. Half a dozen of us were immediately despatched to verify the supposition, and, leaving our dinner for a future occasion, raced across the valley at full speed, the Indians firmly believing that the messengers would bring liquor with them, and every one being ambitious of the first drink. We at length made them out, and perceiving us in return they halted and dismounted by a small hillock, where we shortly joined them, Casimiro following sedately, as became so grand a personage. The Indians were disappointed as to the advent of liquor, the messengers having brought
● [37] nothing with them except a few apples, some of which, distributed to us, proved to be very juicy and refreshing, equalling any European apple. The only answer to our letter was a verbal message to the effect that we should be welcome at Las Manzanas, and that Chanequo would collect a force to meet us, all his people being at present busy in
[37] the mountains gathering the harvest of apples and pihones; he also stated that he had received late news from Patagones, one Mariano Linares, brother of the head chief of the tame Indians in that settlement, being at present a visitor at Las Manzanas. Casimiro was rather irritated at not receiving a written answer, but on my pointing out that it was just possible Chanequo did not own a secretary in his suite, the chief was somewhat pacified, although his dignity was rather hurt, and he recurred again and again to the subject.

784 On our way to the toldos,—which, during the intervals of our hearing the news, roasting apples, &c., had been pitched, —Casimiro pointed out to me the scene of a former fight in which a chief and several Indians had been killed. It was a very desirable place for encampment, but owing to these

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Anotaciones SG4

T A 434

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stowed in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that he would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Gravial, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

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T 556

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chocorpe consisted but of four tolderia, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and living, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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T A 133 137

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stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much further to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the arenarias grow, from which the pifiones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A 231 422 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Chocoque's wives, to get into A good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately [417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round T A this corral were grouped the Indians of Chocoque's tribe, 361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and A even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses. 362 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much shorter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Chocoque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three five of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting in the surrounding country (where hares abounded), we observed a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter, reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific, being administered to the invalids with great success. In
133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swelling eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a saline was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner, determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been destitute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
[136] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.
132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much lighter: indeed whilst in Telek some warm days were experienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously described as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in abundance, and was collected by the women and children.
[134] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

152 One misery, starvation, had certainly been avoided by the abundance of horse-flesh, but it can easily be imagined that we could have borne hunger better. We had endured cold, and hunger, and fatigue, as well as danger, before, but nothing has left so indelible an impression of a thoroughly bad time as that march from Geylum to Margensho.

000 At last Casimiro issued orders to march, and with two or three more of us started in advance. While waiting under the shelter of a mass of rocks for the remainder to overtake us, I fell asleep, and on waking up found the rain pouring down in torrents, and the chief just directing Meña to return and see what the women were about. Our page arrived a little later to say that the Indians had refused to march, the occupants of our toldo alone being on their way to join us: these soon appeared, so we proceeded in the storm, having agreed that to return, after having once started, would be an ignominious proceeding.

133 We followed for some distance the valley, or rather the plain, into which it had opened out, and then ascended some abrupt rocky heights at its eastern extremity; crossing these hills, in the valleys or ravines of which incense bushes grew [137] almost like a forest, we halted for a time by the side of a rivulet flowing from a spring on the hill side.

133 After kindling a fire to warm our bodies, wet as we were 132 and chilled by the wind, which, originally west, now blew from the south with cutting violence, the sight of numerous guanaco on the heights above determined us to encircle a herd; we accordingly mounted the heights, and having completely failed in our attempt, descended to the other side. A large lagoon lay at our feet, and away to the east a succession of plains extended to the encampment called Margensho.

133 These plains were bounded for a short distance on the north side by a range of hills, which came to an abrupt termination at the end of the lagoon, on the south side by another range gradually sloping to the eastward, and on the

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western side by the rocky heights we were descending. The 133
view would have been enjoyable on a fine day, but in such a Patagonian tempest of rain and wind, landscapes were by no means appreciated. Near the lagoon was another herd of guanaco, some three thousand strong, who tempted us to a vain endeavour to encircle them, but they descried us before we could approach within a mile, and were soon lost to sight on the plains leading towards Margensho. Whilst riding down the edge of the hills Casimiro pointed out some [137]
thyme, a little of which we gathered to flavour our soup with in the evening. We then descended, and sheltered under the overhanging bank of a dry watercourse leading to the lagoon. The woman and remainder of the cavalcade shortly arrived, and loading my page with firewood, to his intense disgust and the extreme delight of every one else, we proceeded a little farther to the south, where the pasture was good, and established ourselves for the night.

The following morning early we all started to hunt, and 132
were more successful than on the previous day, though the wind was blowing a fearful gale from the S.W., with occasional storms of sleet. Towards the afternoon, by which time, having finished our hunting, we were snug enough under the toldo, it rained hard, and with the rain the Indians commenced to arrive, till before dusk a town of toldos occupied the borders of the hills.

Casimiro this evening sent for volunteers to go in with 484
me as messengers or chasquis to Patagones, on our arrival at Margensho, now but one march distant. But of those previously so desirous to go on, not one appeared, nor would any one Indian consent to lend his horses for so long a journey. The chieftain was sadly put out, and cursed the caciquillos all round. He then tried to dissuade me from going myself, saying that it was a great distance, that the desert or travesia was a fearful place, that I should probably lose my horses, that many people had starved, at the same time wishing me to lend my horses to some other Indian.

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He narrated how he himself had occupied twelve days in crossing it, and had been obliged to abandon a horse and the saddle and gear of his remaining steed, and with difficulty, nearly starved, on foot, and driving his almost worn-out horse before him, had made his way to a station.

At the same time a young Indian started to cross the desert, but lost his way, and, quoth the cacique impressively, 'His bones are there now.'

One statement, that the chañals or white thorns grew higher than the horses' heads and tore the unlucky riders' mantles to pieces as they forced their way through them, my own after-experience fully verified. I, however, adhered firmly to my original intention of going, as agreed to by him, and conveying with my own hand the letter I had written: and it was finally settled that Meña, Nacho, and I should, on arriving at Margensho, start on our journey as chasquis. Casimiro's real motive for dissuading me was distrust, as we had on two or three occasions disagreed, and once nearly come to blows; he was therefore afraid that I should, on arriving at Patagones, work against his interests and give him a bad character. Meña, who had taken a great fancy to me, volunteered for the purpose of keeping an eye on Nacho, who was my 'bête noire,' and not to be trusted.

These arrangements having been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, we proceeded to the toldo of a friend and assisted at the ceremony performed by the doctor of curing a sick child, more especially concerning the part of painting with red ochre, killing and eating a white mare.

On this occasion the parents formally invited the principal chiefs and their relations and friends, and the ceremony commenced as follows. All the men were either sitting or standing in a circle, in the centre of which sat the mother holding her infant in her arms. The doctor then came in, and under his direction the mother plastered the infant from head to foot with white clay, the wizard meanwhile mutter-

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484 search of an hour they were found, having wandered in search of better water, and, wiser than ourselves, found out a spring about two miles to the east.

The sun was up before we got away, after warming and eating the last of our food, which we had cooked overnight it was dry and dusty, and all the washing in the world could not have got the grit out of it; however, we laughed over it, saying we would soon have a bottle of wine to wash away the dirt from our throats. One thing we congratulated ourselves on was being well provided with tobacco, and although we boasted no pipe, mine having been lost at a previous encampment, Casimiro's correspondence with Foyel and Cheoeque, which I had carefully kept, provided us with
484 cigarette papers. We rode on accordingly, rejoicing, and
133 passing out of this wooded country traversed a succession of high pampas, set with small blocks of granite exactly resembling paving-stones, and placed as thickly and regularly as if paviors had been at work. The appearance of a London street undergoing repair brought this singular formation vividly to my mind. These pampas terminated in waterworn cliffs thickly strewn with stones, and as our horses scrambled like cats up the slopes, their hoofs sent the stones clattering down, and they found it hard to keep their footing. At the foot of the cliffs were watered valleys, and whilst descending into one of these valleys I noticed for the first
● [137] time the algarroba thorn, which was in fruit. There were two sorts, one with black fruit, which Nacho warned me not to touch, as it was poisonous, the other bearing yellow pods,
[262] which though somewhat dry, as the season was so advanced, we plucked and ate as we rode along, the taste proving something between tamarinds and peach.

576 Near a lagoon in one of these valleys we halted for a few minutes, and on pursuing our journey espied a horseman with a troop of led horses approaching from the opposite side. I had halted for a moment and saw my companions rein up, and racing up to know the cause, observed him. When within

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200 or 300 yards, all halted; and Nacho rode forward, and 576
ceremonious explanations ensued, followed by formal introductions. He was a Pampa Indian outward bound to join those mentioned as having passed us eastward of Margensho; he gave us news that Jackechan's, Teneforo's, and other Indians were in a place called Trinita, some four hours' gallop only distant. When he found that I was 'Anglish,' he spoke in high praise of my countrymen whom he had met in Rio Negro.

This man was a perfect picture; he was splendidly mounted, and had a troop of horses all as good as the one he bestrode. He was well dressed in ponchos and white drawers, and wore a silk handkerchief round his head. Over his saddle was a poncho containing, as we supposed, a store of yerba, flour, or other luxuries, and he had a bold, careless, good-humoured face, with restless eyes; altogether he gave one an idea of the imaginary generous bandits one reads of in novels, and to make the character complete it turned out afterwards that he had almost certainly stolen the horses from Trinita.

After five minutes' conversation, we started in opposite 484
directions, and our party pressed on at speed. From the steep hill above the valley we saw, to our joy, the smoke of hunting parties apparently not far off. However, it was four o'clock when we arrived in the vicinity of the fires in a green pastured valley. From one of the two toldos pitched there, a man emerged with a matè pot in his hand and a bombilla or reed used for imbibing matè, like straws for sherry cobblers, in his mouth. As these people proved not to be the Indians we wanted, after saluting him we galloped on, and crossing the valley, where we had to jump our horses over a brook, ascended the opposite hill. A new growth of [137]
bush growing sixteen feet high, with long switches like osiers, forced itself unpleasantly on our attention, as, when riding fast, they sprang back into one's face in the most painfully annoying manner. On the hillside we overtook and passed

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484 We were soon out of sight of the encampment at Trinita, and proceeding at either a gallop or a trot through an undulating country, in which incense, algarroba, and other shrubs abounded, arrived near sunset at a stream, on the north side of which we encamped, amongst some thick bushes. A little distance to the west lay a large salina, from which, several miles across, the place takes its name, being called Hitchin-kaik, or Salt Hill. The stream flows round one side of the salina, and is, I think, the same that we subsequently crossed near Valchita. This time we travelled in great style, the women having brought with them stores of horse-meat and yerba.

263 After dinner we all sat round the fire and took a matè, and some of an Indian sweetmeat, a yellow paste made from the algarroba bean pounded and mixed with water. Old 000 Patricio, who had turned over a new leaf, and grown quite frisky after the drink, said that I was a fortunate man, having a wife with me; alluding to one of the wives of the cacique El Ingles, who was travelling with us to rejoin her husband near Patagones.

484 The following morning at daylight we again started, and 137 travelling over much the same description of country as on the previous day, arrived about midday at the place where Teneforo had left his cattle. Here we dismounted and refreshed ourselves off the round berries about the size of a turnip-radish, the fruit of a small plant growing by the margin of the water, which had a very pleasant taste. The river here had a fringe of tussocks of pampa grass, under which we reclined and smoked.

484 The cattle were grouped about amongst these tussocks, 133 and Golwin, Jackechan's son with the light hair, amused himself by vain attempts to count them. After half an hour's dawdling we proceeded, leaving behind one of Meña's horses which was done up, and, following more or less the line of the river, we arrived, about three P.M., at the encampment of Valchita. As it was early in the day, some of the party

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521 the tea came from, and various other questions evincing a considerable amount of information; and wound up by proposing that I should set up a trading establishment near the Chupat; Jackechan—who, if any one can claim it, is the real lord of the soil—having volunteered to cede the ground to me. In the event of establishing a store in that neighbourhood, this astute Indian considered that all the Indian trade would be taken out of the hands of the people of Patagones, who notoriously used false weights, besides charging exorbitantly for all articles supplied to the Indians.

484 About two P.M., as the rough shingle had already begun
133 to tell on our horses' feet, a halting-place was found near a laguna containing rain-water of the colour of *café au lait*. The horses were for the present let loose, to pick up the best meal they could off the stunted grass near the borders of the lagoon. Before dark most of them were tethered, and a careful watch kept all night, lest they should return to Valchita in search of pasture and water. After a lengthened conversation by the fireside—in which I was informed that the track we were travelling was called Pigs' Road, from
[134] wild pigs, or perhaps peccaries, having been killed near one of the lagoons in the route—we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and sheltered ourselves like hedgehogs under the bushes, from time to time getting up to look round for the horses. Next day we rode over the same interminable
137 desert of stones, and bushes of the following descriptions: chañal or whitethorn; picayun, furnishing the best firewood; the osier-like switches before described; black bush, which is useless for burning, owing to the pestiferous smell it emits; algarroba, incense, which are, however, very scarce; and some others whose names I was unable to procure. The chañal is the only one that impedes the traveller's progress, as the thorns are large and sharp. In the other road (more to the west), which we had avoided, although the distance is shorter across the travesia, and therefore more used by the Tehuelches, who dread this crossing, especially in summer

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or for small parties, the chañal grows to the height of ten to fifteen feet, and, like the 'waitabit' thorns in Albania, renders fast riding impossible. 137

This day we were about to start hunting, when a demi-john of rum was discovered in a bush. This put an end to the sport, for, although it was hidden again in another place, enough was taken out to render most of the party talkative, a bottle or two also being reserved for discussion at the camp fire. 425

At four P.M. we encamped by the side of a lagoon similar to the previous one, and, our Valchita water being finished, diluted the rum with meal and water about the consistency of Spanish chocolate. I forgot to state that in the excitement of the 'find' the horses were not looked after, and on mustering to proceed, one of Nacho's had disappeared, and, although carefully searched for, he was not found again. 484

The next day, despite the dissipations over night, we were in the saddle at daybreak, and had hardly traversed a league of this wearisome waste when we came suddenly upon seven wild horses. An effort made to surround them failed, owing to the difficult nature of the ground; but the failure was to me fully made up by the magnificent spectacle of these splendid creatures careering in their untamed strength and beauty across the plain. 136 484

We subsequently hunted and killed guanaco and ostrich, and also saw some hares and partridges. At about ten A.M. our eyes were gladdened by the sight of the sea, and presently the level plain rose into more undulating country, and from the crests of the elevations at times a full view of the inlet called the Laco de San Antonio presented itself. 133 484

Smoke was visible ahead, and we accordingly pushed on, and made a long and rapid march, the surface being here altogether free from the small stones which had previously caused so much damage to the horses' feet. That night we halted, as usual, by the side of a lagoon, the water of which was not more than two inches deep.

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the river. A large troop of horses can scarcely find pasture, 133
and after the rapid journey would not be in a condition for
their riders to attack with success, if opposed vigorously by
people able to defend themselves.

This district[1] appeared to form a distinct and well-defined 136
limit between the habitats of various animals; as, for instance,
the Rhea Darwinii, or smaller ostrich of Patagonia, and the
Rhea Americana. The latter, according to my experience,
is never found to the south of it, and I am at a loss to under-
stand how Mr. Cunningham could have met with any speci-
mens of it, as he seems to imply.*

The Tehuelches often described the larger Rhea as found
north of the travesia, and as distinct from that hunted in
their country. They also particularly insisted on the fact
that the Gama, or deer—abundant in the Rio Negro valley
and the country north of it—is never met with south of the
travesia. The same remark is true of the Viscacha and the
Aguarra (Lupus manatus), though the latter is probably to
be met with in the spurs of the Cordillera.

Patagonia may thus be properly considered as cut off by the
Rio Negro and the line of the Cordillera, and possessing its
own races and a separate Fauna and Flora.

It may be added that only one species of armadillo, the
Quirquincho (Dasypus minutus, Gay), occurs within these
limits. The algarroba and other bushes, though found in 137
and near the borders of the travesia, do not occur south of
its immediate vicinity.

It was a joyful hour for all when, on the fourth day, after 484
galloping from dawn till ten o'clock, we at length came in
sight of the valley, still three miles distant, where large [137]
willows—which, by the way, are unknown in Patagonia, save
a few at Chupat, probably introduced by the settlers—
marked the winding course of the Rio Negro. We halted
at the head of an abra, or lateral opening which ran up [133]
into the barranca from the main valley, and saw in the

[1] [i.e. the travesia, or desert—Analyst]

* 'Natural History of the Straits of Magellan,' p. 134.

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the incensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, zerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

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second; and even if so far successful, there was no boat to take me from the accursed land. And how could I conceal myself from the Indians till a boat should arrive? They would miss me; and, long before any possible communication with my vessel, would be hunting me down with horses and dogs. Not a wood or thicket had met my eye on the dreary waste I traversed the day before. I tried to devise some other plan, but none offered itself. It was this or nothing.—and this was next to nothing. Grown desperate, at last, I determined to make an effort.

After lying some time, listening to the heavy breathing of the sleepers, and satisfying myself that none of the company were awake, I raised myself as noiselessly as possible, and stole towards the front of the wigwam. Casting a furtive glance backward, I could see that the old chief was restless; either he had feigned sleep, or some evil spirit had waked him just at the wrong time. To go immediately back would too plainly betray my purpose; so I walked very calmly and deliberately into the open air, and stood as if star-gazing; the old fellow, as I plainly perceived, all the time watching me from the lodge. In a short time I walked quietly back to my dark retreat, and found him where I had left him, lying very coseyly, as if nothing had happened to disturb his slumbers. Once more stretching myself on my uneasy couch, I lay two hours or more, still revolving the same unsolved problem in my mind. At length, all appearing to be sound asleep, I decided to venture a second attempt; and, in the event of failure, to make the best of it for the present. Stealthily as possible I crawled from among them, slid out of doors, and crouched upon the grass. Could I be

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through which I passed were viewed with a calmness that had been before unattainable, and which is now scarcely credible, on recollection. So true is it that our strength is unknown to ourselves till it is thoroughly tested.

The hope of immediate release, however, was at an end; my savage captors, it seemed, must be looked upon as for an indefinite period my masters and companions; and I had nothing at present to do but to divert myself by a study of their manners and habits; to consult my safety by a close study of their character, and of the ways and means by which so to adapt my deportment to it as to win their confidence, to disarm hostility, and to seize opportunities.

PATAGONIA, as it offered itself to my observation, more than answered the descriptions of geographers, — bleak, barren, desolate, beyond description or conception, — only to be appreciated by being seen. Viewed from the Straits of Magellan, it rises in gentle undulations or terraces. Far as the eye can reach, in a westerly direction, it assumes a more broken and hilly appearance, and long ranges of mountains, extending from north to south, divide the eastern from the western shore. The soil is of a light, sandy character, and bears nothing worthy the name of a tree. Low bushes, or underwood, are tolerably abundant, and in the valleys a coarse, wiry grass grows luxuriantly. Streams of water are rare. The natives draw their supplies principally from springs or pools in the valleys, the water of which is generally brackish and disagreeable.

The variety of animal is nearly as limited as that of vegetable productions. The guanaco, a quadruped allied to the lama, and with some resemblance to the camelopard,

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respond to these precious names, at once tortured and strengthened me. These, and the thought that perhaps, after patient endurance, Divine Providence would restore me to the objects of my famished affections, made life still dear. These strengthened me to suffer and to strive.

As I crawled out of the lodge. to look upon the sun, and breathe the pure air, and be refreshed by breezes untainted with the breath of cruel men, it came into my mind that some palatable or even tolerable species of plant or root would be wholesome for me. On looking about, there presented itself a specimen of large dock, such as is common in the United States; a weed of humble pretensions, but why not worthy of a trial? With what strength remained at command, I began a process of "extracting roots," with good success. Taking a quantity into the hut, and roasting them in hot ashes, they were found to be not distasteful; I filled my pockets with them, and abandoned flesh-diet for a little time, to the sensible, though gradual, relief of my sufferings. Fortunately we had a season of bad weather, which prevented any advance movement for four or five days, and gave me time partially to recover strength. I could not sooner have kept my seat on a horse; and, if the alternative had been presented, the Indians, as I very well knew, would sooner have knocked me on the head than have allowed me to hinder their march for a day. A powwow was held over another horse, unserviceable alive, and therefore marked for diet; but this time I did not compete for any part of his carcass, my pocket-stores being quite sufficient, and more attractive. But in the fate of the poor beast I read

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4′ latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

133 many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the [136 312 313] other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the [487] region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The [622] Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 48′ of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is [312 313] very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which [136] can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts; there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. [622] The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other [135] colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [66] The [314] earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. [136] There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21′ of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest [312] source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which [313 137] also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of nameless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

133 entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals
to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow
[484] most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This find-
ing made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect
that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other
places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there
flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the
second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the
Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the
last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de
Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at
622 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which
comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz
[sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the
chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-
law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz
lakes.

133 Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream,
fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the
Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos
and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary.
At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits
of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very
Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the
[312] other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams,
[315] an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite
● 131 number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs
[622] these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest fol-
493 lowing, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings
484 being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses,
727 which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian.
This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo in-
vaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it
has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but
no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors
224 under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there
136 are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory.
In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also
live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater
ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more
136 southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes 775
around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded 782
that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so
that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others
think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with
all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family ac- 778
cording to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives him- 756
self and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of
his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen
to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe
that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then
they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the
people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol,
and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says
that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe
the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the 776
deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities 778
and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved
them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it
into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power
consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful
game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 per- [16]
sons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been 13
indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in
on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas
Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain
which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered
with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they
are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction per- 137
poses, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burn- [15]
ing, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco,
thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies 133
and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from
San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna.
There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the 312
gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two,
three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts [illegible]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

ENGLISH.	ARMENIANS, OR TEHUELCHE.
192. Will you come out hunting? (Lit. Come out hunting, tell me.)	Hawe soukoumakaw kimmeth ye
The people are fighting	Tawwishk chouk
How many are killed?	Khishishkawwa yoouck
Where are you going?	Kitch nin chouge
Cook some meat; I am hungry	Shwish pippar wannai yoohkh ye
I understand Indian	Ouhen Khishmoohe
I like your wife	Ke yehemkin yaher
What do you want?	Kakawwa kaye?
It rains much to-day	Chishke oouh qua tawe
We are going to see many people	Wishkawye oouh chouk
We are going to see another country	Wishkawye kaick yawwain
Come here quickly	Goooooo kawet wilka
What do you buy	Kat, in mall

APPENDIX B.

Stature of remarkable Patagonians in the History of the Patagonians.

	A.D.		
● 191	1520.	*Pigafetta*	The least, taller than the tallest men in Castile.
	1578.	*Drake*	Not taller than some Englishmen.
	1591.	*Knyvet*	Fifteen or sixteen spans high.
	1593.	*Van Noort*	Natives of tall stature.
	1615.	*Schouten*	Women six-footers 10 or 11 feet long.
	1669.	*Narborough*	Mr. Wood was taller than any of them.
	1720.	*Falkner*	A sculpture 7 feet and some inches high.
	1741.	*Byron*	A chief almost 7 feet high, and few of the others shorter.
	1748.	*Wallis*	Measured some of the tallest; one was 6 feet 7 inches, several 6 feet 3 inches; the average height was between 5 feet 10 inches and 6 feet.
	1751.	*Thomas*	Generally 6 feet high.
	1766.	*Bougainville*	Some found very exceeding 5 feet 11 inches; average height 5 feet 4 inches.
	1833.	*Fitzroy and Darwin*	Tallest average of any people; average height 6 feet, some taller and a few shorter.
	1867-8.	*Cunningham*	Nearly four chiefs 6 feet 11 inches in height, and others exceeding 6 feet by a few inches. One measured 6 feet 10 inches.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The climate is severe. The Rio Negro forms the northern boundary, and nearly the whole country is south of the parallel of 40° south latitude. At the time of my capture, which was in the month of May, the weather corresponded to that of November in the New England States. Its chilliness, however, was greatly increased by the bleak winds of that exposed locality. Along the Straits of Magellan the weather is also exceedingly changeable. Sudden and severe squalls, often amounting almost to a hurricane, vex the navigation of the straits, and sweep over the coast with fearful fury.

The habits of the Patagonians, or at least of the tribe among whom I was cast, are migratory, wandering over the country in quest of game, or as their caprice may prompt them. They subsist altogether on the flesh of animals and birds. The guanaco furnishes most of their food, and all their clothing. A mantle of skins, sewed with the sinews of the ostrich, fitting closely about the neck and extending below the knee, is their only article of dress, except in the mildest weather, when a kind of shoe, made of the hind hoof and a portion of the skin above it, serves to protect their inferior extremities.

In person they are large; on first sight, they appear absolutely gigantic. They are taller than any other race I have seen, though it is impossible to give any accurate description. The only standard of measurement I had was my own height, which is about five feet ten inches. I could stand very easily under the arms of many of them, and all the men were at least a head taller than myself. Their average height, I should think, is nearly six and a half feet, and there were specimens that could have been

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

little less than seven feet high. They have broad shoulders full and well-developed chests, frames muscular and finely proportioned, the whole figure and air making an impression like that which the first view of the sons of Anak is recorded to have made on the children of Israel. They exhibit enormous strength, whenever they are sufficiently aroused to shake off their constitutional laziness and exert it. They have large heads, high cheek-bones, like the North American Indians, whom they also resemble in their complexion, though it is a shade or two darker. Their foreheads are broad, but low, the hair covering them nearly to the eyes; eyes full, generally black, or of a dark brown, and brilliant, though expressive of but little intelligence. Thick, coarse, and stiff hair protects the head, its abundance making any artificial covering superfluous. It is worn long, generally divided at the neck, so as to hang in two folds over the shoulders and back, but is sometimes bound above the temples, by a fillet, over which it flows in ample luxuriance. Like more civilized people, the Patagonian take great pride in the proper disposition and effective display of their hair. Their teeth are really beautiful, sound and white, — about the only attractive and enviable feature of their persons. Feet and hands are large, but not disproportionate to their total bulk. They have deep, heavy voices, and speak in guttural tones, — the worst guttural I ever heard, — with a muttering, indistinct articulation, much as if their mouths were filled with hot pudding. Their countenances are generally stupid, but, on closer inspection, there is a gleam of low cunning that flashes through this dull mask, and is increasingly discernible on acquaintance with them; when excited, or engaged in any

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

tolerably good order, to receive the present. There were undoubtedly some very tall men amongst them, but what struck me particularly was their splendid development of chest and arms. Although the wind was very sharp, many of them had their mantles thrown back in a careless way, leaving their naked chests exposed in the air, and appeared not the least incommoded. They readily recognised me for an Englishman, coming and examining me closely, and asking for tobacco with a broad grin on their faces, exposing a wonderfully clean and regular set of teeth. My gratifying their importunate requests for tobacco made Sam very jealous, and for some time he bothered me with remarks such as 'Me very cold, no got poncho,' 'Me no got knife, me no got "pellon"' (saddle-cloth), until, finding it useless to beg, he relapsed into sullen silence. A smoke of the pipe, however, brought him back to his usual cheerful temper, and as we galloped along he chanted an Indian song, which consisted of the words 'Ah ge lay loo, Ah ge lay loo,' expressed in various keys.

After a ride of some leagues in a rather more open but still undulating country, a break in the Pampas was reached. Hills of irregular and picturesque outlines, with labyrinthine valleys or ravines, not running in parallel order, but communicating with each other, occupied an extensive district, and though travelling was considerably more difficult, yet the change in the aspect of nature was grateful after the barren monotony of the plains.

We halted in an Indian encampment, situated in a valley underneath a peaked hill called 'Otiti,' where there were pools of fresh and salt water in close proximity. Amongst the incense and thorn bushes, which grow at intervals in these regions, we passed to-day another description of shrub with a thick rough bark, which is readily detached, and leaves a long rattail-like sort of twig. From the Rio Gallegos the soil had become generally of a yellower colour than on the south side of that river, although in the valleys and hollows

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Musters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

CHAPTER V.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TEHUELCHES.

Patagonian Giants—A Long Walk—Strength and Good Humour—Heads of Hair—Tehuelche Coquettes—Dress of Men and Women—Ornaments and Cosmetics—Toilette and Bath—Arms and Implements—Ancient Bolas and Arrows—Saddles and Bridles—Silversmiths—Manufacture of Mantles—Women's Work—Diet and Cookery—Smoking—Card Playing—Game of Ball—Ceremonies at Birth—Childhood—Marriage—Funeral Rites—Religion—Demons and Doctors—Witchcraft and Omens—Medical Skill—Population and Politics—Etiquette—Tehuelche Character—Natural Affection—Advice to Travellers.

142 THE first question asked about the Patagonians by curious English friends has invariably had reference to their traditionary stature. Are they giants or not? Whether the ancestors of the Tehuelches—to whom alone, by the way, the name Patagonians properly applies—were taller than the present race is uncertain; though tales of gigantic skeletons found in Tehuelche graves are current in Punta Arenas and Santa Cruz. The average height of the Tehuelche male members of the party with which I travelled was rather over than under five feet ten inches.* Of course no other means of measurement besides comparing my own height were available; but this result, noted at the time, coincides with that independently arrived at by Mr. Cunningham. Two others, who were measured carefully by Mr. Clarke, stood six feet four inches each. After joining the Northern

* *Vide* Appendix B.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Tehuelches, although the Southerners proved generally to be the tallest, I found no reason to alter this average, as any smaller men that were met with in their company were not pure Tehuelches, but half-bred Pampas. The extraordinary muscular development of the arms and chest is in all particularly striking, and as a rule they are well-proportioned throughout. This fact calls for especial mention, as others have stated that the development and strength of the legs is inferior to that of the arms. Even Mr. Cunningham alleges this to be the case, but I cannot at all agree with him. Besides the frequent opportunities afforded me of scrutinising the young men engaged in the game of ball, in which great strength and activity are displayed, or when enjoying the almost daily bath and swimming or diving, I judged of the muscular size of their legs by trying on their boots, which, in nearly all cases, were far too large for me, although the feet, on the other hand, were frequently smaller than mine. The height of their insteps is also worthy of remark, one example of which may suffice. Having negotiated an exchange of an excellent pair of high boots, manufactured by Messrs. Thomas, for some necessary article, with a Tehuelche, the bargain fell through because he was unable to get his foot into the boot, the high arched instep proving an insuperable obstacle to further progress.

An instance of the walking powers of the Tehuelches came under my particular notice. On my first arrival at Santa Cruz, it will be remembered that the schooner was lying in the mouth of the river waiting for a fair wind. Two Tehuelches, named Tchang and Getchkook, had embarked in order to proceed to the Rio Negro, but their patience becoming exhausted by the delay, they asked to be put ashore, and walked back to the settlement—a distance of over forty miles—in about twelve hours, without food. I saw them on their arrival, and they did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been 'a long walk.' Their powers of abstaining from food are also very re-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

markable. When the disturbances and fighting were going on they rarely ate anything: also when travelling as 'chasquis,' or messengers, they will not unfrequently go for two and even three days without tasting food. In our expedition into the Cordillera we remained over forty-eight hours without food except wild fruit, and, although I at first suffered from hunger, my companions did not appear to be in any way inconvenienced. As a Chilian deserter remarked on one occasion, it was all very well for them to go on without eating; 'but we can't—we've not so much fat.' Their strength of arm is very great, and the distance to which they can throw the ostrich bola is truly astonishing: thus I have seen Crimè and some others ball an ostrich over seventy yards distant. When cutting wood in the Cordillera with Hinchel, a Chilian deserter and myself had cut a tree through, and, having fastened a lazo to the top branch, were endeavouring to drag it down, but its branches became entangled in another tree, and we could not stir it. Hinchel, seeing our difficulty, came up, and with one well-directed, vigorous tug cleared it from the branches and brought it to the ground.

Mr. Clarke also informed me that when he was ill with fever, and had to be removed from the Almacen to the lower house on the island, on account of the noise made by the drunken Indians, Wáki mounted, and, taking him in his arms, rode down seemingly unencumbered by the burden. Their faces, of course, vary in expression, but are ordinarily bright and good-humoured, though when in the settlement they assume a sober, and even sullen, demeanour. Wáki and Cayuke, two friends of mine, are particularly present to my recollection as having always had a smile on their faces. Their ever-ready laughter displays universally good teeth, which they keep white and clean by chewing 'maki,' a gum which exudes from the incense bush, and is carefully gathered by the women and children. It has a rather pleasant taste, and is a most excellent dentifrice, worthy to rival Odonto or Floriline, and it is used simply as

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

such, and not, as Monsieur Guinnard* says, because their greediness is so great that they must chew something. Their eyes are bright and intelligent, and their noses—though, of course, presenting different types—are as a rule aquiline and well-formed, and devoid of the breadth of nostril proper to the ordinary ideal of savage tribes. The peculiar prominence over the eyebrows has been noticed by all observers, and retreating foreheads, though observable, are exceptional. The thick masses of hair, and the obvious risk, which would deter the most zealous craniologist from endeavouring to measure their heads, must be deemed sufficient excuse for my not being able to state whether they are dolichokephalic or brachykephalic; a point, however, which I confess did not particularly attract my observation; but, for the partial comfort of anthropologists, be it noted that both Chilians and myself interchanged hats with some Tehuelches, especially Orkeke and Hinchel, without finding misfits. The complexion of the men is reddish brown, that is to say when cleansed from paint, and, like an old picture, restored to their pristine tint, which is not quite so deep as to warrant Fitzroy's comparison of it to the colour of a Devon cow.

The scanty natural growth of beard, moustaches, and even eyebrows, is carefully eradicated by means of a pair of silver tweezers, and I was often urged to part with my beard, and undergo this painful operation, but I naturally objected to comply with the request. The men's heads are covered with thick, flowing masses of long hair, of which they take great care, making their wives, or other female relatives, brush it out carefully at least once a day. Very few appeared to have grey hair; though there were a few exceptions, one very old man's hair being of a snowy whiteness, which contrasted strangely with his tawny face. The women have, as far as I could judge, an average height of about five feet six inches: they are very strong in the arms, but seldom walk beyond fetching the supplies of wood and water, all their journeys

* 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 233.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair interwoven with blue beads, the ends being garnished with silver pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the Indians I greatly admired Tchang's daughter for her 'head of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished, which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting her by chance on the following morning returning to the toldo with water, to my great disappointment I found that she had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the reverse of long. The young women are frequently good-looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very coquettish, and as skilled in flirtation as if they had been taught in more civilised society. The fair widow who so nearly *hooked* the Englishman could on occasions appeal as prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkeke's request I led the way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Muster, help me! my horse is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as soon as might be expected, but when old they become most hideous beldames, and the most weird-like witches imagined by Doré would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa, or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

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After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Caingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

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After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'leshu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The third is a branch of the great Araucanian race, which has its head-quarters near Las Manzanas, in or about the same latitude as Valdivia, from which it is about sixty miles distant, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. These may be described as the border race, seldom descending much to the south of the Rio Limay, though they cross the Cordillera to Valdivia and Araucania. 101

Of these three races the Tehuelche or Ahonican will occupy the chief portion of the time at my disposal, which will not admit of giving more than a short sketch of their manners and customs, and a few very brief remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the others.

The traditionary gigantic stature of the Patagonians is naturally, as I have learnt by experience, the first point as to which inquiries are made. Of the two divisions of the race, the southern slightly surpass the northern in height, but not in muscular development. The average height of the southern Tehuelches is rather over five feet ten, but I have seen many six feet, and some attaining six feet four; the great breadth of the chest and the muscular power of the limbs cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one seeing them for the first time, and it is easy to imagine that if such men came down to meet the first Spanish voyagers, they would, especially when seen dressed in their long mantles, appear of gigantic proportions. Some of the women whom I saw were remarkably tall. The wife of the cacique "Orkeke" was very little short of six feet, and possessed a corresponding robust form and strength of muscle, but the average female height did not exceed five feet six. I never remarked the weakness and want of muscular power in the legs attributed to them by some travellers. They are very active and good runners, and, in their games of ball, display great quickness and strength; they almost invariably travel on horseback, but as an illustration of their walking powers I may mention that two of them who volunteered to go to Buenos Ayres in the sealing schooner, after waiting for several days in the mouth of the river for a fair wind grew restless, and finally walked back to the trading station, a distance of between forty and fifty miles, without food, in about fourteen hours, and when they arrived did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been a long walk. 142 ● 481 [526]

They usually have large heads covered with long black hair, dark sparkling eyes, which give a bright intelligent look to their oval faces. Their foreheads are generally good (retreating foreheads being rare) with peculiar prominences over the eyebrows. Their noses are often aquiline, but varying as in other countries, but generally with a marked breadth of nostrils. Their natural complexion is reddish brown, scarcely, however, deserving the 142

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S&4

A 105 pline, and I have seen their assembled forces, each squadron with a captain or leader at its head, manœuvre like disciplined troops. Their language appeared to me to be much softer in sound than that of the Tehuelches, and resembles in some measure the Pampa tongue. The Moluche women are remarkable for their modesty and good looks, one of their chief charms being their beautiful black hair, which is of great length and fine texture, and of which they are justly proud. This race alone resisted the aggressive power of the Peruvian Incas, and a conjecture that some of the fugitives of that Royal race took refuge amongst them, was suggested to my mind by the light complexion of some of their families, and by the occurrence of the name "Manço" as that of a man who was killed during my sojourn in their country, and who, I was told, was the descendant of a great chief. Altogether these Araucanians are a far higher and more cultivated race than the Pampas or Tehuelches. Their numbers in Patagonia proper, viz., south of the Rio Limay, may be estimated at three hundred men, women, and children, which at a rough estimate would give the numbers of the Indians of Patagonia as amounting to about two thousand five hundred.

DISCUSSION.

000 Mr. D'ALMEIDA begged to observe, on the races of Patagonia, that he saw a similarity in some of their customs with those of the Chinese and the eastern races. Painting or daubing the body with the dyes or flour extracted from the leaves or roots of farinaceous plants, was a common practice with the Javanese and the natives of the Malayan seas. They burnt their hair for similar reasons to those assigned by the Patagonians. The offering of the bull's-head was also common among some of the Javanese. Mr. d'Almeida witnessed one of these ceremonies. They call it the "festa Boomie", an offering to earth. As to burning the goods and chattels of the deceased, Herodotus mentions that the Scythians practised this ceremony. Fenimore Cooper described a similar ceremony, he thought, in his "Last of the Mohicans", and it is a subject of a poem by Longfellow. The Chinese, like the Patagonians, also believed in the existence of a good spirit, though they bowed down and burnt candles to the bad spirits, because the latter required more praying to than the former. He made these observations merely to show the similarity of customs prevalent amongst nations and races, though wide apart from each other.

T • 142 Lieut. MUSTERS said that the method of ascertaining an average height of the Patagonians, and also the difference of stature between the northern and southern tribes, was obtained by the author of the paper taking the average of eighteen able-bodied men, in whose company he travelled. Of these, ten were of the northern tribe and eight of the southern, the latter exceeding the others in a 000 small measure in average height. The obsidian and flint articles

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Around camp or at home in the *toldo* men kept this garment in place with their hands, but ahorse they wore a belt and slipped the cloak from the shoulders when they wished to liberate their arms (fig. 3). The women's robes were secured by a belt and by a pin inserted at the throat. From this fact it follows that the specimens here described were males' garments, for none of them exhibit pin marks.

FIG. 1.—Tehuelche Indian, showing cloak. (After Outes and Bruch)

In addition to the cape, Tehuelche men wore a loincloth of hide or of woven material, while the women had a small apron falling to the knees. Both sexes wore tall boots made by stripping off entire the hocks of pumas or horses, which were sewn up at the bottom to form the toe. The women did not remove the hair from their boots, but the men did. In wet weather the Tehuelche covered these *potro* boots with what is described as an overshoe, but this we judge to have been the primitive Tehuelche footgear, corresponding in type to the moccasin of the Ona.[5]

Tehuelche painted robes could have been obtained in almost unlimited numbers until a few years ago, but not many of them have reached museums. The reason for this seems to be due to the fact that they were so common that no one took the trouble to preserve them, while, doubtless for the same reason, only short descriptions of their manufacture are on record. The five specimens on which this study is based were purchased by the writer for the Museum in 1925 at Galliegos in southern Patagonia. Other examples may be seen in the Museo de la Plata, the American Museum of Natural

[5] Lothrop, 1928, pp. 54-55.

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little less than seven feet high. They have broad shoulders full and well-developed chests, frames muscular and finely proportioned, the whole figure and air making an impression like that which the first view of the sons of Anak is recorded to have made on the children of Israel. They exhibit enormous strength, whenever they are sufficiently aroused to shake off their constitutional laziness and exert it. They have large heads, high cheek-bones, like the North American Indians, whom they also resemble in their complexion, though it is a shade or two darker. Their foreheads are broad, but low, the hair covering them nearly to the eyes; eyes full, generally black, or of a dark brown, and brilliant, though expressive of but little intelligence. Thick, coarse, and stiff hair protects the head, its abundance making any artificial covering superfluous. It is worn long, generally divided at the neck, so as to hang in two folds over the shoulders and back, but is sometimes bound above the temples, by a fillet, over which it flows in ample luxuriance. Like more civilized people, the Patagonians take great pride in the proper disposition and effective display of their hair. Their teeth are really beautiful, sound and white, — about the only attractive and enviable feature of their persons. Feet and hands are large, but not disproportionate to their total bulk. They have deep, heavy voices, and speak in guttural tones, — the worst guttural I ever heard, — with a muttering, indistinct articulation, much as if their mouths were filled with hot pudding. Their countenances are generally stupid, but, on closer inspection, there is a gleam of low cunning that flashes through this dull mask, and is increasingly discernible on acquaintance with them; when excited, or engaged in any

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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the eldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook,—if the operation should be dignified with that name, —in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot. They are

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[69] The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall,
142 their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[194] Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating
195 the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not inter-
537 rupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others
[562] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

291 The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six
[53] feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet more unless.—Rowlyst]

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masts from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalaaqua, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [78]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is

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Chiriguano SP10
Chorotí SR8
Mataco SE7
Tobanicha SH3 ●
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ13
Guaraní SM4
Timbira SD6
Araucanians SO4
Fuan SC13
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD6
Aymara SP8
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH8

/For information on genin locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see de Hill et al., 5815 Warne, Category 115, pp. 107-114./

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000 it better on the whole to keep friends for the present. The
648 evening of this quarrel, as a party of three toldos were starting off to go to the Chupat, and Casimiro was desirous of extending his fame to the Welsh settlement, I wrote a letter to the authorities inquiring about some saddles, part of his Argentine rations sent thither by mistake, which the chief declared to have been intended for him, but which had been distributed amongst other Indians. The letter was forwarded
144 by one of the Indians who was supposed to be of English parentage on one side, although he showed but little traces of English blood in his type, with the exception perhaps of his hair, which was of a lighter colour than that usually met with: he was a very good-natured fellow, and I regretted his departure, as he was one of my adherents, but being a man of very sober habits he did not wish to be mixed up in the universal orgie which would probably take place on arriving
000 in the vicinity of Patagones. With this party the young widow, who had made overtures of marriage to me, also departed, after an affectionate farewell, and receiving a handkerchief as a remembrance. The following morning we also started, and one of the universal loafers who had gambled his property away, asking for a mount, was told to catch the 'white horse' presented by Orkeke: he accordingly borrowed a horse to catch him, and at the end of our day's journey had not succeeded in doing more than driving him in, to use a nautical term, in our wake; this was exactly what I had intended, as this Indian was a great rogue, and had cheated me at cards out of a set of metal bolas, equivalent to a horse.
133 Our march lay up the valley, and the circle was formed on the surrounding volcanic hills, the sides of which, besides the vesicular lava, presented large masses of the ironstone noted as having been observed at Santa Cruz. Shrubs were sparsely scattered on these hills, and game was exceedingly scarce.
165 Towards evening we encamped on the borders of a stream
764 in a place called by the Indians Telek. There the sickness broke out afresh in its worst form, and several children died,

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being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair interwoven with blue beads, the ends being garnished with silver pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the Indians I greatly admired Tehang's daughter for her 'head of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished, which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting her by chance on the following morning returning to the toldo with water, to my great disappointment I found that she had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the reverse of long. The young women are frequently good-looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very coquettish, and as skilled in flirtation as if they had been taught in more civilised society. The fair widow who so nearly *hooked* the Englishman could on occasions appeal as prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkeke's request I led the way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Muster, help me! my horse is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as soon as might be expected, but when old they become most hideous beldames, and the most weird-like witches imagined by Doré would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa, or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

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description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, cavy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable.

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind.

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the

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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and *after sitting for some time, apparently* lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Musters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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142 Tehuelches, although the Southerners proved generally to be the tallest, I found no reason to alter this average, as any smaller men that were met with in their company were not pure Tehuelches, but half-bred Pampas. The extraordinary muscular development of the arms and chest is in all particularly striking, and as a rule they are well-proportioned throughout. This fact calls for especial mention, as others have stated that the development and strength of the legs is inferior to that of the arms. Even Mr. Cunningham alleges this to be the case, but I cannot at all agree with him. Besides the frequent opportunities afforded me of scrutinising the young men engaged in the game of ball, in which great strength and activity are displayed, or when enjoying the almost daily bath and swimming or diving, I judged of the muscular size of their legs by trying on their boots, which, in nearly all cases, were far too large for me, although the feet, on the other hand, were frequently smaller than mine. The height of their instep is also worthy of remark, one example of which may suffice. Having negotiated an exchange of an excellent pair of high boots, manufactured by Messrs. Thomas, for some necessary article, with a Tehuelche, the bargain fell through because he was unable to get his foot into the boot, the high arched instep proving an insuperable obstacle to further progress.

481 An instance of the walking powers of the Tehuelches
147 came under my particular notice. On my first arrival at Santa Cruz, it will be remembered that the schooner was lying in the mouth of the river waiting for a fair wind. Two Tehuelches, named Tehang and Getchkook, had embarked in order to proceed to the Rio Negro, but their patience becoming exhausted by the delay, they asked to be put ashore, and walked back to the settlement—a distance of over forty miles—in about twelve hours, without food. I saw them on their arrival, and they did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been 'a long walk.'

261 Their powers of abstaining from food are also very re-

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markable. When the disturbances and fighting were going on they rarely ate anything: also when travelling as 'chasquis,' or messengers, they will not unfrequently go for two and even three days without tasting food. In our expedition into the Cordillera we remained over forty-eight hours without food except wild fruit, and, although I at first suffered from hunger, my companions did not appear to be in any way inconvenienced. As a Chilian deserter remarked on one occasion, it was all very well for them to go on without eating; 'but we can't—we've not so much fat.' Their strength of arm is very great, and the distance to which they can throw the ostrich bola is truly astonishing: thus I have seen Crimè and some others ball an ostrich over seventy yards distant. When cutting wood in the Cordillera with Hinchel, a Chilian deserter and myself had cut a tree through, and, having fastened a lazo to the top branch, were endeavouring to drag it down, but its branches became entangled in another tree, and we could not stir it. Hinchel, seeing our difficulty, came up, and with one well-directed, vigorous tug cleared it from the branches and brought it to the ground.

Mr. Clarke also informed me that when he was ill with fever, and had to be removed from the Almacen to the lower house on the island, on account of the noise made by the drunken Indians, Wáki mounted, and, taking him in his arms, rode down seemingly unencumbered by the burden. Their faces, of course, vary in expression, but are ordinarily bright and good-humoured, though when in the settlement they assume a sober, and even sullen, demeanour. Wáki and Cayuke, two friends of mine, are particularly present to my recollection as having always had a smile on their faces. Their ever-ready laughter displays universally good teeth, which they keep white and clean by chewing 'maki,' a gum which exudes from the incense bush, and is carefully gathered by the women and children. It has a rather pleasant taste, and is a most excellent dentifrice, worthy to rival Odonto or Florilline, and it is used simply as

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133 the N.W. and N. the hills—which almost merited the name of mountains—were peculiarly rugged, more especially towards their summits. About N.N.E. by compass from our camp, there was a pass formed by a dip or break in the range leading north, and through the mouth of the pass we could see the smoke of the hunting parties of the Araucanian Indians, who were, however, many leagues distant. Throughout Patagonia smoke is always visible at a great distance, and the practised eyes of the Indians can distinguish it from the clouds, when ordinary persons would be unable to discern it unless pointed out to them. On the southern and eastern sides of the valley lay a range of hills, the rugged summits of which rose from lower slopes of more regular swell, and presenting more even and down-like surfaces than those on the western and northern sides. Immediately above our encampment the hill of Henno, from which the valley is named, rose from the plain. Near the summit of this hill Orkeke and myself, who for amusement had ridden up to it, one day came across the bleached skeleton of a man, perhaps one of two young Argentines who, as I was subsequently informed, had travelled thus far in company with the Indians, and had been for some—or no—reason killed by them near this spot. In the surrounding hills red porphyry frequently cropped out, and also veins of a red agate, unlike the flint agate so common in all the plains of Patagonia. The rocks near the summit of the hills were generally of igneous formation, and on the slopes of these hills frequent springs gushed out, easily discoverable from a distance by the vivid 361 green of the grass growing round them. As we gazed down from the height of Henno, the valley lay before us like a picture; our few toldos were situated in a group to the east, on the south side of the stream; about a quarter of a mile to the north the thirty or forty toldos of the Northern Indians were pitched, and opposite to them, on the north side of the stream, those of the party commanded by Jaekechan 317 or Juan. The scene was animated but peaceful: here might

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explained to the assembled caciques, the two messengers (sons of caciques) appeared with two horses each, and after receiving some verbal injunctions, started on their journey, amidst the howlings of a few old women and a blast from the cornet. The remainder of us, who had mounted, to add to the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, went out hunting, some following the ravine in an easterly direction, which, penetrating high pampas, opened into a plain containing a lagoon fed by the waters of the brook, whilst others encircled the high pampas above. Hinchel, whom I accompanied on this occasion, pointed out to me several small holes with little mounds of earth and rubbish at the mouth, which he asserted to be the abodes of snakes, but no occupants were visible outside. He described the snakes as dark in colour, about two feet six inches long, and perfectly harmless, adding that they would be good to eat, which facts were subsequently corroborated by Casimiro.

One of the troubles of pampa life is occasionally losing one's horses, as was my case in this place, and I spent one entire day in search before I recovered them, as they had strayed in company with a troop of mares far up the valley, which here divided into two branches, opening into watered grassy plains extending to the Cordillera. As there were horse tracks up both valleys, according to the usual law of contrariety I took the wrong one at first and had a long gallop for nothing. At any time it is troublesome to have to look through about two thousand horses all unmarked, and many of the same colour, and perhaps resembling those belonging to the perplexed searcher. An Indian, however, with his natural quickness of sight, will distinguish his own horses at a great distance amongst a hundred others. It has been already said that in this roving life all must look after their own horses, for Indians do not understand another person doing it for them, unless he be a son or relation, and in all cases when preparing for the march every one is expected to find and bring up his own.

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522 and the information that she was as alive as ever, only her eyes were bad. I could cite many other similar instances of romancing on the part of the Indians. Old Orkeke I never caught out in a direct lie, and he always, when informing me about any subject, added, 'I do not lie.' In anything of importance, however, such as guaranteeing the safety of a person, they were very truthful, as long as faith was kept with them. After a time, when they ascertained that I invariably avoided deviating in any way from the truth, they left off lying to me even in minor matters. This will serve to show that they are not of the treacherous nature assigned to them by some ignorant writers. Nor are they habitually cruel, even to slaves or captives. The Chilian deserters were always well housed and fed, and lent horses to ride; and nothing but their incurably bad dispositions and constant plots brought on them a fate which, in truth, could hardly be thought ill-deserved, whereas the few good ones of the party rose into high favour.

273
152 For my own part, I felt far safer among the Tehuelches, as long as they had no drink or no fights, than I subsequently did in the Rio Negro. Of course when they are drunk their passions become unbridled; they remember old feuds, and at times will fight for mere fighting's sake. It is not necessary, however, to go so far as Patagonia to observe this. The
573
152 finest trait, perhaps, in their character is their love for their wives and children; matrimonial disputes are rare, and wife-beating unknown; and the intense grief with which the loss of a wife is mourned is certainly not 'civilised,' for the widower will destroy all his stock and leave all his possessions: thus Pelkki, before the death of his wife, was a wealthy Indian; but when I knew him he was poor and reckless, having destroyed all his property, and taken to gambling and drinking in despair at his loss. Casimiro even declared that his son Sam—whom I certainly should not have suspected of disinterested affection for any human being—had ruined himself, and become careless of his life, after his wife's death.

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The children are indulged in every way, ride the best horses, and are not corrected for any misbehaviour. I was always astonished that the youths and young men did not grow up more headstrong and wilful, as a result of want of training. People who have no children of their own sometimes adopt a little dog, on which they lavish their affections, and bestow horses and other valuables, which are destroyed in case of the owner's death. §55 152

It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the missionaries should have been so unsuccessful in their efforts to teach these children of nature to read and write, for they are naturally very intelligent (though of course there are exceptions). As a proof of their quickness in imitations, with very little trouble I taught Hinchel's son to write his father's name and those of two other Indians in a very short time. I also used to draw ships on a board with a piece of charcoal for the children's amusement, and they readily copied them. Hinchel himself, wishing to explain a part of the course of the Rio Negro, drew out a rough chart on the board, shewing the bends of the river, which I afterwards found to be perfectly correct. §53

Whilst in their native wilds, I observed little immorality amongst the Indians; in the settlements, however, when debased by intoxication, they are, no doubt, depraved and brute in their ideas. But it must be recorded that, on the entry of the Indians into the settlements of the Rio Negro, at a subsequent period, most of the young women and girls were left with the tribes in Patchilin, outside the Travesia, to be out of the way of temptations. There are many Tehuelche youths now growing up who have the greatest abhorrence of liquor; and I hope that in time this abstinence will spread further among them, for they possess no intoxicants of their own, and the rum is an import from the Christians, the ill effects of which they are well able to discern. 273

One word of advice to the future traveller may conclude this imperfect sketch. Never show distrust of the Indians; §56

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had been further diminished by several deaths. One of this 45
day's victims to the epidemic being Algo, Tankslow's youngest daughter, the father was in great distress and anger, as he attributed the death not to the distemper, but to [76]
witchcraft.

The warm and tolerably fine weather experienced since 52
our departure from Telsk had been succeeded by a heavy, murky, still atmosphere, and the clouded sky promised a downfall of rain, which speedily came. The next day more 45
children and the old deaf and dumb woman died; over her little mean was made, but the lamentations over the children were terrible to hear, and on all sides mares were slaughtered. The abundance of meat, and the general confusion, combined with the rain to defeat Casimiro's anxious desire to proceed. The accumulation of miseries had ren- 52
dered all the Indians gloomy and ill-humoured; and since our departure from Geylum we had had ample experience of the wretched side of Pampa life.

This district is always dreaded by the Indians, who assert 44
that they invariably are attacked by a similar sickness when in it, notwithstanding that some considered it to have been occasioned by poison or deleterious drugs administered by our late neighbours. The marches had therefore been forced and prolonged, and the increased fatigue had doubtless aided the distemper in its fatal effects. Nearly half the children 45
and several of the older people died during our progress to Margonzho, and the utter misery and discomfort cannot be described. The rain had continually drenched us; the 52
women, distracted with their endeavours to soothe the sick children, and their grief over the dead, could not attend to their domestic duties; our mantles were unmended, and proved but a poor shelter from the rain, no small misery in this climate, and the arrangements of the toldos were utterly devoid of their customary care and comfort. The usual good temper and cheerfulness of all had fled, and grief, sickness, and angry suspicion cast a gloom over every countenance,

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152 One misery, starvation, had certainly been avoided by the abundance of horse-flesh, but it can easily be imagined that we could have borne hunger better. We had endured cold, and hunger, and fatigue, as well as danger, before, but nothing has left so indelible an impression of a thoroughly bad time as that march from Geyhun to Margenabo.

157 At last Casimiro issued orders to march, and with two or three more of us started in advance. While waiting under the shelter of a mass of rocks for the remainder to overtake us, I fell asleep, and on waking up found the rain pouring down in torrents, and the chief just directing Meña to return and see what the women were about. Our page arrived a little later to say that the Indians had refused to march, the occupants of our toldo alone being on their way to join us: these soon appeared, so we proceeded in the storm, having agreed that to return, after having once started, would be an ignominious proceeding.

133 We followed for some distance the valley, or rather the plain, into which it had opened out, and then ascended some abrupt rocky heights at its eastern extremity; crossing these hills, in the valleys or ravines of which incense bushes grew almost like a forest, we halted for a time by the side of a rivulet flowing from a spring on the hill side.

137 After kindling a fire to warm our bodies, wet as we were
132 and chilled by the wind, which, originally west, now blew from the south with cutting violence, the sight of numerous guanaco on the heights above determined us to encircle a herd; we accordingly mounted the heights, and having completely failed in our attempt, descended to the other side. A large lagoon lay at our feet, and away to the east a succession of plains extended to the encampment called Margenabo.

139 These plains were bounded for a short distance on the north side by a range of hills, which came to an abrupt termination at the end of the lagoon, on the south side by another range gradually sloping to the eastward, and on the

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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Musters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the missionaries should have been so unsuccessful in their efforts to teach these children of nature to read and write, for they are naturally very intelligent (though of course there are exceptions). As a proof of their quickness in imitations, with very little trouble I taught Hinchel's son to write his father's name and those of two other Indians in a very short time. I also used to draw ships on a board with a piece of charcoal for the children's amusement, and they readily copied them. Hinchel himself, wishing to explain a part of the course of the Rio Negro, drew out a rough chart on the board, showing the bends of the river, which I afterwards found to be perfectly correct.

Whilst in their native wilds, I observed little immorality amongst the Indians; in the settlements, however, when debased by intoxication, they are, no doubt, depraved and loose in their ideas. But it must be recorded that, on the entry of the Indians into the settlements of the Rio Negro, at a subsequent period, most of the young women and girls were left with the toldos in Valchita, outside the Travesia, to be out of the way of temptations. There are many Tehuelche youths now growing up who have the greatest abhorrence of liquor; and I hope that in time this abstinence will spread further among them, for they possess no intoxicants of their own, and the rum is an import from the Christians, the ill effects of which they are well able to discern.

One word of advice to the future traveller may conclude this imperfect sketch. Never show distrust of the Indians;

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 542
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [557]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1793
Antonio de Viedma [81]

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was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Checoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Chocoeque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Chocoeque, and of *Linares*, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Chocoeque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.

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plaited. Of this leather we also make serviceable bridles, lazos, stirrup-leathers, and, in fact, horse-gear generally. Sometimes we would have a fit of making pipes, and all hands would be busy sawing out wood or hard at work boring the bowls; at others, spurs were the rage, made by the simple Indian method of sticking sharpened nails into two pieces of wood, secured together by thongs fastened under the foot and round the leg; or again, we would work silver, and come out with our knife-sheaths glittering with studs. On non-hunting days, I invariably practised the use of the bolas, and caught almost every shrub on the island.

The evenings were passed in playing the American game of brag. Cash being unknown, and no one being disposed to risk the loss of his gear, the stakes were simply so many black beans to a box of matches; and as much excitement prevailed as if each bean or perota had been a five-dollar piece.

Both in our hunting parties and in the house which he had been allowed to occupy, though he occasionally visited the camp on the Chico, I sedulously cultivated the acquaintance of Casimiro. Both the missionaries and Her Majesty's surveyors have made frequent, and often by no means honourable, mention of this Indian, who has always evinced a wish to conciliate the friendship of the English visitors to Patagonia. His history, as I learned it from himself, was a very curious one, and aptly illustrates the conflicting claims of Chilians and Argentines, and the confused politics of the Indians themselves, his father having been killed in an engagement with the Araucanian or Manzaneros Indians. His mother was a Tehuelche; being an inveterate drunkard, whilst visiting the settlements of Rio Negro she bartered the child for a cask of rum to the governor of the fort, a Frenchman named Viba, who was connected with the slave-trade, for at that period Indians seem to have been made slaves of as well as blacks. Viba had Casimiro christened—whence his name Casimiro Viba—and brought up at the Estancia, or

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sheep-farm, where he learnt to speak Spanish fluently. When thirteen years old he ran away and rejoined the Tehuelches Indians, with whom he remained in obscurity for some years, until being in the Southern district, near the Chilian colony of Port Famine, he gained the friendship of [12] one Santorin, a native of Patagones, who had been taken captive by the Indians, but having adopted their manners and customs, and marrying one of the tribe, had risen to the position of a chief. Together these two performed a voyage to Chili, to negotiate with the Government in some matters regarding the protection of Port Famine from Indian raids. Santorin died during the voyage, but Casimiro was well received at Santiago by the then President, Señor Bulnés,* loaded with honours, and given the rank, pay, and rations of a captain in the army. He then returned to Port Famine, where he resided, off and on, for some time. By his own account, he was absent on a hunting excursion when the [13] massacre took place which resulted in the destruction of the colony. The old wandering habits appeared to have taken possession of him, for he subsequently returned to the Rio Negro, and having entered the service of the Buenos Ayrean Government, again proceeded to the South. During this [14] time he resided occasionally with the missionaries, during their journeys to the South, and at their station at Santa Cruz, and entrusted to them his two sons for the purpose of education. The missionaries soon discovered that his objects were purely selfish, and that he had no idea of allowing others to participate in the advantages they could offer; and I am afraid that the labour and cost bestowed on the boys were thrown away, as neither of them appeared to have profited much by their classes. Sam, indeed, could still sing a hymn if there were grog to the fire, and had a lively recollection of material advantages, often saying, 'He was good man, give me gun,' &c. But the youngest 'Graviel,' who also understood a little English, was one of the laziest of the

* Casimiro gave the name as 'Bourne.'

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lazy, and had very undefined notions as to *meum* and *tuum*, as personal experience taught me. 159

In 1865 Casimiro made a voyage to Buenos Ayres, where the Government on this occasion recognised him as head chief of the Tehuelches, and assigned him the rank and pay of lieutenant-colonel in the Argentine army. He was then despatched, in company with an Argentine named Mendoza, to form a settlement at Gregorio Bay. They travelled by land as far as Santa Cruz at which place Mendoza disappeared, being supposed to have lost himself, but in reality having been killed by an Indian, jealousy being, I believe, the cause of the murder. With his right-hand man gone, Casimiro abandoned himself, to drinking, a habit which, as Mr. Cunningham mentions, he had before acquired—perhaps by hereditary development—and ultimately became reduced to the state of poverty in which I found him, owning but two horses for himself, his wife, daughter, and son, with hardly any gear. Indeed, he would have been reduced to great straits but for the kindness of Don Luiz and Mr. Clarke, who, for old acquaintance sake, helped him as much as possible; though his habitual drunkenness made it useless to give him anything valuable whilst there was liquor to be had, as he would exchange anything for drink. As it was my object to have a friend in camp, I made friends with him, and tried to induce him to go north to the Rio Negro, which he at length agreed to do, although he was in great fear of getting into trouble about the loss or death of Mendoza. This man when sober was quick and intelligent, and a shrewd politician. His extensive connections by marriage with all the chiefs, including Rouke and Calfcurá, gave him considerable influence. He was also an expert worker in various Indian arts, such as making saddles, pipes, spurs, lazos, and other gear. He was a powerfully built man, standing fully six feet in his potro boots, with a not unpleasing expression of face, although he had a scar or two which did not add to his beauty. Of his personal

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159 bravery ample proof will afterwards be given; but, like all drunkards, he was uncertain and not to be depended on. This veritable old Blue Beard informed me that he had been married six times; certainly, if all his wives were of the appearance and disposition of his last venture, it is not to be wondered at if he disposed of the former ones; for an uglier, dirtier, more contumacious old hag had never burdened the earth with her weight, owing probably to which latter quality, or quantity, she never, if she could possibly help it, quitted her room. Early in June, an Indian, known in Santa Cruz as El Sourdo, or the left-handed man, came [595] across the river and pitched his toldo on the island. He was the husband of two wives, who lived together in perfect felicity and took care of one another's children. This Indian [322 325] was, as most of them are, very ingenious in working wood and silver, and was a good addition to our hunting parties; he also quickly learned to play at brag. Casimiro would never descend from his lofty pinnacle of self-importance so far as to enter the kitchen when the general revels were held, but occasionally joined Mr. Clarke and myself at supper and sat telling stories for an hour or two.

[illegible] The sketch of our life at Pabon would be very incomplete without asking the reader to accompany us on a hunting excursion; so I will describe one which took place after El Sourdo had arrived on the island. Game had become very scarce in our immediate vicinity, and our only farinaceous food was black beans varied by maize, which was too troublesome in the preparation to be much used. The meat went wonderfully quickly, so we determined to extend the sphere of the hunting a little more afield. Accordingly, one fine frosty morning at daylight, the horses were brought up, caught, and saddled, mantles and spurs donned, and eight of us, including the two Indians, Casimiro and El Sourdo, set off to make a circle, *i.e.*, enclose and drive an area of land on the southern shore of the river, finishing at the Missionaries'

A similar division into northernmost and southernmost is recorded consistently in our 18th century sources (D'Orbigny, 1839-47, 1: 68; Cox, 1868, p. 140; Hudson, 1872, p. 70; Lista, 1879 a, p. 75, 1879 b, p. 74; Spegazzini, 1880, p. 290). According to Lehmann-Nitsche (1908, p. 220), the northern and southern Tehuelche were called by the southernmost *Pâ'kokin's* and *Aónikin's* respectively.

In the 19th century the two divisions spoke dialects differing as widely that members of one division could only with difficulty, if at all, understand those of the other (Musters Lubrecht, 1888, p. 80; Barrère, 1890-98, 1: 230). According to our more recent sources from Cox on, dialectic differentiation, though not predictable, was less marked. There was also a third dialect, *Tô'wokin* (Tôwuh, Tôkuuh, Tôkuukun, Tôwunun, Tôkuukinnik, Tôwuhnun, Tô-wuhnun). This dialect, according to Cox, was spoken long ago, and in 1868 was still spoken by some of the oldest Tehuelche in addition to the usual Tehuelche language (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1910, p. 888; Cox, 1868, p. 140; cf. Musters and Falkner, in Cox, 1868 a, pp. 233-274). In 1901 the *Tô'wokin* dialect was still spoken by other men, but was not understood by the younger Tehuelche-speaking generation (Thomasset, C., 1901, p. 888). Tehuelche with its dialects constitutes, together with Ona and its own dialects, the Independent (Non Ergative) family.

Since the middle of the 18th century, the northern boundary of the Tehuelche has gently consistently been put at or around the Río Negro (Musters Lubrecht, 1888, p. 80; Cordini, 1880, pp. 145-146; Barrère, 1890-98, 1: 230; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 70; D'Orbigny, 1839-47, 1: 68; 222, words in *Aº* & Int.; Spegazzini, 1880, p. 290; Cox, 1868, p. 202; Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908, p. 220). To be more exact, the territory of the Tehuelche in historic times appears to have extended over the whole of Patagonia from the Río Negro and its affluent, the Río Limay, to the Strait of Magellan and the isthmus connecting Brunswick Peninsula with the continent. In the middle 18th century, the Tehuelche may have extended on the Atlantic side, at least as coastal occupants, a little further north than the Río Negro, to the Río Colorado, to judge from the reports of Cordini (1780, p. 270) and Viedma Lobrecht (1888, p. 80). In the second half of the 19th century, Araucanian-speaking peoples extended from the Andean piedmont across the lower south of Lake Nahuel-Huapí and the Río Limay. (Musters, 1871, over-1872, p. 180; cf. Cox, 1868, pp. 94, 204, and La Verde, 1880, map and gazetteer.)

The dividing line between the bands and foot Tehuelche on the Atlantic side in the middle 17th century was about 200 leagues south and east of the Río Negro (Cordini, 1880, p. 45). The dividing line between the great northern and southern bodies in the second half of the 19th century was the Río Chubut according to Cox (1868, p. 140) and Lista (1879 a, p. 75; cf. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1910, p. 220), the Río Santa Cruz according to Barrère (1890, p. 230; cf. Spegazzini, 1880, p. 290).

Tehuelche population.—Population data on the Tehuelche are very sparse indeed. As regards particular groups of the Tehuelche, Barrère (1890, 1: 231) estimated at 1,000 the number of Indians at Port San Julian in 1780; Musters (1868, p. 80), at about 1,000 the band with whom he travelled in 1869. As regards the whole Tehuelche tribe, the estimates in our records are the following: Viedma (1837 b, p. 70), 4,000 souls, in 1780-90; Musters (1872, p. 222), less than 4,000 souls in four years, in about 1870; D'Orbigny (1839-47, 1: 67; c. 222), 4,000 or 5,000 souls, in 1830; Pelleschi (1880, 1: 181), four groups of about 400 adults each, with a rather large proportion of children, and with women outnumbering men three to one, in 1880; Cox (1868, p. 202), about 1,000 souls, in 1868-69; Hudson (1872, p. 70), 2,000 to 30,000 souls, in 1870; Cox (1868, p. 140), about 4,000 souls, in

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[illegible]

Detailed data on the Tehuelche are given by Balmer [illegible] for the Tehuelche then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: [illegible] women, 17 boys, 13 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about [illegible] of the rest were full-blooded Tehuelche. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of Tehuelche surviving today [illegible].

In 1939 the population had become reduced by one-half since the aboriginal epidemic of 1909-12, according to D'Orbigny [illegible]. Bergantiño [illegible] pp. [illegible] attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Wiches, aboriginal, and alcohol. Balmer [illegible] called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time [illegible] among the reserve Tehuelche, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, bread, and mercaderías, had been largely responsible.

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Cauchuc*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Pega*.

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Tauma-cuenca* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Tauma* recipes, Tauma, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. [illegible]; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. [illegible], cf. pp. [illegible]). King [illegible] in 1837-39 saw a Fuegian [illegible] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan [illegible], who spent about [illegible] months with the *Tehuelche* in [illegible], very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner [illegible] found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, [illegible], pp. [illegible]). Spears [illegible] also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded [illegible] the presence of Fuegians [illegible] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable population of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries.

Moreno [illegible] referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche*; Dumont d'Urville earlier [illegible], of *Alacaluf* children. The *Huaiquiri* mentioned by Coa [illegible]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

But to convey a clear understanding of the relations between the tribes which will be mentioned in the ensuing pages, it is as well here briefly to distinguish them. In the various maps and accounts of Patagonia extant, numerous tribes, with different names, are marked and recorded. These accounts, so far as my observations enable me to judge, have arisen from the custom of parties of the tribe combining to travel or fight under the leadership of a particular chief, and being described by themselves, when met with, by his name. I have been enabled to recognise thus the Moluches, who were so called from Maloehoe, a hereditary chief of that name; and the celebrated chief Lenketreu united under the leadership men of several tribes, and is said to have commanded 1,500 men in his great raid on the Rio Negro settlements. There are now between the Rio Negro and the Straits about 800 fighting men, giving at a rough estimate a population of about 3,000. The Tehuelches, or Patagonians proper, exclusive of the Foot Indians of Tierra del Fuego—who are distinct, though they may be of the same original stock—are divided into two great tribes, the Northern and Southern. They speak the same language, but are distinguishable by difference of accent, and the Southern men appear to be, on an average, taller and finer men, and are more expert hunters with the bolas. The Northern range chiefly over the district between the Cordillera and the sea; from the Rio Negro on the north to the Chupat, occasionally descending as far as the Santa Cruz River. The Southern occupy the country south of the Santa Cruz, and migrate as far as Punta Arena. The two divisions, however, are much intermixed and frequently intermarry; always, notwithstanding, preserving their clannish division, and taking opposite sides in the frequent quarrels. Our party was composed in almost equal parts of both Northern and Southern, and one inmate of our toldo was a Southern named Hammamm, a brother of Mrs. Orkeke. From the Rio Negro as far as the Chupat, another tribe, speaking a different language, is met

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all 278
doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a poro
boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg.

Inquirers into the Tzoneca language are referred to the 97
vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most
distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa
or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I
could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted
with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work,
which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded
to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the
hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being
Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by
him.

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the 61
pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia
does not exceed 1,800 men, women, and children, according
to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when
the union of all the various parties, combined during my
journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them
with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern
and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given,
are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders.
Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the named parties,
combined by custom or often by chance. The population is
steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease
and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of ex-
tirpation of this race.

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood 421
that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head 422
cacique, such as Calfucura, or any other, though they may
agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are
they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politi-
cally united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their
natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas
of 'one man being as good as another.' Casimiro's dying

3: Masters T-S (1869-1870) 1872
SI65 Tehuelche SI65
Fuegia SI 10

and sometimes his whole family, are destroyed. Casimiro, an enlightened Indian, for some time under the auspices of the missionaries at Santa Cruz, informed me that when his mother, or one of his wives—I forget which—died, he sent and had a woman killed who had caused the death by witchcraft.

Any instrument, the use of which is not understood, is looked upon as having some connection with witchcraft. For instance, a watch, which they look upon as bringing luck at play; my compass also was in frequent request, and a locket I wore round my neck was supposed to be a talisman securing the wearer from death.

I have not touched upon the language of the Tehuelches, but shall be happy to answer questions as to any words of common use amongst these people, and hope at a future time to publish a partial vocabulary of their language compiled during my residence amongst them.

From the data I was enabled to acquire I should estimate the numerical strength of their population at seventy fighting men of the south, and about two hundred of the northern, making with women and children a total of about 1,000.

Pampas.—North of the Senguel river, a tributary of the Chupat, in latitude 44 deg. south, and about thirty miles from the Cordillera, we joined company with a party of the Pampa or Puelch Indians already alluded to. It is impossible now to do more than mention the chief characteristic differences which, besides that of language, mark them out as a distinct race from the Tehuelches. Their stature and proportions are smaller, their countenances are inferior in intelligent expression. The women, however, who seem to have appropriated the marks of the not infrequent admixture of Spanish blood, are, as a rule, better-looking than the Tehues of the Tehuelches; the men when mounted on horseback are armed with peculiar long light lances, the shafts of which are made from a cane resembling bamboo found in the Cordillera. As to their religion I have reason to believe that they are worshippers of the sun; they however practise similar rites to those already described for propitiating the evil spirit, who is known by the same name. One custom not practised amongst the Tehuelches is a ceremony the Pampas perform before drinking intoxicating liquor. Four lances are pitched in the ground, round which the chiefs walk, each carrying a pouch containing a little liquor which they sprinkle partly on the lances and partly on the ground, muttering incantations all the time. These Pampa Indians I believe to have been the race armed with bows and arrows met with and described by the early navigators, and to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Negro, where great quantities of flint arrow-heads and

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehueiche SH5

The Abidian and flint articles were confined to scrapers used by the women for cleansing skins, and flints for obtaining fire. There were no traditions regarding the migrations of tribes extant amongst the Indians. It was impossible to obtain information of their forefathers from the Indians. The disposition of the Tehueiches was, when not excited by drink or warfare, cheerful and good-humoured. They treated Lieut. Musters with great kindness. They were particularly fond of their children. During the author's visit and travels in the country, all the tribes were mustered for political purposes: being on the staff of the head chief, he took notes of the numbers of each tribe: from these data he made his calculations, allowing four women and children to each able-bodied man. The numbers are probably slightly under than over the mark.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above: viz., Mr. J. J. Monteiro, Col. Lane Fox, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Wade, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Wahr, Mr. H. Howorth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

S: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

pounded weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor 'even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie. If the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, tobisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Ozma. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is probable that these parts are

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164 MORBIDITY--incidence, nature, and distribution of various diseases and accidents (e.g., by location, season, sex, age, occupation); occurrence of epidemics; evidence of immunity or susceptibility to diseases; dental ailments; etc.
See also:

Morbidity as a social problem	73	Malnutrition and dietary deficiencies . . .	146
Theory and treatment of disease	75	Incidence of neuroses and psychoses	150
Care of infants and children	85	Public health	766

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Ona SH4
Alacaluf SH2

1869–83; Musters (1871, p. 184; 1872, p. 204), not over 1,800 souls, about 1,400, in 1869–70; Berg (1873, p. 371), 200 [2,000–?] souls, in 1874; Lista (1879 a, p. 75), about 500 warriors, 2,000 to 3,000 souls, in 1878–79; Roncagli (1884, p. 760), 300 [warriors–?], in 1882; Spears (1895, p. 129), perhaps about 200 souls, in 1894, according to gaucho informants; Hatcher (1903, p. 262), doubtful if over 500 left, in 1896–99; Borgatello (1924, p. 134), at most 1,800 to 1,900 souls. Of the foregoing writers, probably Viedma, Muñiz, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Borgatello were best situated to learn the facts.

Detailed data on the *Tehuelche* are given by Reiher (1920, p. 115) as of 1913–14, for the *Tehuelche* then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: 35 men, 40 women, 17 boys, 13 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about 80 of the rest were full-blooded *Tehuelche*. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of *Tehuelche* surviving today (1948).

In 1920 the population had become reduced by one-half since the smallpox epidemic of 1909–12, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97). Borgatello (1924, pp. 133–136) attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Whites, smallpox, and alcohol. Reiher (1920, p. 115) called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time (1913–14) among the reserve *Tehuelche*, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, biscuit, and marmalade, had been largely responsible.

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Caucahue*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Poya*.

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Yacana-cunnass* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Yacana* cacique, Tamu, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. 91–93, 111; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. 86, cf. pp. 195–196). King (1839, 1: 104, 113) in 1827–28 saw a Fuegian [*Ona?*] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan (1880, pp. 103, 127, 171), who spent about 2½ months with the *Tehuelche* in 1833–34, very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner (1852, pp. 21–24) found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, pp. 31, 33, 35, 40). Spears (1896, p. 129) also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded (1884, pp. 233, 235, 237) the presence of Fuegians [*Ona?*] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable migration of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries.

Moreno (1879, p. 378) referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche*; Dumont d'Urville earlier (1842, 1: 51, 156, 265–266), of *Alacaluf* children. The *Huaicurú* mentioned by Cox (1863, p. 165)

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T 619 with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penek,' whence I believe the name Puhuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province A 101 of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep 231 cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes A till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit 273 Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable T cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the bean 273 of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their 439 stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trad 164 at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

800 We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Aries arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

tracks of many horses, but his known character as an incorrigible liar made his statement valueless. Still everybody became at last convinced that the Northern Indians were at war with the Araucanos, and consequently preparations to fight were commenced. After a watchful night, all fires out, and silence strictly observed, all armed, and mounting their best horses, sallied out. After a while the cause of the whole disturbance turned out to be Aries, who had wandered for eleven days on foot, following our track, subsisting on birds' eggs, and narrowly escaping the pumas, though he had been more than once attacked by them in broad daylight, and had killed one with his knife, his story being vouched for by the boots he had contrived to manufacture out of his deceased enemy's skin. He looked worn and haggard, his feet were sore, and he told me that another night would have finished him. The Indians, who—owing to his desertion and subsequent pursuit of us—had been kept on the alert all night, without fire, and prohibited from conversing, were naturally indignant, and wanted to kill him. But Casimiro and Orkeke interceded for him, and he was brought back to the toldos behind another horseman. Casimiro, apropos of these signal fires, related to me a curious story, as follows. 'Many years ago, when I was quite young, I was travelling a few leagues to the northward, under my mother's charge. The party encamped near a large lagoon not far from the Sengel river, and were occupied in hunting in the neighbourhood. On several days in succession smoke was observed in different directions, which approached nearer and nearer each time. Being naturally supposed to be caused by the Indians, it was observed, and scouts were at last sent to ascertain the cause, as no messengers appeared. They returned, however, stating that they could discover nothing. At the end of four days an Indian, tall, gaunt, and emaciated, mounted on a very thin mule, arrived in the camp, and asked for a chief whose name was unknown. The stranger was taken, as is customary, to the chief's toldo, and his mule turned loose; but,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

strange to say, it never moved from the spot where it was tied, and the Indian during the time he remained in the toldo neither ate nor drank. At the end of three days he mounted his mule, which appeared as fresh as when he arrived, and rode away to the northward. 'On the following day, whilst hunting, a sickness struck the Indians—some falling dead from their horses, while others, though able to return home, only survived a short time. As is usual when disease breaks out, the toldos were removed to some distance from each other, to escape infection, but many men, women, and children died.' Of the fact that a plague or sickness did cause the death of many Indians within a few days at some encampment in these plains, I received further and reliable confirmation, my informant, who was in the party, stating that the Pampa tribe was decimated.

In the cliffs above the river on the eastern side of our encampment I observed many balls of sandstone of various sizes. On breaking one in two, a piece of what seemed to be ironstone formed a nucleus, around which layers of sand appeared to have been aggregated. By what process these balls could have been formed was to me a mystery; but they proved very handy for bolas, only requiring to be slightly reduced in size. Hunting to the westward from the encampment, we came across several muddy, or rather clayey bogs, into one of which, when in full pursuit of an ostrich, I rode, and my horse sank deep, throwing his rider a complete somersault; and with much ado I first picked up myself, and then with greater difficulty extricated my horse from the treacherous morass.

After Orrica's return, the Chilians manifested a restless spirit, and frequently asked me the direction of the Chupat settlements. I replied that it lay about 150 leagues to the E.N.E. from this point, as far as I could judge; but that it would be better for them to remain with the Indians, and do the women's work of providing wood and water, &c., than to start off into a wild and dreary pampa, where they

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

262 cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they do not devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also
[253] extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeke and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are
263 especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they
[164] have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

261 I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being glutton-
264 ous gormandisers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly
000 a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife. Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I explained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.

With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and sometimes employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-
kaik or Rocky Hills, Crimé's illness caused us to remain encamped until March 21, during the greater part of which time I and several others were suffering from neuralgia and ulcerations in the mouth, caused I think, by the bad water we had to drink, perhaps also by the want of salt, which had become a very scarce commodity.

Friendly rivalry was kept up between the tribes in play, hunting, and other sports, in which fortune varied from one side to the other. Every other day I visited poor Crimé, whose groans might be heard at night accompanied by the chant of some old hag. The sick man always asked me how long he would live. I at first tried to persuade him that he would get well, but after a time, as he was really fast sinking, gave him to understand that he might live a month if he was lucky. I offered to open his leg and endeavour to cure him, but this he would not allow, stating that if he died under the operation it would go hard with the doctor, which was indeed true, so I gave up my intentions of performing a surgical operation.

Before we broke up the camp, a Valdivian and other Indians arrived from Chocoque's, but brought little news, stating that the Manzaneros were still dispersed amongst the valleys of the Cordillera engaged in gathering the yearly harvest of apples and piñones: of these we had already received plenty from Foyel's people, who kept up a constant communication with their relations near the Rio Limay.

On the 21st all left the valley and travelled a few leagues through a diversified country. On the line of march cliffs, which stood out in the plains in irregular, picturesque manner, were of yellow and red sandstone, but to the westward black basaltic heights could be seen abutting on the plains, while in hunting over the higher ground masses of ironstone and igneous rock were met with scattered over the surface. We remained for the night in a valley called Changi, and, proceeding next day, arrived about noon at a large plain shut in by sandstone cliffs on the eastern side, at the northern

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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being able to get dry; and in addition to our previous discomfort, towards evening a frost set in, and when I woke up about midnight to look round for the horses my mantle was like a board.

I kindled a fire, as the weather was now clear, and soon all the party were huddled round it to warm their half-frozen limbs before lying down again.

The next morning at daylight, thoroughly chilled and hungry, two of us started to fetch the horses, some of the new ones having, as we expected, found their way back to within a few miles of the Rio Limay. However, by the time the sun had risen to sufficient height to give some warmth, we had caught up the others of our party, and not sparing our horses, by two o'clock had passed through the street of rocks and came in sight of the toldos, where we shortly arrived.

Before sunset all the Tehuelches had returned to the bosoms of their families, and all were glad to sleep under the shelter of a toldo once more, after having passed twelve days and nights in stormy weather without any covering save our mantles.

The 14th of April, the morning after our return, a com- 1873
plaint was made by Foyel's people that the Tehuelche Indians left behind, thinking it useless to proceed to the plains, some miles distant, to hunt for the supply of the toldos whilst cattle and sheep were grazing in the immediate vicinity, had helped themselves in the obscurity of the night. Mafia corroborated the fact; and although he had been away hunting with the greatest assiduity, he had met with but little success, and complained bitterly of the hungry times they had endured.

Soon after our arrival Kai Chileno was seized with illness, 1874
and in a few days several of the more aged and children sickened with headache and fever, showing all the symptoms of severe influenza. Alarmed lest the sickness should spread, on the 10th of April most of the Tehuelches struck

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T
164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the continued illness of Gravici and the others. Towards evening
A
785 of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualichu, and then retired.

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173 We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Maña, who was an intelligent youth, arguing that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked an armed man.

A
431 We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylum, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

[illegible] It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylum with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzaneros, he and Quintuhual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party *en route* previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if

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for the people. The rain which had been falling when we left, had turned to sleet driven by a strong westerly gale, and my load of mutton sadly interfered with the management of the sheltering mantle. Fortunately, as the direction of our route was easterly, we thus escaped having to face the storm, while the gale in our backs stimulated both horses and riders to their utmost speed.

At the entrance of the rock-strewn gorge which formed the eastern gateway of the valley of Gaylum, to the south of which towered the isolated column of rock, we were suddenly startled by the apparition of mounted Indians galloping towards us from the direction which our advanced party had taken. Conjectures as to possible calamity in the shape of a fight or accident were speedily dispelled, as they proved to be Tehuelches riding back in search of lost horses, which they averred had been stolen and craftily concealed by the Araucanians. So we continued our march through a succession of narrow rocky gorges winding amongst the hills, till, as the twilight was growing dark, we arrived, wet and weary, and feeling symptoms of illness, at the encampment situated in one of the usual grassy valleys. The toldo, when reached, proved to be in utter disorder, two of the women and a child having been attacked with the epidemic; so we set to work ourselves to light a fire, secure the skin covering of the toldo, and arrange the beds, and after a time the interior assumed a more ship-shape aspect, although the grass (our carpet) and everything else were wet. On every side one heard complaints of some child having fallen sick, and throughout the wailing cry of the women 'Ah gelay loo!' over their darlings rendered sleep all but impossible. Next morning broke fine and clear, so it was determined to march onwards in the hope that speedy change might get rid of the epidemic, but starting was almost as difficult as staying.

Of our party Mefia had returned to look for a missing horse; Crimè was dying, and Casimiro was attending to him; and what with sick friends and children all were

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occupied or distracted, and the business of catching the horses devolved on myself, single-handed at first. Having secured the troop, the next task was to catch my newly-acquired steed; the sight of a lazo was sufficient to make him gallop a league, and as he was very swift, three hours were spent in ineffectual efforts, but at last, two or three of my comrades coming up to my assistance, he was caught. Giving my fiibbertigibbet page charge of the remaining horses, I started, in company with one of my friends, to join the hunting circle, already in course of formation. [44]

We rode up a valley in an easterly direction, on our way passing the invalid Crimé, who, groaning with pain, lay stretched out at full length on a sort of couch composed of blankets on the horse's back, his wife leading the horse and wailing out loud. But as condolences were of little use, we passed on in silence, and shortly emerged from the valley which sloped up by gradual ascent to a wide plain of sandy soil and stunted bushes, bounded on the eastern horizon by a line of high jagged hills, which stretched to the southward as far as the eye could reach. While sitting under a bush by the fire, I was attacked with headache and sickness, the premonitory symptoms of the epidemic; however, I mounted and joined the hunting party, and at the end of the circle felt much better, although unable to eat. [758] [33]

The finish brought us to the entrance of a valley which wound among the precipitous rocky hills of the range seen from the farther verge of the plain. While watching the cavalcade of women and baggage, I looked long in vain for my own troop of four horses, but at last descried them trotting without a guide in the rear of the column, their natural sagacity or perhaps thirst having induced them to follow their comrades. The trusty page had left them to take care of themselves, and gone off hunting on his own account, which behaviour, repeated on a subsequent occasion, caused the loss of the stud. Towards evening we encamped in a valley enclosed by three hills, one of which, of decidedly

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had been further diminished by several deaths. One of this [65]
day's victims to the epidemic being Alge, Tankalow's
youngest daughter, the father was in great distress and
anger, as he attributed the death not to the distemper, but to [74]
witchcraft.

The warm and tolerably fine weather experienced since [52]
our departure from Teleh had been succeeded by a heavy,
murky, still atmosphere, and the clouded sky promised a
downfall of rain, which speedily came. The next day more [65]
children and the old deaf and dumb woman died; over her
little mean was made, but the lamentations over the chil-
dren were terrible to hear, and on all sides mares were
slaughtered. The abundance of meat, and the general con-
fusion, combined with the rain to defeat Casimiro's anxious
desire to proceed. The accumulation of miseries had ren- [52]
dered all the Indians gloomy and ill-humoured; and since
our departure from Goyhem we had had ample experience of
the wretched side of Pampa life.

This district is always dreaded by the Indians, who assert [64]
that they invariably are attacked by a similar sickness when
in it, notwithstanding that some considered it to have been
occasioned by poison or deleterious drugs administered by
our late neighbours. The marches had therefore been forced
and prolonged, and the increased fatigue had doubtless aided
the distemper in its fatal effects. Nearly half the children [65]
and several of the older people died during our progress
to Maquinchu, and the utter misery and discomfort cannot
be described. The rain had continually drenched us; the [52]
women, distracted with their endeavours to soothe the sick
children, and their grief over the dead, could not attend to
their domestic duties; our mantles were unmended, and
proved but a poor shelter from the rain, no small misery in
this climate, and the arrangements of the toldos were utterly
devoid of their customary care and comfort. The usual good
temper and cheerfulness of all had fled, and grief, sickness,
and angry suspicion cast a gloom over every countenance,

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Rheumatic affections, they told me, are very common among them; the chief showed me the arm of one of his wives, which was marred from the wrist to the shoulder by the awl; and the operation was afterwards performed on other members of the family.

Again we took up the line of march, travelling, as near as I could judge, west-north-west, and killing a quantity of game, both guanaco and ostrich. But the hardship of my life, aggravated by a constant fresh diet, and that eaten half raw, and at irregular seasons,—often going two days without food,—had, by this time, brought on a dysentery. This was no more than I had expected; but I knew of no remedy, and had to endure it as I could. We encamped, on the second day, near the banks of the river Gallegos; a fine spring of water issued from the river-bank into a low marshy ground, skirting the margin of the stream. By this time my illness had increased, till I felt unfit to travel further, and began to think that death could not be distant. No change of diet was practicable, and there was nothing to counteract its effect on my system. The pain and weariness of travelling did their part to aggravate the disorder; and mental discouragement—the sickness of hope deferred—completed my prostration. No human being in that desolate land cared for my sufferings, more than they would for those of a dog. Worn out with the constant irritations of a state of existence odious to every sensibility tired and disheartened, but for one thought I could have gladly laid myself down to die, to get at once and forever beyond the reach of my savage tormentors. The thought of home, of wife and child, of friends and country, and all the unutterable emotions that

It is [illegible] that [illegible] 135
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have found it and put it to use, and they would naturally have come upon it at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lazos, and also 441
knives and others which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [70] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no knife or other can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164 842]
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them.

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other; beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

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horse, and had returned; and that the party were marching as fast as they could to overtake Casimiro. He had been detached, partly to hunt and partly to find us. In reply to my inquiries about Arica, he assured me that he was all right, and as there seemed no reason for disbelieving the statement we speedily rode back to the party, and rejoined them on the march, being received with shouts of laughter from the ladies; but as Arica was nowhere to be seen, I expressed my determination to ride back in search of him. This, however, they would not allow, but despatched a mounted Indian and spare horse to bring him in, and a good piece of meat for his refreshment. We then proceeded at a brisk rate, and by nightfall reached the camp. Orkeke at first seemed rather to resent my having started off alone, as if it argued a want of confidence in him; but his delight at having recovered his horse assisted him to recover his good humour. Mr. Clarke had sent me by him some powder, which he said he had lost, and some articles, such as linen and tobacco, and my presenting them all to him quite did away with any traces of ill-feeling.

62] The several detachments were all now reunited, and the party mustered altogether, besides the Chilians and myself, eighteen able-bodied Tehuelche or Patagonian men, with a proportionate number of women and children. The most important among the Indians were Orkeke, the actual cacique, and his brother Tankelow, who possessed the greater number of horses; Casimiro, whose leadership was still rather *in posse;* Camillo, Crimé, Cuastro, Cayuke, &c. One more must be mentioned by name, Wáki; a perfect Hercules in bodily frame, and a thoroughly good-natured fellow, with whom I became great friends. Of all these men, who were in the camp by the Rio Chico on August 15, but eight survived to reach the Rio Negro in the following May; the rest had, at one time or another, been killed or had died. The secret feuds which were before long to endanger the safety of us all, were as yet concealed, and all appeared

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volcanic aspect, was named 'Oerroè.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimè's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Cheoeque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

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000 it better on the whole to keep friends for the present. The
648 evening of this quarrel, as a party of three toldos were starting off to go to the Chupat, and Casimiro was desirous of extending his fame to the Welsh settlement, I wrote a letter to the authorities inquiring about some saddles, part of his Argentine rations sent thither by mistake, which the chief declared to have been intended for him, but which had been distributed amongst other Indians. The letter was forwarded
144 by one of the Indians who was supposed to be of English parentage on one side, although he showed but little traces of English blood in his type, with the exception perhaps of his hair, which was of a lighter colour than that usually met with: he was a very good-natured fellow, and I regretted his departure, as he was one of my adherents, but being a man of very sober habits he did not wish to be mixed up in the universal orgie which would probably take place on arriving
000 in the vicinity of Patagones. With this party the young widow, who had made overtures of marriage to me, also departed, after an affectionate farewell, and receiving a handkerchief as a remembrance. The following morning we also started, and one of the universal loafers who had gambled his property away, asking for a mount, was told to catch the 'white horse' presented by Orkeke: he accordingly borrowed a horse to catch him, and at the end of our day's journey had not succeeded in doing more than driving him in, to use a nautical term, in our wake; this was exactly what I had intended, as this Indian was a great rogue, and had cheated me at cards out of a set of metal bolas, equivalent to a horse.
133 Our march lay up the valley, and the circle was formed on the surrounding volcanic hills, the sides of which, besides the vesicular lava, presented large masses of the ironstone noted as having been observed at Santa Cruz. Shrubs were sparsely scattered on these hills, and game was exceedingly scarce.
165 Towards evening we encamped on the borders of a stream
764 in a place called by the Indians Telck. There the sickness broke out afresh in its worst form, and several children died,

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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud, and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in which everybody joined. After dark, when many were sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the toldos, and yelling 'kow-w-l' at each blow; fire-brands being, at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking, the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect darkness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place, in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a general *mêlée* or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race-course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since leaving the Rio Sengel, was a regular beaten level track of about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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203 be peaceable at Patagones, and a rumour was current that Commandante Murga was about to give up his governorship. Casimiro, on receiving all this intelligence, immediately wished a despatch to be indited, although I pointed out to him that it would be better to wait until we had arrived at a nearer point; he was so urgent that on the following morning I composed an elaborate letter, detailing the union of the tribes, the precautions taken for protecting Patagones, and requesting a hundred mares for Casimiro and his people: when finished it was carefully wrapped up and stowed away in my baggage till wanted.

202 The talk then naturally turned on the subject of the choice of messengers to be despatched to Patagones on our arrival at Margensho. It had been previously arranged that I should be sent fully commissioned, as being better able to represent to the authorities what had been resolved on, as well as to impress upon them the immediate requirements of the Indians, and several others now volunteered to accompany me, and got quite merry at the thoughts of a drink. But we were still three marches distant from Margensho. The following
133 day we were again *en route*, traversing a succession of plains with rocky ridges cropping up at intervals, until we at length reached a grassy valley enclosed by steep walls of rocks sixty feet high; gravely perched on the summits of
[136] which several slate-coloured Chilian eagles were visible, their occupation being to prevent the excessive multiplication of little cavies. On the hill sides bordering this valley, our old friend the incense bush, which had for many marches back been very scarce, grew in luxuriant profusion. At this
[272] season it was covered with berries which, though uneatable, are used by the Indians mixed up with water as a drink; this infusion has a very sweet taste, but I should think must be very unwholesome. On arriving at the encamp-
165 ment, at the head of the valley, near some pools of standing water, we were apprised, by the lugubrious sounds of the women's monotonous chants, that the number of the children

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had been further diminished by several deaths. One of this day's victims to the epidemic being Algo, Tankelow's youngest daughter, the father was in great distress and anger, as he attributed the death not to the distemper, but to witchcraft.

The warm and tolerably fine weather experienced since our departure from Telek had been succeeded by a heavy, murky, still atmosphere, and the clouded sky promised a downfall of rain, which speedily came. The next day more children and the old deaf and dumb woman died; over her little moan was made, but the lamentations over the children were terrible to hear, and on all sides mares were slaughtered. The abundance of meat, and the general confusion, combined with the rain to defeat Casimiro's anxious desire to proceed. The accumulation of miseries had rendered all the Indians gloomy and ill-humoured; and since our departure from Geylum we had had ample experience of the wretched side of Pampa life.

This district is always dreaded by the Indians, who assert that they invariably are attacked by a similar sickness when in it, notwithstanding that some considered it to have been occasioned by poison or deleterious drugs administered by our late neighbours. The marches had therefore been forced and prolonged, and the increased fatigue had doubtless aided the distemper in its fatal effects. Nearly half the children and several of the elder people died during our progress to Margunsho, and the utter misery and discomfort cannot be described. The rain had continually drenched us; the women, distracted with their endeavours to soothe the sick children, and their grief over the dead, could not attend to their domestic duties; our mantles were unmended, and proved but a poor shelter from the rain, no small misery in this climate, and the arrangements of the toldos were utterly devoid of their customary care and comfort. The usual good temper and cheerfulness of all had fled, and grief, sickness, and angry suspicion cast a gloom over every countenance.

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if they were cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty,—the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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The climate is severe. The Rio Negro forms the northern boundary, and nearly the whole country is south of the parallel of 40° south latitude. At the time of my capture, which was in the month of May, the weather corresponded to that of November in the New England States. Its chilliness, however, was greatly increased by the bleak winds of that exposed locality. Along the Straits of Magellan the weather is also exceedingly changeable. Sudden and severe squalls, often amounting almost to a hurricane, vex the navigation of the straits, and sweep over the coast with fearful fury.

The habits of the Patagonians, or at least of the tribe among whom I was cast, are migratory, wandering over the country in quest of game, or as their caprice may prompt them. They subsist altogether on the flesh of animals and birds. The guanaco furnishes most of their food, and all their clothing. A mantle of skins, sewed with the sinews of the ostrich, fitting closely about the neck and extending below the knee, is their only article of dress, except in the coldest weather, when a kind of shoe, made of the hind hoof and a portion of the skin above it, serves to protect their inferior extremities.

In person they are large; on first sight, they appear absolutely gigantic. They are taller than any other race I have seen, though it is impossible to give any accurate description. The only standard of measurement I had was my own height, which is about five feet ten inches. I could stand very easily under the arms of many of them, and all the men were at least a head taller than myself. Their average height, I should think, is nearly six and a half feet, and there were specimens that could have been

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Education.—Children were indulged and seldom corrected. [861] Whether the *Tehuelche* ever had the Elel bugaboo rite (cf. infra under *Puelche*, Education) is uncertain. Gusinde (1926 a, p. 310; 1931, p. 881 1083) was told by the *Tehuelche* of the upper Río Gallegos, to whom he paid a very brief visit in 1924, that they had a rite called, as among the *Ona*, klóketen; the rite was held in a tent covered with guanaco skin, and face covers of feathers were used instead of the *Ona* masks. Field work on the point here raised is imperative, to gather details, and to determine, if possible, whether this rite is an ancient *Tehuelche* one or one introduced more recently by immigrant *Ona*. (Cf. supra Introduction, on *Ona* immigration into Patagonia.)

Girls' puberty rite.—The *Tehuelche* had a simple puberty rite for girls. This first menses rite, as described in detail by Musters from personal observation (1871, pp. 76–78), followed the general pattern of the birth rite as regards painting and bleeding by the medicine man, erection of the "pretty house," slaughter of mares with feast, evening bonfire, dancing in fours by plumed and girdled men to instrumental accompaniment (pl. 39, *bottom*). [535] The main differences were: The girl was placed in seclusion in the "pretty house," and the old women sang while the men danced.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Peña (1789, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordoves (1905, p. 47), tent(s) painted red. [535]

Muñiz (1917, p. 205) reported two small huts with the girl seated in one, and a young man with the title of "king" armed with a whip and bolas, who castigated the men or women who executed poorly the dance around the fire between the two tents. Muñiz ascribed this rite to the Pampean Indians in general, not specifically to the *Tehuelche*. [171] The role of the "king" in it suggests that it may have been exclusively *Puelche*, or else *Tehuelche* influenced by *Puelche*. (Cf. Elel first menses rite, pp. 165–166.)

Marriage.—See page 149.

Death observances.—The most common form of disposal of the dead in the Patagonian area was cairn burial on a hilltop, the body resting on the surface of the ground with knees to thorax; other forms were sand interment and cave and crevice disposal. Some belongings were buried with the dead. 764

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774, p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakengn, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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POLYCHROME GUANACO CLOAKS OF PATAGONIA

BY

S. K. LOTHROP

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SOUTH American Indians, for protection against the cold, employed a cloak, a poncho, or a shirt. The genetic relationship between these garments is close, as the poncho is merely a cloak with a hole in the middle for inserting the head, while a shirt is a poncho which has been sewn up the sides. Poncho and shirt are typical of all western South America from Colombia to central Chile.[1] Robes, on the other hand, are a southern element of culture, found from Cape Horn northward to the Gran Chaco. The distribution of fur robes as given by Nordenskiöld [2] includes the following tribes:

Mataco	Yaro
Ashluslay	Chaná
Toba	Tehuelche
Abipon	Ona
Mbayá	Yahgan
Querandí	Alacaluf
Lengua	Chono
Southern Tupinambá	Araucan
Charrúa	Arica (prehistoric)

To this list we may add the Haush of Tierra del Fuego, the Puelche of the Argentine Pampas, and various tribes of the lower Paraná such as the Minuané, Chaná-Mbeguá, Timbú, etc. In short, fur robes have a continuous distribution over thirty-six degrees of latitude in southern South America.

Granted a wide distribution of even such simple cultural elements

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[1] Nordenskiöld (1919, pp. 95–107) has discussed the typology and distribution most adequately. Except in a few minor details we have followed his data.

[2] Ibid., map 15 and pp. 97–98. We have omitted literary sources on which this list is based.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

as the fur mantle, we should naturally expect to find much variation in materials, methods of manufacture, and manner of use. Among the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, robes were made typically of seal- or otter-skin, and were worn with the fur side outward. Eastern Yahgan at times also used guanaco, while western Yahgan and Alacaluf employed coypu-skins. The stitching was of whale sinew. A characteristic feature of all Magellanic mantles is their small size, for they measure about 35 by 50 inches and covered only the upper part of the body, being held in place with thongs tied across the shoulders. Yahgan capes, to the knowledge of the writer, never received painted decoration on the skin side, but an Alacaluf cape of three coypu-skins, secured for the Museum in 1925 (14/2252), had been painted red.

Ona mantles were made of two or three skins of adult guanaco sewn together with sinews from the back of this animal. They measure about five feet square, which is enough to envelop the body from neck to ankle. Ona women painted their robes red on the skin side, which was worn next the body, and, when this task was finished, they turned the fur side uppermost to wipe their encrimsoned hands. Thus streaks were produced on the fur, but in no way could they be regarded as deliberately made patterns. In fact, the only fields for painted decoration among the Ona were their persons and their dance paraphernalia, while their patterns, like those of the Yahgan,[3] were crude daubs of color, uncertain in line and simple in rhythm.

On the use of fur robes in the Chaco, Nordenskiöld[4] writes that they are seemingly an impractical garment for a tropical climate infested with insects; but, as a matter of fact, the nights are often cool, while chilling winds sweep over the country in May and June. Formerly cloaks made of coypu-skins were common, but these have given way to sheep-skin robes owing to the trade value of the former, and the sheep-skin garments in turn are being replaced by capes or ponchos of woven material. Robes in the Chaco are worn fur side inward, and they are painted on the skin side (fig. 12).

The Tehuelche cape (fig. 1), known as *quillango*, is a fur robe measuring a few inches more than five feet on a side. The fur was worn next to the body and the skin side was elaborately painted.

[3] Lothrop, 1928, pl. ix.
[4] 1919, p. 98.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Pl. LXV, *d*, has a much simpler assemblage of alternating squares set between parallel lines of red. Pl. LXVI has the most complicated pattern of the Museum collection, for it contains a four-unit design built up of crosses flanked on all sides by squares.

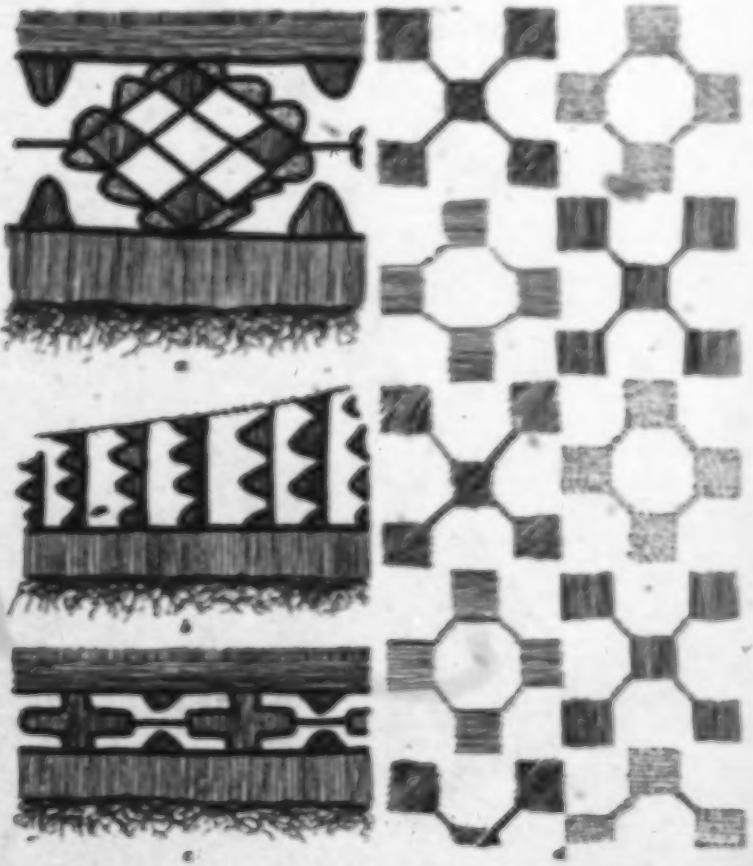

FIG. 8.—Designs from a Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, Three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, center. (13/3769)

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Such, then, are the Tehuelche patterns. To what are they related and where do they belong in the cultural scheme of southern South America? We have already pointed out that the central patterns exhibit a different tradition from the border and corner patterns. The

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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latter consist of black outlines filled with color, a decorative method particularly characteristic of New World pottery. Furthermore, the confinement of design within bands is a pottery characteristic, while

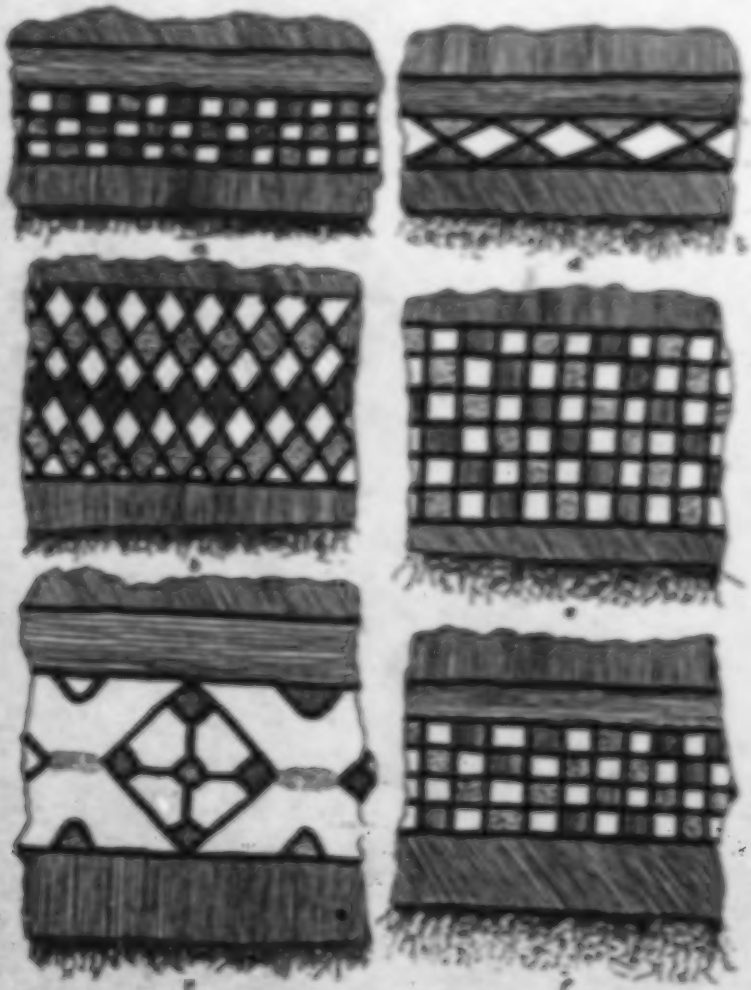

FIG. 9—Tehuelche patterns. *a*, *d*, One-border patterns; *b*, *e*, corner patterns; *c*, *f*, three-border patterns. (*a–c*, 13/3270; *d–f*, 13/3269)

sense of the patterns themselves, such as fig. 8, *a–c*, or pl. LXVI, *c*, strongly suggest widespread ceramic motives. Hence to seek comparisons we turn first to ceramic remains.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929

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The painted pottery found nearest to the Tehuelche comes (1) from the coastal region in Chile between Valparaiso and Puerto Montt, (2) from the Calchaquí region in northwestern Argentina, (3) from the Gran Chaco, (4) from the south bank of the Río Luján, and (5) from the islands of the Paraná delta. The Chilean pottery is represented by a few examples in the Museum from Temuco in the province of Cautín, and we have seen also a small collection in the National Museum at Santiago. It is a grayish white ware with black or red designs strongly recalling ceramic remains from our Southwestern states. The patterns afford no ground for comparison with those of the Tehuelche.

Calchaquí pottery exhibits within itself wide variations which we have not space here to discuss. In glancing through museum collections and printed illustrations we have encountered sufficient likeness to Tehuelche art to arouse a feeling that there is some vague relationship, especially with specimens from the province of Mendoza. For instance, from Huasan [21] and many other sites come painted checkerboard designs suggesting Tehuelche art. However, we know little of chronological sequence in the Calchaquí, and it would be unwise to draw conclusion on this or similar evidence which might be presented.

Modern pottery from the Gran Chaco does not suggest to the writer interrelationship with the Tehuelche.

On the south bank of the Río Luján formerly lived the Querandí Indians who attacked and fired the first settlement at Buenos Aires. This tribe has totally disappeared and the only trace of them today consists of archeological remains. A presumably Querandí site on the Arroyo Sarandí, excavated in 1925 by the Thea Heye - La Plata Expedition, yielded both incised and painted pottery. The latter showed no relationship to Tehuelche art, but the incised ware suggests Tehuelche meander patterns, seen in fig. 1.

Painted pottery from the delta islands of the Paraná presumably is the handiwork of Guaraní Indians. A site on the Arroyo Guayracá (Arroyo Malo), excavated by the Thea Heye - La Plata expedition, produced a few vessels decorated with red and black paint. As might be expected of Guaraní ceramics, however, the designs point definitely to the north and show no relationship with Tehuelche art.

[21] Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

A survey of painted pottery in relation to Tehuelche border and corner patterns then yields no very definite connections, although the Tehuelche designs considered suggest in themselves a pottery technique. An examination of basketry decoration from the coast of Chile, from the Araucanian district, and from the Gran Chaco, gives only negative results. At the same time, some of the Tehuelche patterns, especially those in the central field, indicate a basketry prototype.

FIG. 10.—Tehuelche Indians. (After Pernetty)

Araucanian weaving,[116] on the other hand, has certain definite links with Tehuelche robes. In the first place, checkerboard patterns are common and often are arranged to form zigzags. Secondly, when the Araucanian poncho has a border pattern, it is not a unit completely encircling the cloth, as is the case with Bolivian and Peruvian textiles. On the contrary, the border designs are arranged in opposing pairs, which differ from each other in color, pattern, and

[116] Lothrop, 1927.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche 5H5

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width. While this ordering of border decoration is not exactly like the Tehuelche arrangement, it is the only suggestion of it that we have been able to find in contiguous territory.

The guanaco robe illustrated in fig. 1 has for its central pattern a series of large meanders and frets, quite different in character from the corresponding designs on the Museum's specimens and on others examined by the writer. We believe this represents an older current of Patagonian art. In fig. 10 we reproduce an eighteenth-century picture of Patagonian robes showing the decorations, probably drawn with some accuracy, as the artist must have had an opportunity to inspect the specimens brought back to Paris by the expedition of Duclos-Guyot.[10] The type of design depicted corresponds with verbal descriptions of contemporary and more recent date. For instance, d'Orbigny speaks of "un manteau de peaux d'animaux, sur lequel, du coté opposé au poil, ils figurent des groques irregulieres et variées,"[11] while the description in Pernetty states that the robes were painted with blue and red figures "qui semblent approcher des caracteres Chinois, mais presque tous semblables, & séparés par des lignes droites, qui forment des espaces des quarrés & des losanges." The description of Musters, already quoted, implies that there were at

FIG. 11.—Charrúa Indian. (After Pernetty)

[10] Pernetty, vol. II, p. 125, footnote b.
[11] Vol. II, p. 22.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SI85 Tehuelche SI85

the time of his journey two distinct classes of design, and of these one was marked by zigzags like the robe in fig. 10.

In fig. 11 we illustrate a cloak from Montevideo adorned in much the same fashion as ancient Patagonian specimens. This piece must have been made by the Charrúa Indians, who formerly inhabited the western half of Uruguay, for Pernetty[1] expressly states that it was worn by natives who lived *only* a few leagues from the city. In describing these garments he says that they were "peint en rouge

FIG. 12.—Otter-skin robe. Mataco Indian. (After Nordenskiöld, 1913)

& en bleu gris, par quarrés, losanges & triangles." The Charrúa Indians have been extinct for many years, and no examples of their perishable handiwork probably are in existence, but the engraving has been executed with such detail that we can feel confidence in its accuracy.

The ancient school of design depicted in figs. 10 and 11 has survived to this day among tribes of the Gran Chaco, not in the

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 296.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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weaving but in painted robes, carved gourds, and facial painting. In fig. 12 we show an otter-skin robe made by the Mataco Indians. Each of the fifteen skins in this garment has been decorated with its own individual pattern, painted in two distinct manners, which perhaps indicates that two individuals coöperated in its manufacture. At any rate, the thin-line designs are based on a series of squares, lozenges, and rigzags obviously suggestive of old-time decorations of the Charrúa and Tehuelche.

FIG. 13—Skin with painted decoration. Lengua Indian. Length, 37 in. (14/5m)

Skin robes, as already stated, were in general use throughout the Chaco until recently. They embraced the kind seen in fig. 12, marked by geometric decoration, and also a second class, painted with crude life forms (fig. 13). The second group apparently is totally unrelated to Tehuelche mantles, on which anthropomorphic patterns are completely absent, but this type of design is ancient, for it reflects pictographs found in the Chaco and farther to the west and south.

Incised or burned designs on gourds are common throughout the Chaco,[illegible] and these patterns at times suggest early Tehuelche motives. Similarly facial painting also recalls the art found farther to the south.[illegible]

[illegible] The technology and distribution have been discussed by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. [illegible]

[illegible] Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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What we have called the ancient Tehuelche school of design has archeological affiliations over a very wide area. Nordenskiöld[27] published the Mataco robe reproduced in our fig. 12 because he recognized a connection with designs on incised pottery excavated near the San Francisco, a tributary of the Bermejo river. Incised pottery with patterns exhibiting local variations but in general recalling Tehuelche designs is found along the course of the Paraná river (fig. 14), especially in the provinces of Santa Fé, Entre Ríos, and

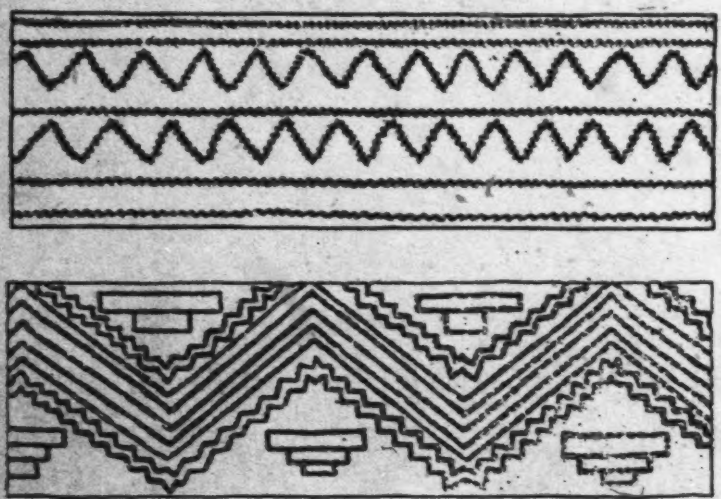

FIG. 14.—Designs incised on pottery vessels. El Cerrillo, Paraná Guazú river, Argentina. (14/7117)

Buenos Aires. This incised ware indeed extends southward along the Atlantic littoral[27a] into Patagonia well beyond the Deseado river, that is, to south latitude 48°.[28] Burial grounds and refuse heaps in the Paraná delta yield comparable designs scratched on bone and antler objects.[29] Incised decoration on pottery from northwestern

[27] 1903, fig. 13.

[27a] See Outes (1908) and Holmes (1912).

[28] Incised designs from Patagonia have been published by Outes, 1904. This important archeological paper, as well as historical sources from Pigafetta to d'Orbigny, have not been utilized in distributional maps published by Spinden and Wissler, for they draw the southern limits of pottery at the Río Negro.

[29] Torres, 1911.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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Argentina, especially from the province of Mendoza,[20] at times is strikingly like Tehuelche motives.

Aside from fur robes, the most elaborately decorated objects from Patagonia are ceremonial axes, plaques, and labrets, and, as might be expected, the patterns on them show the closest resemblance to the old-style embellishment on skin.[21] In fig. 15 we illustrate a stone

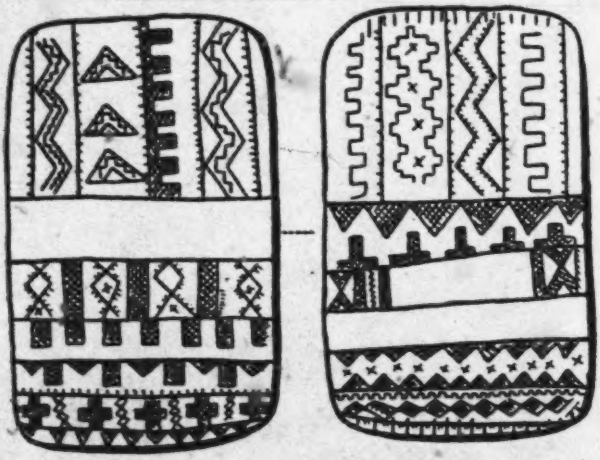

FIG. 15.—Engraved stone plaque. (After Outes, 1916)

plaque engraved with fine-line designs, unusual though not unique in their elaboration. These consist of triangles, lozenges, zigzags, and meanders, executed in a manner very suggestive of the cloak in fig. 10, as well as some of the recent border patterns. The purpose of the engraved axes and plaques has been the subject of controversy, but there can be little doubt that they have an antiquity of several centuries.

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Our survey of Tehuelche robes has shown that this kind of garment once was in general use throughout southern South America.

[20] For example, the Chaquiago incised ware, published by Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

[21] Axes and plaques have been illustrated by Ambrosetti (1901, 1902, 1904), Giglioli (1903), Holmes (1912), Lehmann-Nitsche (1909, 1909a, 1916), Outes (1905, 1908, 1916, 1916a), Verneau (1903), and Verneau and Vaulx (1902). Lehmann-Nitsche (1924) has described labrets.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Painted decorations on specimens collected in recent years, though based on simple elements, exhibit a complexity of rhythm scarcely to be expected among people of such general cultural poverty. A study of the designs has shown that they can be divided into two major groups. The more recent of these shows apparent connection with textile patterns of the Araucanians, although the relationship is too vague and the available material too scanty for exact demonstration. The Araucanians, it will be recalled, in the sixteenth century occupied only a few small valleys east of the Andes, but in the eighteenth century they overran most of the Pampas, thus coming into contact with the Tehuelche.

We also have given reasons for believing that the Tehuelche formerly adorned their robes with designs of a different type, related to the art of other nomadic tribes, such as the Charrúa, and until recently found in the Chaco. This school of decoration we believe is basic over a large area in South America, for it is typical of archeological remains not only from Patagonia but as well from the Pampas, from the Calchaquí region, the lower Paraná, and from the Gran Chaco.

The absence of such decorative motives among the Ona and Haush of Tierra del Fuego implies that they had been separated from their mainland kinsmen for many centuries, and it raises the question whether the Tehuelche carried this type of design with them when they populated Patagonia or whether it reached them by infiltration at a later date.

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BRUCH, Carlos. *See* OUTES *and* BRUCH.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

large brown otter, with orange-coloured fur on the breast, found in the Parana; but the Indians' account is curious as bearing on the name of the lake—'Nahuel Huapi,' or Tigers' Island. It is possible that the aguarra found in the valley of the Rio Negro may also haunt these districts. They further told me that stags had been seen on the banks of the river, but none were heard of during our stay in the neighbourhood. A few miles below the ford the belt of trees ceases, and on the southern side there is a peculiar group of what seem to be square-shaped rocks, which at a distance have very much the appearance of a small town regularly built and walled. This is called by the Indians 'Sengel,' and was the scene of a great fight between the Tehuelches and Araucanos many years ago, relics of which in the shape of bones and skulls still whiten the plain. After crossing the river, the young men who had been sent back returned, bringing with them three horses belonging to the Chilians and one man of their party, who, incredible as it seems, had assisted the Indians to dismount and disable his companions. The particulars of the fate of the others were not divulged, though a story was current that some of them had managed to reach the Chupat. I asked no questions, but the blood-stained knife of one of the young men told its own story. This day all the Indians rode on in silence, the last two days' events having roused all their bad passions. I rode alone, feeling that there was danger in the air, and near our halting-place joined Orkeke and two others at a fireside for the purpose of cooking some ostrich eggs, which we were busily discussing when a messenger came to say that Casimiro was waiting to see me at a spot which he indicated. I mounted and rode off accordingly, but had not gone far before the two bravos who had been commissioned to do for the Chilians galloped up, one from either side, one brandishing his sword and the other swinging his bolas. I at once put spurs to my horse, and my mantle flying back discovered two revolvers belted round my waist underneath it. They checked their career

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The estancia, from its situation in what is termed a rincon or corner, namely, a peninsula nearly surrounded by a bend of the river, possessed great advantages, and as it is one of the most convenient places for passing cattle to the south side, the owner, who keeps a boat on the river, was enabled to do a profitable business with the Indians when they received their rations, by assisting them in ferrying their animals across.

The overseer, under Mr. Kincaid, was a Scotch shepherd, whose gudewife superintended the *ménage;* the house was a substantial edifice, built mainly by Messrs. Kincaid, the beams being taken from willow trees felled in the rincon. Up to the time of my visit these gentlemen had been working against fortune, neither of the yields of grain in the two previous years of their occupation having been even a good average.

Close to this estancia a number of ancient Indian burial-grounds exist, where, besides skulls and bones, numerous flint arrowheads may be found, some of which, in my possession, have been exhibited to the learned members of the Anthropological Institute, and found to present the peculiar Indian type. Besides flint arrowheads, pestles and mortars, fashioned out of a porous stone, are also to be found. These articles probably belonged to an old race of Indians who inhabited the Rio Negro previous to the advent of Spaniards and horses, and the pestles and mortars were probably used for pounding the algarroba bean into a paste like that at present manufactured by Pampa Indians under Teneforo; indeed, Luiz Aguirre gave me to understand that these Pampas were of an original stock formerly inhabiting the valley of the Rio Negro, but I leave these conjectures to the consideration of ethnologists more skilled than myself. Near these ancient graves I renewed my acquaintance with the old familiar vizcacha of the plains of Buenos Ayres, which I have previously pointed out does not exist in Patagonia proper, viz., to the south of the Rio Negro. Two

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

000 the ostrich. They are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of an ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which, if intended to show forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garments are now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native taste requires. . . .

413 Certain comments may be made on the two descriptions of robe-
●172 making just quoted. In the first place, the tools enumerated are well known archeologically, and most of them have been illustrated by Outes (1905). Scrapers sometimes were hafted by setting them transversely in a block of wood and securing them with resin.[13] More often the handle consisted of a split sapling, bent until the ends met, with the blade secured between them by lashings (fig. 4). Snub-nose scrapers, intended for use without hafting, are found throughout Patagonia, but not in great quantities.

Knife-blades are found all over Patagonia. However, the series we illustrate in fig. 5, *a–d*, come from the region where the cloaks here described were obtained. Of these *b* is a single triangular flake, retouched along the edges; *a* is a symmetrical elongate blade which

[13] Outes (1905, p. 339) states that this hafting is of Araucanian origin, taken over by the Tehuelche. The use of transversely hafted scrapers by the Ona of Tierra del Fuego, however, suggests that the culture transference may have been from the Tehuelche to the Araucanians.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

has been worked all over; *c* is a lanceolate blade, again worked all over. While not rare, none of these forms is common. An apparently unique knife is seen in *d*—a form probably derived from some European prototype. The great majority of blades (fig. 5,

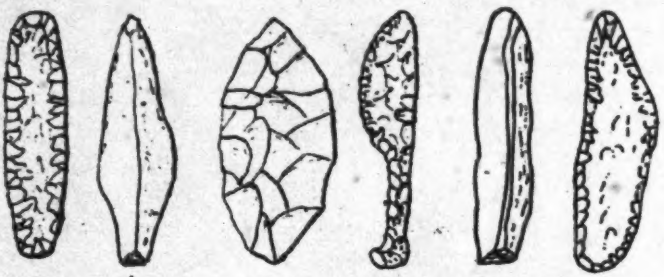

FIG. 5.—Tehuelche knife-blades. *a–d*, Río Galliegos basin (Hamilton collection); *e*, Gulf of San Jorge; *f*, Sierras Coloradas (after Outes)

e, f) are of somewhat irregular shape, sometimes one- and sometimes two-edged, in type merging imperceptibly into the scraper class. On the Tehuelche manner of hafting stone knife-blades we have no information.

Bourne's account of preparing skins describes the scouring of hides with a coarse-grained stone. In the John Hamilton collection at Galliegos, which we had the privilege of inspecting, were a number of accurately cut rectangular blocks of porous lava about six inches long by two to three inches wide and thick, which might well have been used for this purpose. Outes [16] describes and illustrates stone discs about three inches in diameter and an inch in thickness which may have been similarly employed.

Tehuelche "needles," used in the sewing, were not true needles with an eye, but simply awls. As among most primitive people, formerly they were of bone, particularly the leg-bones of birds, but in recent years the Tehuelche have used a nail or some piece of scrap-iron.

As for the pigments employed to decorate Tehuelche cloaks, they were applied mixed with blood or with grease to a slightly dampened surface. Musters [17] writes that the grease was obtained from the

[16] 1905, figs. 194, 195.
[17] 1871, p. 172.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
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terns; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been previously described. In Teckel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonies, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jackechan's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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The obsidian and flint articles were confined to scrapers used by the women for cleansing skins, and flints for obtaining fire. There were no traditions regarding the migrations of tribes extant amongst the Indians. It was impossible to obtain information of their forefathers from the Indians. The disposition of the Tehuelches was, when not excited by drink or warfare, cheerful and good-humoured. They treated Lieut. Musters with great kindness. They were particularly fond of their children. During the author's visit and travels in the country, all the tribes were mustered for political purposes: being on the staff of the head chief, he took notes of the numbers of each tribe: from these data he made his calculations, allowing four women and children to each able-bodied man. The numbers are probably slightly under than over the mark.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above: viz., Mr. J. J. Monteiro, Col. Lane Fox, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Wade, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Wake, Mr. H. Howorth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

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161
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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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INTRODUCTION.

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years ago the great navigator Magellan anchored in a port on the eastern coast of an unknown shore, part of the seaboard of the vast continent of South America, to which he gave the name of St. Julian. Starting from this point, the pilot Serrano explored the coast to the southward, and discovered a river which he named Santa Cruz. His ship was wrecked near the mouth, and left her timbers on the rocks, the first of the long list of vessels lost on that ironbound coast, which, from the mouth of the Rio Negro to the Straits, offers but one or two safe harbours, while submerged reefs, fierce gales, strong tides, currents, and overfalls combine to render it nearly the most perilous known to navigators.

Magellan remained at Port St. Julian and Santa Cruz from April till October of 1520, when he sailed southward, and discovered the Straits which bear his name. Two months after his arrival at Port St. Julian a man of gigantic stature appeared on the beach, 'larger and taller than the stoutest man of Castile.' Eighteen natives afterwards arrived dressed in cloaks of skins and shoes of guanaco hide, which made huge footmarks, whence they were called Patagonés, or 'large feet,' by the Spaniards; and thus originated in a nickname

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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175 the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta [342] with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, [302] covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were [412] very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking [224] the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth." They never cut their [302] hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they [415] carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are [534] fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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gether wrong in naming them giants, yet they are not taller than some Englishmen.' Drake next visited Port St. Julian; and, curiously enough, as Magellan had in this place put to death two and marooned a third of his captains who mutinied, so this harbour was the scene of the execution of Mr. Doughty, who chose rather to be beheaded than to be put on shore. The ensuing year Sarmiento was despatched from Callao to examine the Straits in search of the daring Englishman. He saw natives who chased their game on horseback, and brought it down with bolas. But fifty years had elapsed since horses had been imported by the Spaniards of the Rio de la Plata, and already the Indians in the far south had become horsemen, and would seem to have exchanged their bows and arrows for the bolas.

In 1581 Sarmiento was sent from Spain with 2,500 men in twenty-three ships, to found new colonies in the Straits, and established a settlement, leaving 400 men and thirty women furnished with eight months' provisions. On his way home his ship was captured by the English, and the unhappy colonists were altogether forgotten and neglected by their Government.

Five years after, Thomas Cavendish anchored in a bay to the south of St. Julian, called by him Port Desire, which perpetuates the name of his little craft of 120 tons. Here the natives attacked his men with bows and arrows. Visiting the Straits, he arrived at the settlement, and found only twelve men and three women surviving, the rest having perished of slow starvation and disease; and the name of the place, Port Famine, conferred by him, still recalls the miserable fate of these ill-fated colonists.

On his next voyage, in 1591, Cavendish died; but John

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1775 Davis twice visited Port Desire, and explored the river for twenty miles. During his stay some 1,000 natives visited the strangers, and Knyvet describes them as being fifteen or sixteen span high.

Passing over the visits of Van Noort and Schouten, in the reign of Charles the Second, Sir John Narborough took possession of the country near Port Desire in the name of the King. But few natives were seen, and the mate, Mr. Wood, boastingly declared that he himself was taller than any of them.

In the eighteenth century Byron and Wallis successively visited the shores of Patagonia, and made friends with the natives, whose height was found to be from five feet ten inches to six feet, while some were nearly seven feet high.

In 1774, the Jesuit Father Falkner published his work on Patagonia, containing all the information procured by himself and the other Jesuit missionaries who had attempted to obtain a footing on the western and northern boundaries. His account of the Tehuelches, or Tsoneca Indians, was evidently derived from personal communication with them, although his knowledge of the topography of their country seems to have been procured from the reports of others. By this work, which produced a great sensation, the jealous fears of the Spanish Government were aroused, and they hastened to despatch an expedition to form settlements on the coast of Patagonia.

Of the brothers Viedma, who were sent in command, Francisco founded Carmen at the mouth of the Rio Negro; and Antonio, after first fixing on Port Desire, determined finally on Port St. Julian as the site of another colony. He thence undertook the first exploration of the interior in

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search of timber for building, in the course of which he reached the great lake at the foot of the Cordillera, from which flowed the Rio Santa Cruz. Both on the coast and in the interior he received much friendly aid from the Indians, of whom he formed a most favourable opinion. 175

Under his brother's auspices the Rio Negro was ascended as far as the mountains of Villarino, to whose expedition reference will be made in the proper place.

No further knowledge was gained of the interior of Patagonia until the survey of the Beagle, so ably performed and so admirably described by Fitzroy and Darwin; during which the ascent of the Santa Cruz River for 200 miles enabled the latter to observe the remarkable formations which he has so aptly described in his work on the Geology of South America.

This brief but perhaps tedious account has been given to show that although the coasts of Patagonia had been explored and surveyed, yet the interior of the country, though pierced by the expeditions of Viedma and Fitzroy, remained up to a late date still almost unknown. Its inhabitants, the Tehuelches, had been often communicated with, their stature noted, and their friendly disposition commended; but their real manners of life as they wandered through the country, and their relations with, or difference from, the Araucanian and Pampa Indians, had remained almost as much a mystery as they were in the last century. 114

During the last thirty years the Governments of Chili and of Buenos Ayres have shown themselves inclined to claim the possession of the coast, the former trying to advance from the Straits, and the latter from Patagones; and the natives have acknowledged the influence of either Govern 175 177

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175 177 ment as they happened to be in the northen or southern parts respectively. Our missionaries also have not left the Patagonians without some efforts to instruct and evangelise them; and although these efforts have been necessarily limited to the coast, yet the fruits of Mr. Schmid's sojourn with the Tehuelches remain both in their friendly feelings and in the lasting record of the vocabulary of the Tsoneca language published by him. And the intercourse of these Indians with Argentines and Chilians, and more especially with English officers, sealers, and missionaries successively, all of whom have testified favourably to their character, has tended to make them more open to access, and to give them a knowledge of foreigners; so that in this respect I can feel that to all those who have been mentioned as having thus preceded me, this brief record is due from a traveller who has experienced the friendly feelings of the natives towards strangers, and especially Englishmen.

114 While engaged in preparing the ensuing pages for the press, I have had an opportunity of perusing the work of M. Guinnard, first published in French, and recently given to the English public in a spirited translation, entitled 'Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians.' The name necessarily attracted me, but to my great surprise careful perusal led to the distinct conviction that the author's personal experiences were altogether confined to the Pampas Indians north of the Rio Negro. From his own statements and omissions it is quite evident that he was not carried by any of his successive masters across this river, which he clearly and accurately defines to be (page 40) the northern boundary of Patagonia. The name of Patagonians is, therefore, a complete misnomer; and the curious account (pp. 72. 73) of the

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Araucanians S64

were ignorant of their real strength, the cunning men of Carmen then displayed themselves as if for a reconnaissance, and retreated, but only to change their ponchos and reappear as a fresh detachment; the enemy was thus led by these repeated feints and transformations to considerably multiply the real numbers of the Argentine troops, and hesitate to attack so seemingly large a force. After nightfall the herbage in the neighbourhood of the bivouac of the invading army was set on fire. Bewildered by the smoke, the Brazilians retreated, but were encountered by other fires in their rear, and, seeing themselves apparently surrounded and opposed by superior numbers, their leader capitulated. The story is substantiated by the existence of the wreck of a Brazilian man-of-war, still visible in the river.

The fertile valley of the Rio Negro must needs be described in order to convey a proper idea of the resources of Patagonia as a colony. By far the greater extent of this valley is as uncultivated as when it was first explored by Don Basilio Villarino, who, under the orders of Viedma, ascended the river in order to ascertain its source, and whose diary is extant in the collection of De Angelis, a valuable abstract of it having been given by Sir W. Parish, though sufficiently long ago in our rapid age to be almost forgotten. He ascended with launches first as far as the Island of Choelechel, seventy leagues from Carmen, which he recommended should be fortified as an advance post against the Indians; thence, after incredible difficulties, he succeeded in reaching the foot of the Cordillera, always keeping on good terms with the natives. Here he met with the Araucanians (termed by me Manzaneros), and was in great hopes of reaching Valdivia through their aid, as they showed themselves friendly disposed; when, unfortunately, the Indians fell out amongst themselves, one of the chiefs being killed in the *mêlée*. The chief who caused this man's death came with his people to the Spaniards to implore their assistance, which was promised. This led to the whole of the remaining

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Araucanians 564

Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallerino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and pifiones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and pifiones obtained at the furthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Las Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Villerino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassible for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallerino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Las Manzanas or the Tasso Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luis Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1882, when Roca, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechel, as advised by Villerino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

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far as Mendoza, thus keeping the Salinas Indians quite inside the chain, and driving the Araucanos up to their native valleys of the Cordillera.

This plan was never carried out, and the post, to which the name Isla de Rosas had been given, was abandoned. Rosas was, notwithstanding his having beaten the Indians back, very popular amongst them, and on his overthrow a relation of his, Don Pedro Rosas, took refuge in the Salinas with his artillery and battalion. Orkake and several friends of mine often inquired after Rosas, saying that 'he was a good man,' &c.

The next expedition up the river occurred only a year previous to my arrival in the Rio Negro, when the steamer Choelechel ascended as far as the island, accompanied by a land force under the Commandante Murga. Indians were found occupying the island, and a European was reported as resident among them, and as exercising the authority of chief. Although he refused to hold any communication with the Argentine commander, it is most probable that this was the famous Frenchman Aurelie I., who was said to have obtained a supply of arms landed in the Rio Negro, and brought up to this island. The expedition did not think fit to disturb the Indians, and returned with little to show as the result of their journey.

It was in contemplation to despatch another expedition, but I have as yet heard no news of its progress from my Patagones correspondents, and it is probably postponed till 'Mañana.'

The large island of Choelechel, which I know only by description, never having visited it, appears to be not only an important station in a military point of view, but also admirably adapted for cultivation; there are, however, some reasons against its occupation for that purpose: the first is the undoubted hostility of the Indians to any enterprise tending to occupy what they consider their country; secondly, its distance from Carmen or Patagones as a base

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1862–63; Musters (1871, p. 184; 1872, p. 204), not over 1,500 souls, about 1,400, in 1869–70; Berg (1875, p. 371), 200 [2,000–?] souls, in 1874; Lista (1879 a, p. 75), about 500 warriors, 2,000 to 3,000 souls, in 1878–79; Roncagli (1884, p. 768), 300 [warriors–?], in 1882; Spears (1895, p. 159), perhaps about 500 souls, in 1894, according to gaucho informants; Hatcher (1903, p. 262), doubtful if over 500 left, in 1896–99; Borgatello (1924, p. 134), at most 1,300 to 1,500 souls. Of the foregoing writers, probably Viedma, Muñiz, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Borgatello were best situated to learn the facts.

Detailed data on the *Tehuelche* are given by Reiher (1920, p. 115) as of 1913–14, for the *Tehuelche* then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: 35 men, 40 women, 17 boys, 15 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about 50 of the rest were full-blooded *Tehuelche*. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of *Tehuelche* surviving today (1943).

In 1829 the population had become reduced by one-half since the smallpox epidemic of 1809–12, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97). Borgatello (1924, pp. 135–136) attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Whites, smallpox, and alcohol. Reiher (1920, p. 118) called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time (1913–14) among the reserve *Tehuelche*, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, biscuit, and marmalade, had been largely responsible.

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Caucahue*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Poya*.

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Yacana-cunnees* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Yacana* cacique, Tamu, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. 91–93, 111; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. 86, cf. pp. 195–196). King (1839, 1: 104, 113) in 1827–28 saw a Fuegian [*Ona?*] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan (1880, pp. 103, 127, 171), who spent about 2½ months with the *Tehuelche* in 1833–34, very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner (1852, pp. 21–24) found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, pp. 31, 33, 35, 40). Spears (1895, p. 129) also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded (1884, pp. 233, 235, 237) the presence of Fuegians [*Ona?*] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable migration of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries.

Moreno (1879, p. 378) referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche;* Dumont d'Urville earlier (1842, 1: 51, 156, 265–266), of *Alacaluf* children. The *Huaicurú* mentioned by Cox (1863, p. 165)

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may also have been *Alacaluf;* the *Guaicaro* vocabulary gathered by Lista (1896, p. 41) from a *Guaicaro* medicine man living among the *Tehuelche* is *Alacalufan.*

Caucahue.—In the early Chilean chronicles from 1641 on, the tribal denomination *Caucahue* (*Caucau*, and other variants) occurs sporadically, as applied in the most confusing manner, sometimes to short or medium-statured Indians of the western coast archipelago, at other times to "gigantic" Indians of the mainland. (Cf. details in Cooper, 1917, passim.) Our most detailed account of the latter tall type is that of Pietas (1846, pp. 503–504). He described the *Caucahue*, one of whom he had seen, as "gigantic" in stature, living south of the *Chono*, between the Cordillera and the Golfo de los Evangelistas, and speaking a language unknown to any one in Chiloé. It is quite possible that these tall "*Caucahue*" were *Tehuelche*, but by no means certain. They were very expert in the use of a heavy throwing club. (Cf. also Morrell, 1832, pp. 100–101, on "*Caucau*" met by him in the Guaianeco Islands in 1923.)

Huilliche Serrano.—It is quite possible, too, that the *Huilliche Serrano* of the Chilean chroniclers were *Tehuelche*, or perhaps *Puelche*, to judge from their tall stature as compared with that of the *Araucanians* and from their geographical location. (Cf. original data assembled from sources by Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 218–220.) But our information upon the *Huilliche Serrano*, as upon the tall *Caucahue*, is too meager to justify any but the most tentative surmises as to their ethnic relationships.

Poya.—As regards the *Poya* (*Pouya*, *Pogya*) we are a little better off. (Cf. original source data assembled in: Latcham, 1929–30, 64: 220–223; more fully, *Vignati*, 1939 a; Fonck *in* Menendez, 1900, passim, and esp. p. 319, on "*Puelche*"=probably *Poya.*) They should not be confused with the *Araucanian*-speaking *Poyo* or *Payo.* (Cf. Cardiel, 1938, p. 141; E. Simpson, 1875, p. 104.) The *Poya* were described by three of our four chief sources as big bodied. They spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue. They lived in the general region of Lake Nahuel-Huapí, to the south or southeast thereof. Cardiel (1938, p. 141) seems to class the *Poya* as a branch of the foot *Tehuelche.* The *Poya* made an intoxicating beverage from a wild fruit called by them muchi (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Menendez, 1900, p. 412); muchi is the *Tehuelche* name of the fruit of the *Duvaua dependens*, called huingan by the *Araucanians*, and eaten by the *Tehuelche* (Cox, 1863, p. 211). Vignati (1939 a, p. 237) has called attention to the custom of septum perforation, certainly unusual in these parts, attributed independently to the *Poya* by Florez de León (1898, p. 256) and to the early *Tehuelche* by Fletcher (Drake expedition, 1578: see Fletcher, 1854, p. 50). The

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of [545] method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them [276] chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

231 The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early [341] *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, 177 probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2: 100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche;* see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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search of timber for building, in the course of which he reached the great lake at the foot of the Cordillera, from which flowed the Rio Santa Cruz. Both on the coast and in the interior he received much friendly aid from the Indians, of whom he formed a most favourable opinion. 175

Under his brother's auspices the Rio Negro was ascended as far as the mountains of Villarino, to whose expedition reference will be made in the proper place.

No further knowledge was gained of the interior of Patagonia until the survey of the Beagle, so ably performed and so admirably described by Fitzroy and Darwin; during which the ascent of the Santa Cruz River for 200 miles enabled the latter to observe the remarkable formations which he has so aptly described in his work on the Geology of South America.

This brief but perhaps tedious account has been given to show that although the coasts of Patagonia had been explored and surveyed, yet the interior of the country, though pierced by the expeditions of Viedma and Fitzroy, remained up to a late date still almost unknown. Its inhabitants, the Tehuelches, had been often communicated with, their stature noted, and their friendly disposition commended; but their real manners of life as they wandered through the country, and their relations with, or difference from, the Araucanian and Pampa Indians, had remained almost as much a mystery as they were in the last century. 114

During the last thirty years the Governments of Chili and of Buenos Ayres have shown themselves inclined to claim the possession of the coast, the former trying to advance from the Straits, and the latter from Patagones; and the natives have acknowledged the influence of either Govern 175 177

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175 ment as they happened to be in the northen or southern
177 parts respectively. Our missionaries also have not left the Patagonians without some efforts to instruct and evangelise them; and although these efforts have been necessarily limited to the coast, yet the fruits of Mr. Schmid's sojourn with the Tehuelches remain both in their friendly feelings and in the lasting record of the vocabulary of the Tsoneca language published by him. And the intercourse of these Indians with Argentines and Chilians, and more especially with English officers, sealers, and missionaries successively, all of whom have testified favourably to their character, has tended to make them more open to access, and to give them a knowledge of foreigners; so that in this respect I can feel that to all those who have been mentioned as having thus preceded me, this brief record is due from a traveller who has experienced the friendly feelings of the natives towards strangers, and especially Englishmen.

114 While engaged in preparing the ensuing pages for the press, I have had an opportunity of perusing the work of M. Guinnard, first published in French, and recently given to the English public in a spirited translation, entitled 'Three Years' Slavery among the Patagonians.' The name necessarily attracted me, but to my great surprise careful perusal led to the distinct conviction that the author's personal experiences were altogether confined to the Pampas Indians north of the Rio Negro. From his own statements and omissions it is quite evident that he was not carried by any of his successive masters across this river, which he clearly and accurately defines to be (page 40) the northern boundary of Patagonia. The name of Patagonians is, therefore, a complete misnomer; and the curious account (pp. 72, 73) of the

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of Guayana, and El Gran Paytiti of Brazil, the baseless fabrics of many a golden vision, are found repeated with change of place and circumstances in this city of Los Cesares. There is a curious combination of three distinct strands of legends in the chain which connects the marvellous stories of the Northern Indians and Chilotes with the accounts so circumstantially deposed to, and firmly believed by, the Spaniards of the last century. The first is the conquest of Los Cesares in 1539. Sebastian Cabot, from his settlement of Carcarañal on the Parana, sent his pilot Cesar with 120 soldiers to explore the river, 60 being left to garrison the fort;* this expedition proceeded as far as the junction of the Parana and Paraguay, which latter river they ascended to the Laguna Sta. Anna, on the way defeating the hostile Indians. They reached the boundaries of the Guaranis, with whom they made friendship and returned. They next set out to proceed overland to Peru, and crossed the Cordillera. After making their way against incredible difficulties, they reached a province, the inhabitants of which were rich in cattle, vicuñas, and gold and silver. The ruler of the province, 'a great lord,' at whose capital they at last arrived, received his Spanish visitors kindly, and entertained them with all honour, until at their own choice they were allowed to return enriched with presents of gold and precious stuffs. The Spaniards regained their fort on the Parana only to find it a deserted ruin; the Indians having surprised and massacred the garrison. Cesar thereupon led his party to the settlements, and thence started on another expedition, in which he again crossed the Cordillera, and from a height beheld, as he imagined, the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic on either hand, probably mistaking some large lagoon for the distant Atlantic. He then made his way up the coast to Atacama, and thence to Cuzco, at which city he joined the conquerors just at the period of the capture of the ill-fated Inca Atahuallpa.

* Fte. S. Espiritu.

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177 This marvellous traverse of all the country was spoken of
538 ever after as the conquest of Los Cesares, and the whole account was set forth by Ruy Diaz Guzman in 1612, whose authority was one of the Conquistadores of Peru, named Arzon, who had learned all the particulars from Don Cesar himself in Cuzco. It does not seem, however, that more than this name, and perhaps the tradition of the rich Indian city, were preserved in the romantic rumours that began to obtain currency in the seventeenth century, and continued to gain credit till 1781, when the Fiscal of Chili, having been charged to make inquiry, summed up in an elaborate state paper all the evidence in favour of the existence of a rich and strong city, situated somewhere between 45° and 56° south, and urged the Spanish Government to authorise an expedition to discover and take possession of it. The city was described by various veracious (?) authorities as 'defended by walls, ditches, and ravelins, the only entrance being protected by a drawbridge, besides which cautious sentries were always stationed on an adjoining hill to detect intrusive strangers. The buildings were sumptuously constructed, the houses being of wrought stone with azotea roofs; and the churches were covered with glittering roofs of silver, and gorgeously furnished within. Of silver, too, were all utensils, knives, and even ploughshares made; and the inhabitants used golden stools and seats. They were light-complexioned, with blue eyes and thick beards, and spoke a language unintelligible to both Spaniards and Indians. They wore jackets of blue cloth, yellow capes, and blue wadmal drawers and loose silk trousers, with large boots and small three-cornered hats! They possessed numerous cattle, marked with brands similar to those of the Spanish colonists; but their principal article of cultivation was pepper, in which they traded with their neighbours, maintaining withal a complete system of exclusive isolation.' By one account the population was composed of the descendants of the crews of several ships which had been wrecked in the Straits of

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Magellan from 1523 to 1539, the survivors of which had made their way overland and founded a settlement. A wandering padre was said to have received the news of its existence from some Indians, accompanied by a knife as a token, which was recognised as having belonged to the captain of a stranded vessel. The padre set out to discover his countrymen, but lost his life on the road. Another more precise tradition declared that the surviving inhabitants of Osorno, after having maintained a heroic defence against the Araucanians, under the victorious chief Caupolican, in 1589, made good their escape with their families and cattle to a peninsula in a great lagoon thirty miles long and seven or eight wide, situate near Reloncavi, or the volcano called Osorno, where they built a city strongly defended on the landward side by a fosse and drawbridge raised every night. This lagoon was by others said to be that of Payeque, near a rapid stream named Llanqueco. An explorer named Roxas, in 1714, who started from Buenos Ayres, and whose route lay south-west from Tandil and the Volcan, gives most precise distances and landmarks to define the position of the Cesares. He mentions especially a river with a ford only passable during one period of the year, and a hill on which is found much magnetic iron ore. These landmarks, and the rest of his description, point to the locale of that remarkable rock formation mentioned in page 105, which, seen from a distance, might well cheat a traveller into the belief that he beheld a fortified town. Wáki pointed it out to me, and said, jokingly, 'Perhaps Christians live there.' The 'Indians of veracity,' so frequently quoted in these accounts, who were, however, all bound to keep secret the access to the city, doubtless confused their recollections of different settlements visited in their migrations; and the Spaniards, prepared to receive any new wonder, wove into the marvellous tale all the stories told them, and regarded the joint fiction as undoubted fact. But two more remarkable phases of this legend, and then we return to practical Indian life. A military

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177 538 party, who set out in 1777 from Rio Bueno, and marched to Lake Llanquechue, crossed the passes of the Cordillera, under Osorno, and passed the night near the snow line. They heard distant artillery, and beheld the head of a great Laguna on the eastern side; they brought back the astounding intelligence that two distinct towns existed, one peopled by a race of Spanish origin, the Auca-Huincas, at war with the Tehuelches; and the other by Englishmen, or Moro-Huincas, who lived in amity with the Indians. And the Fiscal of Chili, in his report, insisted strongly on the necessity of rooting out these audacious islanders who had dared to plant themselves in the dominions of 'our Lord the King.' Just as the jealous fear of the encroaching English were thus mixed up in the Spanish version of the mysterious Cesares, so the Indians connected them with the traditionary glories of the great Inca race, and spoke of the Indian Cesares; and the potency of the fable was shown by a proclamation put forth by the heroic and ill-starred Tupac Amaru, who headed the unsuccessful rebellion against the tyrant Christians in 1781, styling himself 'Inca, Señor de los Cesares y Amazonas, con dominio en el Gran Paytiti.' But success mocked his grasp, and he perished by the hand of the executioner, just as the rich and coveted city whose lordship he claimed has eluded many an explorer who has sacrificed his life in the hopeless search. But the patient reader is probably weary of enchanted cities, and glad to return to the daily routine of our Indian life, though it was at this time 224 butcherly enough. It was the all-important season of young guanaco hunting; and though the chase afforded plenty of riding, it could hardly be said to offer sport; but to the Indians it was a matter of business, as their clothing and stock of skins to trade with depended on the number of young guanaco killed at this time. Some notes of the habits 136 of the guanaco and rhea, or ostrich, which furnish the Patagonian Indians with food and clothing, may not be out of place, though all critics are warned that they are not those

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanliness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called 'chumè,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachiko,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are generally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are employed, procured in the settlements, which require no covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact

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784 them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a 766 child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the [431] bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

771 The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in 776 a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition 177 related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 93). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

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thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive faculty for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

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We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

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T 262 226 177 Tehuelches would before this touch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

T 133 On the 12th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Crimé, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two T [34] wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos A 608 already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuhual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Esgel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my Tehuelche friends.

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 73.

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574 After a little delay I was ushered into the Sala, where the two wives of the chief were sitting sewing. The usual maté was served, and I waited long in vain for the chief, who was away collecting his followers for an intended pursuit of some of Calfcura's Indians, who had recently driven off cattle from the valley.

177 At last I bade good-night to my fair hostesses, and summoning my companion, who had been taking maté in the kitchen, set out to return. We had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards, when the tramp of approaching horsemen was heard, and my companion enjoined strict silence, for fear of 'accidents,' and reined up our steeds under the shadow of some trees till we heard the people pass. When their voices had died away in the distance, we proceeded, and resumed our conversation, in the course of which he informed me that it was unsafe to meet people at night in this vicinity unless when well armed. I rather opened my eyes at this, and moralised considerably on the benefits conferred by civilisation on Indian races. At Chalcupe's toldo I found Antonio
574 Linares, brother of the chief, who had brought with him a bottle of brandy, over a glass of which I told him my business, which he promised to forward, and after a nightcap he left in search of more boon-companions. This young fellow
[291] was very well dressed in cloth poncho and chiripas, leather boots and clean linen, and wore a revolver in his belt. He playfully informed me that he had been in search of some one he had quarrelled with all the afternoon, and would have shot him if he had found him.

574 Mrs. Chalcupe made me up a luxurious bed with ponchos and my own saddle gear, and indeed all the inmates of the toldo showed me the greatest civility.

577 At an early hour in the morning I started on my new jaded horse in the hopes of seeing Linares, but on arriving at his house was informed that he had already left for Carmen, to have an interview with the Commandante, Señor Murga.

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Araucanians 564

726 and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, numbering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xavier; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organized by Lemquinco.

777 They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilized Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

877 Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barrancas, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barrancas then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large saline from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, on

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature 857
toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, in- 861
dulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks
or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufactur- 525
ing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two
or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst play-
ing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their
possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their
horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am
bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour
are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with 524
stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys,
and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, 526
within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls
are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws
the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand
at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the 262
statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from
their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood,
and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the 252
ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on
the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag,
enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the em-
bers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast
the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, how-
ever, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow.
Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species 262
of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a de-
scription of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable.
They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently
met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, [137]
apples, and pifones, when in the parts where they abound. In
fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtain-
able; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient [263]
quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species
of gum which exudes from the inconsebush; this, however, is
intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught 273
the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, yerba, and rum; none 276
of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the
exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by 177
a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither
smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty 852
of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

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621 622 words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gownok,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yank,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is observed between them; one chief being prohibited by custom [576] from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his [606] father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching 202 576 one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches coêto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, were he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

181 It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

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Schmid—has usually been assigned to them. They certainly 181
do not deserve the epithets of ferocious savages, brigands of the desert, &c. They are kindly, good-tempered, impulsive children of nature, taking great likes or dislikes, becoming firm friends or equally confirmed enemies. They are very naturally suspicious of strangers, but especially those of 648
Spanish origin, or, as they term them, Cristianos. Nor, considering the treatment—treacherous cruelty and knavish rob-bery—experienced by them at the hands of the invaders and colonists alternately, is this to be wondered at.

In the southern part of the country, their frequent intercourse with sealers on the coast has rendered them favourably disposed towards Englishmen. This remark, of course, does not extend to the northern Tehuelches, who have not the same opportunities.

In my dealings with them I always treated with fair- 577
ness and consideration, and my few belongings—although borrowed at times, according to their mutual way of acting towards one another—were taken the greatest care of; thus an Indian would frequently ask to look at my arms, and, after examining them, would carefully return them to me. During my whole stay amongst them I only lost two articles: the first, a flint and steel, was, I have reason to believe, stolen by one of the Chilians; the second was a pair of ostrich balls, which were abstracted from the toldo. The Indians, although honest enough as regards each other, will, nevertheless, not scruple to steal from any one not belonging to their party. Thus, when they enter the colonies for trade, they will pick up a stray horse in the most natural manner; and in Santa Cruz, Graviel and others constantly pilfered iron nails and small articles. With regard to their truthfulness, my experience was as follows. In minor affairs they nearly always 577
lie, and will invent stories for sheer amusement; thus, 522
Mrs. Orkeke came to me whilst in Teckel with the news that Casimiro's wife was dead. My remark was, 'And a good riddance too!' which was received with a burst of laughter,

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The obsidian and flint articles were confined to scrapers used by the women for cleansing skins, and flints for obtaining fire. There were no traditions regarding the migrations of tribes extant amongst the Indians. It was impossible to obtain information of their forefathers from the Indians. The disposition of the Tehuelches was, when not excited by drink or warfare, cheerful and good-humoured. They treated Lieut. Musters with great kindness. They were particularly fond of their children. During the author's visit and travels in the country, all the tribes were mustered for political purposes: being on the staff of the head chief, he took notes of the numbers of each tribe: from these data he made his calculations, allowing four women and children to each able-bodied man. The numbers are probably slightly under than over the mark.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above: viz., Mr. J. J. Monteiro, Col. Lane Fox, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Wade, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Wake, Mr. H. Howorth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the oldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook, — if the operation should be dignified with that name, — in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot They are

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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Though their great size at first sight was fitted to inspire terror, it required no very long observation to discover that they were deficient in natural courage. This, in fact, might be inferred at once, from their habitual deceit, treachery and artifice, which are the defences of the weak and timorous, rather than the weapons of strong and daring natures. They always select the night to inflict injuries; never meet an enemy in open combat whom they can stab from behind, or despatch in the dark; and, when obliged to attack by day, always do so in large numbers. This defect of courage is increased by their superstition; they have great faith in charms, signs and omens, a weakness which I anticipated might exert great influence on my destiny in important conjunctures. Could I by any means so master their secret as to possess myself of its mystic power, it might prove an effective aid to my plans of self-defence, or of escape. Should it, on the other hand, be turned by any accidental causes against me, its impulse might prove irresistible by power or contrivance. There was no appearance of idolatrous worship among them, nor could I observe any allusion to a Supreme Being, or to any superior powers having personal attributes; and, except a single ceremony, of which more hereafter, the nature of which was and is still inexplicable, there was nothing that suggested to my mind the idea of religious worship. Whether they are cannibals or not, has been a matter of some dispute. So far as I know, they have been, heretofore, only casually observed on the beach by voyagers, or vaguely reported of by the people of adjoining countries and neighboring settlements; neither of which is a sufficiently reliable source of information. My own personal advantages on this head

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but before I had time to cock one I was jumped upon from behind by some half-dozen of these monsters. One of them grasping a pistol by the barrel, I pointed it to his head and pulled the trigger. It missed fire, and I thank God that it did! Its discharge would have certainly killed him, and would as certainly have been revenged upon my life, probably upon the lives of my comrades. This is easily felt and said now; but at the moment, when excited by the struggle for liberty, and, as I feared, for life, with such dreaded enemies and at such formidable odds, it was quite another matter.

The old chief now came up, took me firmly by the wrist, and said, "Usted no bono! usted habla varmano por me casa, mucho, mala hombre currarhae! mucho montaro hombre!"—by which specimen of choice Spanish he desired to inform me that we promised to go to their houses, and now would not go; that we were bad men and liars. His peculiarly thick and guttural pronunciation did not make the dialect more intelligible; but I was in a situation where criticism would have been rather out of place, and my ears were quickened by the revelations made to sight. I therefore promptly replied, that if he would restrain his men from violence, we would go where he pleased. They, meanwhile, grasped their knives, and looked as if they wanted to use them on our persons; but the chief told them, No, *not then;* he would get rum and tobacco for us first, and kill us afterwards. Whilst I was thus engaged, my nearest companion discovered his gun in the hands of an Indian who stood not far from where I was struggling. Rushing suddenly upon him, he succeeded in recovering his piece,—more by tact than force, for his antagonist, like all the

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holding on better than the others, and I hoped she would ride out the gale in safety.

I made my captors understand the reason why no boat had come, as promised; with which they appeared to be satisfied, and we returned as we came. By means of their broken Spanish, which they had picked up from sailors, and in visits to the Chilian or other Spanish American settlements, and by signs, amounting at times pretty nearly to a pantomime, I found myself able to understand inquiries or commands, and to make known my wishes.

Early on the following morning we again visited the shore, and I looked eagerly toward the anchorage, where all my hopes of deliverance centred. Not a vessel was in sight! Whether they had foundered, or were driven upon the shoal and wrecked, or had dragged out to sea in a disabled condition, — or whether my shipmates, the gale having subsided, had deliberately proceeded on their voyage, and left me a prey to cruel savages and all the ills of this inhospitable shore, — I was unable to conjecture. I only knew that they were gone, and that I was left alone to the tender mercies of the Patagonians. No present means of escape appeared. The future, wisely hidden from my view, suggested none to my imagination. I told my captors the worst; that the high winds had probably sunk the ships, and all that were in them. At this intelligence they seemed delighted, and laughed immoderately, as if such a calamity were a consolation for the loss of their expected ransom. Their cruel glee could add nothing to the weight of my desolation. My past life was sealed up as if by an entrance on a new state

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APPENDIX A.

A partial Vocabulary of the Tsoneca Language, as spoken by the Northern Tehuelches. 192 ●

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
I *or* mine	ya
you *or* yours	ma
his *or* hers	ti
this one *or* he	win
who	hem
here	nanik
there	mawoori / mawook / mon
where	kinik
when	kenoesh
what	ket
how	—
how much *or* many	kinkein kerum
above	eok
below	penk / *wumka*
immediately	marso
to-morrow	nush
yesterday	nush
day after to-morrow	eounnush
quickly	gemmo

Exclamations.

of surprise	wati, wati, wati
of anger	worrioo-wálloo
curse it	nourenk y só
on erring with the bolas	wow
on catching an animal or in fighting	kow

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
jealous	ynaien
foolish	chops
quick	sourno
good	ketz
pretty	coquet
bad	terosh
ill	hammersh
hot	yporsk
cold	kekoosh
big	chaish
little	talenque
light	höppen
heavy	pogelsh
like	nourks
far	éouns
near	ekel
similar	wáks
tired	wotysk
hungry	pashlik
difficult	wickemi
hard	chornk
soft	kattñ
ready	kush
yes	ahón (*very guttural*)
no	kompsh
man (*Indian*)	ahonican
man (*Christian*)	háchish
people (*Indian*)	tchonik
woman (*married*)	karken
father	yank
mother	yanna
wife	ysher
son	ykallum

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English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
brother	yten
sister	ystahen
children	coquetra
friend *or* companion	gennow
head	kittar
eyes	ötl
nose	tchal
tongue	tal
lips	chum
teeth	oër
hands	tsicc'r
legs	poa
feet	shankence
toldo *or* house	kou
poles for ditto	hö
hides, ditto	wummum
thongs	cowan
mantle	kai
fillet for hair	kotchi
boots	tsuccre
clothes	kakewit
hat	kor
bolas (*three balls*)	yatschiko
bolas (*two balls*)	chume
sinews	katz
lazo	laso
knife	paiken
gun	gilwum
revolver	gilwinikush
powder	tchampum
caps	kun
lance	waike
pot (*for cooking*)	askem
bottle	oëtre
barrel	barr
(bodkin) needle, *or* nail	hüllen
bag	hüll
pipe	aniwee / conganou
tobacco	golk
saddle	tusk
bridle	hum
bit	kankion
stirrups	keshon
spurs	watereu
girth	genig
straps for securing horses' legs	kaligi

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
whip	wakenem
belt	wáti
sun (*or* a day)	gengenko
moon (*or* a month)	showan
stars	ááskren
a year	tsor
fire	yaik
water	léy
snow	gél
wind	hoshen
rain	téwa
smoke	pāān
clouds	páwall
night	queyomen
wood	kaki
hill	yorri
place	haik
land *or* country	yerroen
river	koona
road	nooma
poncho	lecho
meat	yipper
stones	kátch
rocks	air
grass / pasture	kor
broth *or* tea	áálcish
horse	ewoe / cawall
cattle	choi
sheep	cámpān
large deer	shóen
guanaco	rou
ostrich (*or* rhea)	mikkeoush
puma	gol
fox	paltn̄
skunk	wickster
armadillo	áno
hare	päähi
fowls	peyou
fawn *or* colt	kooroo
skins	wummun
gold	winki
eggs	óom
bones	kotsh
marrow	tcham
grease	am
a chief	gounok
fish	oin

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English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
marriage	coyenk
wild potatoes	appely
sleep	shensk
a file	kikeriki
council	aix
ill	hammersh
ship	youlel
gum *or* rosin	maki
cards	bersen
sit down	pespesh
catch	korigi
to be tired	ywotisk
I go	yschengs
he goes	wanak
he has	hell
give me	moyout
lend me	mon
write	aäkren
buy	amili
change	quewarien
I am tired	wotyskiya
I am hungry	pashlik ya
I am sleepy	yshensk
to kill	ymuck
to fight	ywowesk
to sing	yworrish
I like	yshorske ya
to mount on horseback	amcotts oin
to race	kättern
to send messenger	wickeni coëto
to talk	ayensh
I understand	ya omkes
I do not understand	ytonkes
come along	heroschengs
to hunt	aoukem
to speak	kinscott
to do a thing	micheten
make	mäki
to work	tirsk

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
to light	kaime
to fill	meahawr
to eat	shehattu
march	wéen
to break	charak
to play	nayensh

Colours.

black	chorlo
white	golwin
yellow	waieken
green	arkum
red	käöpen
blue	kaliken
brown *or* bay	soorsh
piebald	hogel

Numerals.

one	chuche
two	houke
three	aäs
four	carge
five	ktsin
six	winikush
seven	ouk
eight	winicarge
nine	humanakoutsen
ten	kake
eleven	chuche kor
twelve	houke kor
thirteen	aas kor
kor added up to twenty	
twenty	wommenikukikor
thirty	aasenikaki
forty	cargekaki
fifty	ktsinkaki
a hundred	patack
a thousand	huaranca

Some Sentences.

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
Thank you	Nouremi naki
Lend me the pipe	Mon aniwee—aniwee moyout
Catch my horse	Korigi ya
Come along, friend	Heroschengs gennow

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ENGLISH.	AHONICANKA, OR TSONECA.
192 Will you come out hunting? (*Lit.* Come out hunting, tell me.)	Heros soukemshaw kinscott ya
The people are fighting	Ywowishk chonik
How many are killed?	Kinkeinkerum ymuck
Where are you going?	Kinek nis chenga
Cook some meat; I am hungry	Herósh yipper wummi pashlik ya
I understand Indian	Omkes Ahonicanka
I like your wife	Ma yshorska ysher
What do you want?	Keterum karn?
It rains much to-day	Chaiske nush que tewa
We are going to see many people	Wushkaeye seonk chonik
We are going to see another country	Wushkaeye kaiok yerroen
Come here quickly	Gommo heout witka
What do you buy	Ket, m amli

APPENDIX B.

Testimony of successive Voyagers to the Stature of the Patagonians.

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A.D.		
1520.	*Pigafetta*	The least, taller than the tallest men in Castile.
1578.	*Drake*	Not taller than some Englishmen.
1591.	*Knyvet*	Fifteen or sixteen spans high.
1598.	*Van Noort*	Natives of tall stature.
1615.	*Schouten*	Human skeletons 10 or 11 feet long.
1669.	*Narborough*	Mr. Wood was taller than any of them.
1750.	*Falkner*	A cacique 7 feet and some inches high.
1764.	*Byron*	A chief about 7 feet high, and few of the others shorter.
1766.	*Wallis*	Measured some of the tallest: one was 6 feet 7 inches, several 6 feet 5 inches; the average height was between 5 feet 10 inches and 6 feet.
1783.	*Viedma*	Generally 6 feet high.
1829.	*D'Orbigny*	Never found any exceeding 5 feet 11 inches; average height 5 feet 4 inches.
1833.	*Fitzroy and Darwin*	Tallest average of any people; average height 6 feet, some taller and a few shorter.
1867-8.	*Cunningham*	Rarely less than 5 feet 11 inches in height, and often exceeding 6 feet by a few inches. One measured 6 feet 10 inches.

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little less than seven feet high. They have broad shoulders full and well-developed chests, frames muscular and finely proportioned, the whole figure and air making an impression like that which the first view of the sons of Anak is recorded to have made on the children of Israel. They exhibit enormous strength, whenever they are sufficiently aroused to shake off their constitutional laziness and exert it. They have large heads, high cheek-bones, like the North American Indians, whom they also resemble in their complexion, though it is a shade or two darker. Their foreheads are broad, but low, the hair covering them nearly to the eyes; eyes full, generally black, or of a dark brown, and brilliant, though expressive of but little intelligence. Thick, coarse, and stiff hair protects the head, its abundance making any artificial covering superfluous. It is worn long, generally divided at the neck, so as to hang in two folds over the shoulders and back, but is sometimes bound above the temples, by a fillet, over which it flows in ample luxuriance. Like more civilized people, the Patagonian take great pride in the proper disposition and effective display of their hair. Their teeth are really beautiful, sound and white, — about the only attractive and enviable feature of their persons. Feet and hands are large, but not disproportionate to their total bulk. They have deep, heavy voices, and speak in guttural tones, — the worst guttural I ever heard, — with a muttering, indistinct articulation, much as if their mouths were filled with hot pudding. Their countenances are generally stupid, but, on closer inspection, there is a gleam of low cunning that flashes through this dull mask, and is increasingly discernible on acquaintance with them; when excited, or engaged in any

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[619] 142 The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall, their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[194] 195 537 Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not interrupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others [562] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

291 [531] The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet more [illegible]. - [illegible]]

5: Bourne T-S (1849)1874
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last argument was decisive, and she kept her huge mouth closed for the night. There was a silent pause for some minutes, and, without another word, we ranged ourselves for repose. I thought the old heathen's consciences troubled him through the night; his sleep was broken, and he appeared very restless. Early the next morning he went to the lodge of the newly-married pair, and had a long chat with them. They thought him rather severe upon them at first; but, after a good deal of diplomacy, a better understanding was brought about. The young people could hardly get over a sense of the indignities they had received; but in the course of the day they returned, leg and luggage, to the old chief's tent, and made it their permanent abode.

We now moved in a westerly direction, and on the way succeeded in capturing a good deal of game. Their mode of dealing with the carcase of the guanaco is enough to dissipate whatever appetising qualities the meat — in itself very palatable — would otherwise possess. It was no uncommon circumstance, while the squaws were removing the hide, to see the dogs tugging at the other extremity, the women, meantime, crying out "Eh! Ah!" in a dissuasive, though not angry, tone. If the animals become too audacious, the ire of their mistresses is kindled, and they break out with "Cashcrow cashsky!" a phrase equivalent to that which, in English, directs its object to a region unmentionable in mere polite.

The Indians have, strictly speaking, no profane expressions. I never could learn that they worshipped or had any idea of a Supreme Being. The only observance which bore any aspect of religion was associated with something we

[illegible] all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, choclitos, bandurrias, some abanarias and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

[illegible] The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[illegible] The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall, their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[illegible] Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not interrupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without reflexion and insanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

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[illegible]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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But to convey a clear understanding of the relations between the tribes which will be mentioned in the ensuing pages, it is as well here briefly to distinguish them. In the various maps and accounts of Patagonia extant, numerous tribes, with different names, are marked and recorded. These accounts, so far as my observations enable me to judge, have arisen from the custom of parties of the tribe combining to travel or fight under the leadership of a particular chief, and being described by themselves, when met with, by his name. I have been enabled to recognise thus the Moluches, who were so called from Malechou, a hereditary chief of that name; and the celebrated chief Lenketrou united under the leadership men of several tribes, and is said to have commanded 1,500 men in his great raid on the Rio Negro settlements. There are now between the Rio Negro [16] and the Straits about 500 fighting men, giving at a rough estimate a population of about 3,000. The Tehuelches, or Patagonians proper, exclusive of the Foot Indians of Tierra del Fuego—who are distinct, though they may be of the same original stock—are divided into two great tribes, the Northern and Southern. They speak the same language, but [17] are distinguishable by difference of accent, and the Southern men appear to be, on an average, taller and finer men, and are more expert hunters with the bolas. The Northern range chiefly over the district between the Cordillera and the sea; from the Rio Negro on the north to the Chupat, occasionally descending as far as the Santa Cruz River. The Southern occupy the country south of the Santa Cruz, and migrate as far as Punta Arena. The two divisions, however, are much intermixed and frequently intermarry; always, notwithstanding, preserving their clannish division, and taking opposite sides in the frequent quarrels. Our party was composed in almost equal parts of both Northern and Southern, and one inmate of our toldo was a Southern named Hummums, a brother of Mrs. Orkeke. From the Rio Negro as far as the Chupat, another tribe, speaking a different language, is met

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in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a potro boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg. 278

Inquirers into the Tsoneca language are referred to the vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work, which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by him. 197

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia does not exceed 1,500 men, women, and children, according to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when the union of all the various parties, combined during my journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given, are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders. Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the nomad parties, combined by custom or often by chance. The population is steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of extirpation of this race. 161

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head cacique, such as Calficura, or any other, though they may agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politically united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas of 'one man being as good as another.' Cuastro's dying 621 622

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73).

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780–83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65–68), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4′ S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

> The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: although that family does not thereby lose its right to the [its] territory [italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the toldería which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.]

A toldería may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern-cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76).

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76).

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sañchez Labrador, 1936, p. 52), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 158; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 128) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives.

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 58; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 338), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it.

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story.

LORE AND LEARNING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183;

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an English saddle. After crossing the ford, a halt took place to smoke a pipe, whilst doing which we watched the gyrations of a huge vulture of the condor species; he hovered for some time, and at length boldly settled on a point of rock about a hundred yards distant; so the soldier, whose carbine was always ready, took a shot, but missed, much to the grief of Gallegos, who asserts that the heart of the vulture is a good remedy for certain diseases. We then mounted, and riding about a mile halted for the night by a spring, gushing out of a ravine in the slope between the upper and lower benches, where the pasture was good, as J'aria declared that water was scarce for some leagues farther on. The bivouac arranged, José and myself proceeded to try and shoot a guanaco, but the plain was too open, so, after lighting up a bit of dry grass to attract any neighbouring Indians, we very foolishly indulged in a bathe in the river. The water was intensely cold, and the ill effects of this ill-timed indulgence were felt for a long time after. The soldier meanwhile was away on horseback, chasing a large herd, but he returned about dusk empty-handed. Next morning we started about nine o'clock, having been, as usual, delayed by the horses having strayed some distance. Ascending the slope, we crossed the higher bench, a barren, dreary waste, for about a league, until we came to a lagoon covered with upland geese, and lying just below what may be termed the barranca of the Upper Pampa. Halting here for a smoke and warm to dispel the effects of the intensely cold wind, we were about resuming our route to ascend the steep slope of the upper plains, when large columns of smoke, in answer to the signal fire we had left behind us, rose up to the sky in a N.E. direction. We moved on, and arriving at the summit of the ascent, looked eagerly round for signs of the fire, but nothing was visible. The plains lay before us apparently destitute of life, excepting a stray guanaco here and there. J'aria then set light to a neighbouring bush, which gave out dense clouds of black smoke, and in a few minutes this was

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dark peaty earth was generally to be found, and the surface of the Pampas had assumed a more desolate appearance, being strewn with small pebbles, and studded with bushes—generally of a thorny species. Round clumps of prickly thistles—which burn like tinder on applying a lighted match—and a few stray tufts of withered grass, only made more desolate the hungry barrenness of the deserts, over which the wind blew with cutting violence, yet they are the home of large herds of guanaco, ostriches, puma, and armadillo, though the latter were at this period comfortably hybernating.

Next morning no horses were visible, and as time went on till ten o'clock without any appearance we all began to suspect Indian treachery. Sam volunteered the remark that if they (the Indians) had played us such a trick, he would go and clear all their animals out the following evening. This threat there was fortunately no occasion for him to put into execution, as the troop proved only to have strayed into another valley. As we were now nearing Santa Cruz, which the last of the Indians were just leaving, having completed their trade and finished all the grog, we saw numerous columns of smoke, caused by their hunting parties. After passing the broken ground and reaching the high Pampa, Sam and myself rode on ahead, amusing ourselves by fruitlessly chasing guanaco or ostrich, but Sam's dexterity with the bolas was frustrated by his being mounted on a horse belonging to the expedition and unused to this work. Towards evening, after again passing numerous salt lagoons, we came to a descent of 300 or 400 feet leading to a valley containing a large salina, and halting, made our fire by the side of a spring, near which, Sam informed me, were the graves of two Indians, which he mentioned with the deepest respect and in an awe-stricken undertone.

Our signal smoke, which was as much to attract Indians as to give the direction of our route to Gallegos and J'aria, was soon responded to from the opposite hills on the northern

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routine of hunting, as we made our way slowly up the valley of the Rio Chico, which was still frozen over. The weather was cold, and occasional showers of snow accompanied the strong piercing westerly winds which blew every day. The valley sometimes opened out into wide grass-covered plains, dotted with incense-bushes, then rose again in huge bare ridge and furrow-like undulations. Occasionally there occurred patches of swampy ground with frozen lagoons, and here and there open springs, the resort of numerous waterfowl. The hills on the northern side appeared bare and rugged, rising abruptly out of irregular forms, while the southern heights were lower, and presented more of the steep declivities known as barrancas, interrupted at intervals by high rugged hills of basalt, often assuming the appearance of ruined castles, closing in at the bends of the winding river. To one of these—a remarkable hill under which we were encamped on August 23, about 120 miles from Santa Cruz—I gave the name of Sierra Ventana, from a window-like opening through its peak; the Indians called it Môwaish. (See Illustration.) In many places the bases of these hills were formed entirely of a description of lava, and one of the Chilians informed me that whilst passing over a ridge, he had observed several large masses of pure iron: this, however, I was inclined to disbelieve, as although farther up the country iron ore exists in large quantities, I only observed in this part a species of ore similar to that common at Drobak, in Norway.

On one occasion, while marching, we observed smoke in our rear, which was thought to be caused either by a messenger in search of us announcing the arrival of the schooner, or else by a party of the Southern Indians who had some idea of marching north. However, no scout was sent back to discover the truth, so we remained in ignorance. On the 26th we halted, and encamped by the side of the river in a broad opening of the valley; here there was a lagoon, not completely frozen, in which grew a description of flag, of

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heavily up; and shortly about twenty or thirty more spread 224
their huge wings, sailed away, and perched on a neighbouring rock. As for the guanaco, in the short half hour of my absence it had been literally torn to pieces; so, after extracting and eating the marrow-bones, we returned to camp, on our way capturing two armadillos. During the past day or 132
two the temperature had considerably risen; the wind, though westerly, was mild and genial, and the Indians affirmed that farther north it would be so warm that I should require some covering for the head. We found on our return that 000
Arica during our absence had gone off somewhere on foot. As he had that morning asked and obtained some tobacco from me, it seemed probable that he had determined to attempt to make his way alone to reach civilisation at some point or other. During our stay in this valley Casimiro 202
requested me to write a letter for him to the commandante at the Rio Negro, inquiring whether the Argentine Government still allowed him his ration and pay as a lieut.-colonel in their service. I also wrote some letters to my friends, but without much hope of their being 'mailed;' though Casimiro assured me that when we joined the Northern Indians they would forward them to the Araucanos, whence they *might* go on by the people who went to Rio Negro to fetch the chief's allowance of cattle; remote, however, as were all these contingencies, still it was a pleasure to write. We 133
quitted the valley after three days' rest, during which Arica had not appeared, and he was concluded either to have fallen a prey to a puma, or to have gone off on his own account. We journeyed all day over a rough hilly country, encumbered with large stones and occasional patches of scrub of considerable height; ostriches abounded, and large quantities of eggs were found. During a long march of about thirty miles no water was seen until we reached the camp at sunset, situated in a cañon; but along the route an occasional patch of snow sufficed to quench our thirst. As I rode along in company 521
with an Indian named 'Tchang,' he began asking me ques-

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tions: first, 'Who is cacique of the English?' I explained to him that it was Her Gracious Majesty. 'Is she married?' 'She is a widow.' 'Has she any children, and how many? Has she lots of horses and mares and silver ornaments?' And so on until I had satisfied him; after which he rode along, repeating, 'A woman cacique! A woman cacique! Four sons and five daughters! Lots of horses, mares, sheep, and cattle!' On the 22nd of September we left the encampment in the cañon about sunrise, and, mounting the ridge on the north side, halted close to the grave of an Indian; the broad and high cairn of stones erected over it denoting him to have been a cacique of importance, which fact was communicated to me in a low whisper by Wáki. Here a fire was made, and a few stones added to the pile. Whilst the Indians were warming themselves the sun rose, and the view of the Cordillera, seen through the clear atmosphere, with the sun's first rays illuminating the snowy mountain summits with a roseate flush was magnificent. We pursued our route over sandy plains, crossed at intervals by shallow streams of water, and halted near some lagoons in a place called by the Indians 'Kinck.'

The following day we marched again, hunting as usual on the way. A fat ostrich at this time of the year was a rarity, but eggs abounded, and formed the main staple of food; and the armadillos were also getting into condition, and assisted to furnish a repast at the camp fire. On the 27th we arrived at a place named 'Gelgel,' situated on the banks of a rapid river, probably that debouching at Port Desire. This was the point of divergence from the northern route to Patagones for any party proceeding to hunt in the western plains. During our stay in Gelgel we hunted in the surrounding country, and on several occasions observed columns of smoke to the south, as if made by a party approaching. These at last appeared nearer, and as no distinct answer was made to our signal fires, scouts were sent out, but returned with no information, one, however, asserting that he had found the

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tracks of many horses, but his known character as an incorrigible liar made his statement valueless. Still everybody became at last convinced that the Northern Indians were at war with the Araucanos, and consequently preparations to fight were commenced. After a watchful night, all fires out, and silence strictly observed, all armed, and mounting their best horses, sallied out. After a while the cause of the whole disturbance turned out to be Arica, who had wandered for eleven days on foot, following our track, subsisting on birds' eggs, and narrowly escaping the pumas, though he had been more than once attacked by them in broad daylight, and had killed one with his knife, his story being vouched for by the boots he had contrived to manufacture out of his deceased enemy's skin. He looked worn and haggard, his feet were sore, and he told me that another night would have finished him. The Indians, who—owing to his desertion and subsequent pursuit of us—had been kept on the alert all night, without fire, and prohibited from conversing, were naturally indignant, and wanted to kill him. But Casimiro and Orkeke interceded for him, and he was brought back to the toldos behind another horseman. Casimiro, *apropos* of these signal fires, related to me a curious story, as follows. 'Many years ago, when I was quite young, I was travelling a few leagues to the northward, under my mother's charge. The party encamped near a large lagoon not far from the Sengel river, and were occupied in hunting in the neighbourhood. On several days in succession smoke was observed in different directions, which approached nearer and nearer each time. Being naturally supposed to be caused by the Indians, it was answered, and scouts were at last sent to ascertain the cause, as no messengers appeared. They returned, however, stating that they could discover nothing. At the end of four days an Indian, tall, gaunt, and emaciated, mounted on a very thin *mule*, arrived in the camp, and asked for a chief whose name was unknown. The stranger was taken, as is customary, to the chief's toldo, and his mule turned loose; but,

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[136] thickness of the wood they escaped. Some of the Indians
137 took the opportunity to cut fresh poles for the toldos. The sight of woods and trees was so refreshing that I spent several days consecutively among them, very often alone, or with one companion. Nobody, except a sailor after months on the sea, can imagine the pleasure of wandering under trees to one who had passed so long a time in the barren and monotonous plains. The weather, however, still continued wet and inclement. On the 5th of December,
202 some of us wandering on the heights above, made out smoke to the N.E., and Campan went off at speed on horseback to reconnoitre. He returned towards nightfall very drunk, and riding straight to our toldo, proclaimed that El Sourdo, the Indian left behind in Santa Cruz, had arrived at a place close to us, bringing grog in two small barrels, and letters for me: when he had delivered his news, he, with some difficulty, dismounted without coming on his head; then produced a bottle half full of rum from under his mantle, which he dispensed to the attendant company.

574 Our toldo was soon crowded, and it was proposed that on the following day we should march and meet the visitor, all being eager for a drink. Accordingly, on the morrow we started, in a storm of sleet and rain, and prepared to hunt *en route*. While hunting, just after Jackechan and myself had killed an ostrich, the former perceived a single toldo, which he knew must be El Sourdo's, so we galloped towards it, accompanied by two other Indians, and were received with open arms by El Sourdo and his two wives,
574 Jackechan being a very old friend. We were made to sit
273 down, and the olla, or boiling-pot, was brought out by the two wives, who acted as Hebes by producing the rum, with which our host filled the pot, and dispensed the liquor in a pannikin. One of the wives then produced my letters, which proved to be from Mr. Clarke and Don Luiz P. B., the schooner having arrived on October 5, all safe. El Sourdo then gave me all the news verbatim—how a fight had taken

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markable. When the disturbances and fighting were going on they rarely ate anything: also when travelling as 'chasquis,' or messengers, they will not unfrequently go for two and even three days without tasting food. In our expedition into the Cordillera we remained over forty-eight hours without food except wild fruit, and, although I at first suffered from hunger, my companions did not appear to be in any way inconvenienced. As a Chilian deserter remarked on one occasion, it was all very well for them to go on without eating; 'but we can't—we've not so much fat.' Their strength of arm is very great, and the distance to which they can throw the ostrich bola is truly astonishing: thus I have seen Crimè and some others ball an ostrich over seventy yards distant. When cutting wood in the Cordillera with Hinchel, a Chilian deserter and myself had cut a tree through, and, having fastened a lazo to the top branch, were endeavouring to drag it down, but its branches became entangled in another tree, and we could not stir it. Hinchel, seeing our difficulty, came up, and with one well-directed, vigorous tug cleared it from the branches and brought it to the ground.

Mr. Clarke also informed me that when he was ill with fever, and had to be removed from the Almacen to the lower house on the island, on account of the noise made by the drunken Indians, Wáki mounted, and, taking him in his arms, rode down seemingly unencumbered by the burden. Their faces, of course, vary in expression, but are ordinarily bright and good-humoured, though when in the settlement they assume a sober, and even sullen, demeanour. Wáki and Cayuke, two friends of mine, are particularly present to my recollection as having always had a smile on their faces. Their ever-ready laughter displays universally good teeth, which they keep white and clean by chewing 'maki,' a gum which exudes from the incense bush, and is carefully gathered by the women and children. It has a rather pleasant taste, and is a most excellent dentifrice, worthy to rival Odonto or Floriline, and it is used simply as

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621 words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly
622 express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gownok,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yank,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is ob-
[576] served between them; one chief being prohibited by custom from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of
[606] etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching
● 202 one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke
576 of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches coëto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, were he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

181 It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

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probably Nahuel-huapi. The pasture in the immediate vicinity of the camp was scanty, having apparently been recently burned, but the soil was of a rich alluvial description. In the chase the most remarkable thing observed was the abundance of armadilloes, one hunter frequently bringing in two or three. Fish also were abundant in the river, and averaged a larger size than those previously caught. [33] [36]

On February 18th smoke was observed to the northward, not far distant, and towards evening a chasqui arrived, bringing with him a couple of bottles of liquor for Quintuhual, as well as news that things were going on well amongst Foyel's people; and on the 21st we again marched over a high plateau broken by numerous irregular ravines which appeared to have been swept by an inundation. High isolated cliffs stood up as though the waters had washed round them and swept away the intervening soil, leaving their water-worn faces marked with the indelible record of the floods, as plainly as the torn and blasted rocks in the southern districts bore the traces of volcanic fires. At last a more unbroken plain terminated suddenly in a shelving descent of 300 to 400 feet, the wall of a chasm covered with grass and shrubs interspersed with scattered boulders, down which we made our way, encamping near the base, where a beautiful spring gushed from the side. The bottom of the cañon, which was nearly half a mile in width, contained a watercourse, the bed of which was dry at this season, except a few pools of stagnant water unsuitable for drinking.

It was intended to despatch messengers from this place, which was called Cushamen, to Foyel, and also Chocoque, the chief of Las Manzanas, warning him of our near approach; and accordingly, after our arrival in camp, I wrote a letter to the said chieftain at the dictation of Casimiro, which in well-rounded periods and with much complimentary verbiage explained the fact and reasons of our having united all the Indians and inviting their co-operation. 202

The following morning, after the letter had been read and

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202 explained to the assembled caciques, the two messengers (sons of caciques) appeared with two horses each, and after receiving some verbal injunctions, started on their journey, amidst the howlings of a few old women and a blast from the
000 cornet. The remainder of us, who had mounted, to add to the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, went out hunting, some following the ravine in an easterly direction, which, penetrating high pampas, opened into a plain containing a lagoon fed by the waters of the brook, whilst others encircled the high pampas above. Hinchel, whom I accompanied on
136 this occasion, pointed out to me several small holes with little mounds of earth and rubbish at the mouth, which he asserted to be the abodes of snakes, but no occupants were visible outside. He described the snakes as dark in colour, about two feet six inches long, and perfectly harmless,
[262] adding that they would be good to eat, which facts were subsequently corroborated by Casimiro.

231 One of the troubles of pampa life is occasionally losing one's horses, as was my case in this place, and I spent one entire day in search before I recovered them, as they had strayed in company with a troop of mares far up the valley, which here divided into two branches, opening into watered grassy plains extending to the Cordillera. As there were horse tracks up both valleys, according to the usual law of contrariety I took the wrong one at first and had a long gallop for nothing. At any time it is troublesome to have to look through about two thousand horses all unmarked, and many of the same colour, and perhaps resembling those belonging to the perplexed searcher. An Indian, however,
[151] with his natural quickness of sight, will distinguish his own horses at a great distance amongst a hundred others. It has been already said that in this roving life all must look after their own horses, for Indians do not understand another person doing it for them, unless he be a son or relation, and in all cases when preparing for the march every one is expected to find and bring up his own.

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648 under cover of night, had been wrecked in the rapids at the bend, about a mile above the ford which we had recently crossed: he then took refuge among these Indians, by whom he was hospitably received, and subsequently returned to Valdivia across the mountains, being unable to proceed to Patagones. The old Indian entertained a most friendly feeling for Mr. Cox, whom he had known well, as he had remained several days in his toldo.

After talking some time about this, food was served, and he then proceeded to ask my opinion as to the treatment the Indians experienced from what he called the Spaniards, stating that the Chilians were encroaching on one side and the Argentines on the other, by which means the Indians must eventually be driven off the face of the earth, or else fight for their existence.

650 After some more conversation I returned to our fireside, accompanied by a half-bred nephew of Inacayal, who had left Patagones some eight months previously, having been 'wanted' by the Juez de Paz on account of his having deserted from the army, and having further, in a quarrel, either killed or wounded a Frenchman. He was anxious to induce me to use my influence with Casimiro to allow him to join us, which I did not do for the best of reasons, viz., that he appeared to be a great scoundrel, but I volunteered to take a message to some of his friends in Patagones.

[202] About midnight, bugle calls on the opposite side of the river indicated the approach of the rest of the party, who arrived next day, but Casimiro was in the bad temper customary with him after a debauch, and steadily refused to proceed and take advantage of the fine weather; so another day was spent in loitering about by the side of the river and eating a great deal of beef.

My first cousins, who were also nephews of the old man who had formerly been acquainted with Mr. Cox, started in company with him to procure some apples and pihuenes, promising me plenty when they returned. Meanwhile I made

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114 dered observation and record, in addition to hunting and the usual toils of marching, impossible. It was the more needful for me to endeavour to keep up, as all were more or less ill, and becoming increasingly gloomy and dispirited. To
783 add to the troubles which weighed down the Indians' spirits at this place, the doctor's horse fell while descending a precipitous rocky hill. The unfortunate physician was stunned, and very nearly crushed to death by the horse falling on him; great grief was universally expressed at this catastrophe, as no one was left to cure the invalids and contend with the malignant Gualichu, who, it was natural for the Indians to imagine, had laid a trap for his opponent, and upset the medicine man's stool in order to have the field clear for himself.

136 We encamped in a sort of morass, by the side of the hills overlooking the plain, and were woke at daylight by the chattering of a flock of blue and orange parroquets; these birds, which brought back old pleasant associations of the banks of the Parana, and almost seemed to be harbingers of civilised life, were numerous in this locality, though they were the first of the species that I had observed in the country.

202 The distant signal smoke was considered to indicate the presence of Jacksonian and the Pampa Indians under Tres-feros, and all were in spirits at the prospect of obtaining news, and perhaps luxuries in the shape of flour, yerba, &c., from Patagones. The order was accordingly given to march, and a large answering signal fire kindled in some dry pasture bordering the hill side, a messenger being at the same time despatched to ascertain the news. After a rather long
133 march over a barren plain strewn with angular masses of shale-stone and projecting rocks resembling skeletons, we arrived at a dreary encampment, sheltered under a bank, from which a spring gushed out, forming a refreshing rivulet.

087 The writing of my page had compelled me to enjoy the pleasure of driving my own cattle, following the track in

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203 be peaceable at Patagones, and a rumour was current that Commandante Murga was about to give up his governorship. Casimiro, on receiving all this intelligence, immediately wished a despatch to be indited, although I pointed out to him that it would be better to wait until we had arrived at a nearer point; he was so urgent that on the following morning I composed an elaborate letter, detailing the union of the tribes, the precautions taken for protecting Patagones, and requesting a hundred mares for Casimiro and his people: when finished it was carefully wrapped up and stowed away in my baggage till wanted.

202 The talk then naturally turned on the subject of the choice of messengers to be despatched to Patagones on our arrival at Marpensho. It had been previously arranged that I should be sent fully commissioned, as being better able to represent to the authorities what had been resolved on, as well as to impress upon them the immediate requirements of the Indians, and several others now volunteered to accompany me, and got quite merry at the thoughts of a drink. But we were still three marches distant from Marpensho. The following
153 day we were again on route, traversing a succession of plains with rocky ridges cropping up at intervals, until we at length reached a grassy valley enclosed by steep walls of rocks sixty feet high; gravely perched on the summits of
[136] which several slate-coloured Chilian eagles were visible, their occupation being to prevent the excessive multiplication of little caries. On the hill sides bordering this valley, our old friend the incense bush, which had for many marches back been very scarce, grew in luxuriant profusion. At this
[172] season it was covered with berries which, though uneatable, are used by the Indians mixed up with water as a drink; this infusion has a very sweet taste, but I should think must be very unwholesome. On arriving at the encamp-
148 ment, at the land of the valley, near some pools of standing water, we were apprised, by the lugubrious sounds of the women's monotonous chants, that the number of the children

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[illegible] He narrated how he himself had occupied twelve days in crossing it, and had been obliged to abandon a horse and the saddle and gear of his remaining steed, and with difficulty, nearly starved, on foot, and driving his almost worn-out horse before him, had made his way to a station.

At the same time a young Indian started to cross the desert, but lost his way, and, quoth the cacique impressively, 'His bones are there now.'

[illegible] One statement, that the chafials or white thorns grew higher than the horses' heads and tore the unlucky riders' mantles to pieces as they forced their way through them, my own after-experience fully verified. I, however, adhered
[illegible] firmly to my original intention of going, as agreed to by him, and conveying with my own hand the letter I had written: and it was finally settled that Meña, Nacho, and I should, on arriving at Margensho, start on our journey as chasquis. Casimiro's real motive for dissuading me was distrust, as we had on two or three occasions disagreed, and once nearly come to blows; he was therefore afraid that I should, on arriving at Patagones, work against his interests and give him a bad character. Meña, who had taken a great fancy to me, volunteered for the purpose of keeping an eye on Nacho, who was my 'bête noire,' and not to be trusted.

[illegible] These arrangements having been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, we proceeded to the toldo of a friend and assisted at the ceremony performed by the doctor of curing a sick child, more especially concerning the part of painting with red ochre, killing and eating a white mare.

On this occasion the parents formally invited the principal chiefs and their relations and friends, and the ceremony commenced as follows. All the men were either sitting or standing in a circle, in the centre of which sat the mother holding her infant in her arms. The doctor then came in, and under his direction the mother plastered the infant from head to foot with white clay, the wizard meanwhile mutter-

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622 At the risk of repetition, it must be said this man was the best Tehuelche, excepting perhaps Wáki, I ever had anything to do with; he was frank, honest, generous, sober, and in every way fit for a chief; a ready and skilled workman in all Indian trades, from breaking a colt to constructing a saddle or silver necklace; his only vice being gambling, but for which last habit he would have been the richest and most powerful chief, as he was universally respected.

[431] Orkeke also sent for me, and put into my hand a packet of tobacco for the journey, which he assured me would be long, tedious, and dangerous. I promised to ask particularly for his ration, and if the Government would not grant it, to make him a present myself. He wished me to return, but I pointed out to him that for various reasons it would be better not, so we parted, agreeing to meet in Patagones.

202 It may be as well to mention that if the post of chasqui, or herald, as he may be styled, be an honourable one, for which as a rule only the near relatives of chiefs are employed, the duties are sufficiently hard. The chasqui is expected to ride like 'young Lochinvar,' as fast and as far each day as the horse will carry him; he must not turn aside or halt even for the purpose of hunting, and unless an ostrich or other game cross his path may have to go without supper after his day's fifty or sixty miles' journey, while his bed and bedding are the ground and mantle. Of course endurance, sobriety, and reliable steadiness of purpose are essential qualifications, especially if the distance to be travelled over be great. And Nacho had always approved himself an excellent chasqui, and was an unerring guide even across the trackless travesia.

When the chasqui falls in with other Indians on the march, or an encampment, he is ceremoniously received and honourably entertained, and it is usually expected that in case of need he will be supplied with fresh horses to prosecute his mission.

The following morning at daylight another consultation

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took place, and the letter had to be again produced, and another postscriptum added. I then took down in my note-book the immediate requirements of Casimiro and other friends, which, according to agreement, were to be sent back by Meña and Nacho, myself remaining in the settlement until the arrival of Casimiro, when we were to proceed together to Buenos Ayres either by land, *viá* Bahia Blanca, or by steamer.

At about eight o'clock, when the rime of the frost was just cleared off the grass, we, after bidding adieu to all friends, caught our horses and started. I took with me only my suit of clothes in a bag, and the letters. Each of the party was provided with a piece of meat from the guanaco I had slain the previous day by way of provision, and with two horses apiece we were at length *en route*, the old women chanting melodiously to keep the devil out of our way. My page affected great distress at my departure, but as he had my remaining horses to take charge of, and a legacy of a mantle I had no particular use for, having worn it almost without interruption since leaving Santa Cruz, he was, in all probability, delighted to see, as he thought, the last of me as we disappeared over the ridge.

We travelled slowly for the first half hour, and had just released our spare horses from the lazos, which hitherto had restrained them from rejoining their fellows, when we heard a shout behind us, and an Indian appeared driving a troop of horses. He was from the encampment, and being a Pampa was *en route* to join his tribe, whom he expected to meet somewhere about Valchita, five days' journey on, and from whom we were to get fresh horses wherewith to cross the travesia to the settlements. This addition to our party was unexpected, but we considered the more the merrier, and three at any rate is an awkward number to travel sociably together. Putting our horses to a hand canter, we now regularly started, leaving care behind, and looking forward to bread, coffee, and other long-untasted good things. We

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to [462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them [512] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown 622 they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When 721 623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion 721 203 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol- 423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from 484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission ● [202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "ɛ," "ɛ," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the able-bodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

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512 party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlemento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

585 Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify [537] for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My 755 compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We 714 greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by strips of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from foolish Indians.'

777 His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was 263 often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

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as to what there could possibly be in that place to write about, as although the Tehuelche mind can comprehend writing letters to friends or officials, it by no means understands keeping a journal; and 'some untutored Indian' might probably, if suspicious that 'i'faith he'll prent it,' instead of waiting to cut up the book, anticipate all reviewers by cutting up the intended author himself.

On the 18th of November the camp at Henno was broken up, and all marched a few leagues to the west, crossing successive rocky ridges running parallel to the Cordillera, and divided by well-watered valleys, and encamped near a valley watered by the same river, which between this place and Henno makes a considerable bend. This station was named 'Chiriq,' from a description of bush, with a leaf somewhat resembling that of the sloe, which grows abundantly on the banks of the stream. The wood of this shrub is soft and of little value, but burns well when dry. At this time neither flower nor fruit was visible, but it was described to me as bearing a berry resembling the currant. Since our departure from the wooded river Sengel, a description of cactus, or, as the Spaniards call it, tuna, bearing a tasteless fruit something like the ordinary prickly pear, had been met with occasionally, and found very troublesome, for as it grows close to the ground its spines are very apt to lame the horses if not carefully avoided in the chase. From Chiriq a large plain appeared to extend for some leagues to the westward, bounded north and south by a wooded range of hills, and extending apparently to the bases of the lofty snow-covered peaks of the Cordillera, which appeared to form a complete barrier.

During our stay here an incident occurred which led to the collection and comparison of the traditions concerning the hidden or enchanted city which still are current and believed among the Indians and Chilotes.

One day while hunting we were startled by a loud report, as of the discharge of a cannon, and looking to the west saw a black cloud of smoke hanging above the peaks of the Cor-

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volcanic aspect, was named 'Oerroè.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimè's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Cheoeque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

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drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was cur- 203
rent that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them, and various other stories, most of which were declared to be lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish their hearers. Crimè's widow took up her abode in our toldo; [736]
and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the 622
rank of lieutenant in the Buenos Ayrean army, and the right of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique, who at last declared that he should name his almost insane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated by annual pay! On April 22 a start was made, but we remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing, so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was 133
presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular *hills*, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after 261
it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce, what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given to those recovering from sickness.

Jackechan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as 755
the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for. He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, muttering a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

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advance of the other people; besides this, an attack of fever rendered me indisposed, and, indeed, incapable of hunting. While languidly jogging on in the centre of the circle which was made on both sides of the tracks, and anathematizing one of the horses who would every now and then endeavour to join the hunt on his own account, I observed an ostrich coming straight towards me: the sight was reviving, and leaving my horses to themselves, I galloped to the cover of a friendly bush, and when he was within a short distance dashed out, and discharging the bolas, had the satisfaction of seeing him turn a somersault and lie with outstretched wings stunned. An Indian riding up at the time claimed the customary division, and took charge of the bird, on which we regaled our friends at the close of the hunt. Many of the hunters came in empty-handed, or with only a skunk, of which there were numbers in this vicinity, hanging to their saddles. By this time the armadilloes had taken up their winter quarters under-ground, and only came out of their burrows on a remarkably sunny day.

At night we encamped under a barranca or steep rising to the eastward. On his arrival Hinchel informed me that we had passed the vein of ore previously spoken of, and the hot springs, the Indians having shortened the journey by deviating from the usual line of march.

The chasqui returned late at night with intelligence that the smoke had been caused by a party of Pampas Indians travelling to join Quintuhual, or, at any rate, in that direction, but whatever provisions or tobacco they had they kept to themselves, and had purposely avoided us. Jackechan and Teneforo had started for Valchita *en route* for Patagones, after waiting for our coming more than a month in Marguacho, the place appointed as a rendezvous. Whilst there they had received liquor and other luxuries from Patagones, but no disturbances had ensued, the only casualty being that a woman had been severely burned by falling into a fire whilst in a state of intoxication. All was reported to

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203 be peaceable at Patagones, and a rumour was current that Commandante Murga was about to give up his governorship. Casimiro, on receiving all this intelligence, immediately wished a despatch to be indited, although I pointed out to him that it would be better to wait until we had arrived at a nearer point; he was so urgent that on the following morning I composed an elaborate letter, detailing the union of the tribes, the precautions taken for protecting Patagones, and requesting a hundred mares for Casimiro and his people: when finished it was carefully wrapped up and stowed away in my baggage till wanted.

202 The talk then naturally turned on the subject of the choice of messengers to be despatched to Patagones on our arrival at Margensho. It had been previously arranged that I should be sent fully commissioned, as being better able to represent to the authorities what had been resolved on, as well as to impress upon them the immediate requirements of the Indians, and several others now volunteered to accompany me, and got quite merry at the thoughts of a drink. But we were still three marches distant from Margensho. The following
133 day we were again *en route*, traversing a succession of plains with rocky ridges cropping up at intervals, until we at length reached a grassy valley enclosed by steep walls of rocks sixty feet high; gravely perched on the summits of
[136] which several slate-coloured Chilian eagles were visible, their occupation being to prevent the excessive multiplication of little cavies. On the hill sides bordering this valley, our old friend the incense bush, which had for many marches back been very scarce, grew in luxuriant profusion. At this
[272] season it was covered with berries which, though uneatable, are used by the Indians mixed up with water as a drink; this infusion has a very sweet taste, but I should think must be very unwholesome. On arriving at the encamp-
165 ment, at the head of the valley, near some pools of standing water, we were apprised, by the lugubrious sounds of the women's monotonous chants, that the number of the children

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464 a caravan of women travelling in the same direction as ourselves, and from the summit of the range saw in the valley below two different groups of thirty or forty toldos each, about half a mile apart. Galloping on we arrived, about 464 five P.M., at the nearest tolderia; but on inquiring for 576 Patricio, to whom we had been directed to go by Casimiro, found that he belonged to the others, to which we proceeded, and were duly received, our horses, &c., taken care of, and ourselves ushered with all ceremony into the presence of Patricio (a half-bred Pampa and Tehuelche). After the hour's etiquette of answering questions, we were each given one rib of a guanaco to eat. I was so hungry that I could have eaten a dozen at least, so, on the plea of washing, started off to look for Jackechan's toldo, which I shortly found, and was received with open arms by my friend and El Sourdo. After his 'missus' had given me some food, followed by the luxury of a matè with sugar, Jackechan related his proceedings subsequent to leaving our party.

203 After a few days' march in the direction of the Chupat, he came across some cattle, which were caught and killed, and then, whilst in the same spot, he despatched the messenger to Chupat with the letter, who returned in fifteen days with an answer, but without any stores.

The letter, carefully wrapped in a piece of old linen which had served as the envelope to my own epistle, was ceremoniously handed to me by the light of a blaze produced by some grease thrown upon the fire. I read and interpreted the contents to Jackechan. The writer—Mr. Hughes, if I recollect rightly—expressed his pleasure at hearing of my safety, but regretted his inability to forward any stores or clothing, as the supply in the colony was extremely scanty, owing to the non-arrival of the ship with Mr. Lewis Jones on board, which had been expected for some months. It need scarcely be said that I had been quite unaware of the privations endured by these unfortunate colonists, which the despatches of Commander Dennistoun have made known to

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the public during the preparation of these pages for the press, and to which reference will be made in the ensuing chapter. Jackechan, after the return of his messenger, proceeded to Margensho, in the vicinity of which he met the parties under Teneforo, Patricio, Antonio, and other petty chiefs. These all united, and, sending into Patagones, obtained liquor and other stores, with which, as before mentioned they had a drink for ten days, but no quarrels or fights took place—a fact which redounds to the credit of the chiefs. After waiting a month for our party, they, owing to the scarcity of game, had come by easy stages to this place (Trinita). Jackechan then explained that the first toldos were those of the Pampa Indians, under Teneforo and Champayo, the former being absent in Patagones, getting his rations of animals; his Indians are pure Pampas, and are often called Kerekinches,* or armadilloes, for some reason unknown to me. Some of them are in the service of the Argentine Government, and liable to be called upon by Linares, chief of the tame Indians. The remaining toldos were those belonging to the Indians under Antonio and Patricio, who were composed of mixed Tehuelches and Pampas. The two encampments were situated about half a mile apart, separated by a winding stream, in some places concealed by most unusually high reeds. The position was entirely surrounded on the eastern, southern, and western sides by high rocky eminences; but to the north the valley apparently continued for some miles; its breadth was about three miles, and everywhere in the vicinity of the stream, which in some places had overflowed its banks and formed a marsh, the most luxuriant pasture was growing.

On returning to Patricio's toldo, I formally asked for the necessary horses to prosecute our journey, but was refused on the grounds of his having none to spare; so we determined, as our horses showed symptoms of fatigue and one was lame, to give them one day's rest before proceeding. We passed

* Quirquincho.

4/62 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are col-
lected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Río Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
4/38 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Río
283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
224 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco hunt, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they
are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to
which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that
meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as
when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be
brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has
been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and
assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to
[462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being
unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them
[92] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown
622 they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited
to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his peo-
ple, although in the aforementioned manner in which obedience is re-
721 quired it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When
623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may
have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the ap-
proval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in
the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which
have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, aids
and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the
council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the pro-
posal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually
the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways
721 and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion
203 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning
hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud
voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war,
the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in
which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war,
and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol-
423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may
cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from
484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission
[202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other
smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been
answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose terri-
tory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing
through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

484

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador 648
for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be [202]
made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks [203
without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news 537]
and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "e," "e," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded. In all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and 721
as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women 217
and children are made captives and the old women together with the able-bodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [718]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the 532
Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

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Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and down, dressing the ranks and harangueing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Kose' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Aben,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel, usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

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only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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The next day was got through by having a thorough 'wash' of my clothes, and cultivating a closer acquaintance with the Chilian Arica, from whom I obtained a dog in exchange for an old guanaco mantle. But as on the third day no signs of the return of Orkeke appeared, the inaction became insupportable, so after the departure on a hunting excursion of Tankalow and his son, Arica and myself determined to start in pursuit of Casimiro and his party. As Arica had no horse, it would be necessary for us to ride and tie; but even thus we could make quick travelling. Accordingly at two P.M. we started, much to the astonishment of the Indies, who protested that we were certain to lose our way or be killed by the pumas. One old lady, Orkeke's sister, after trying in vain to dissuade us, presented me with a slice of charqui, which with a few handfuls of coffee formed our stock of provisions. That day we did not get very far; but in the next march, as the track of the Indians was plain, we had made thirty miles by the time we halted, at nightfall, at a place where another valley from the northward joined that of the Rio Chico. Our charqui had barely sufficed for an evening meal, so this day we satisfied our appetites with the supply of the tuberous roots of a plant which grows in great quantities in most parts of Patagonia.

The plant, which in its growth resembles very closely the balsam bog of the Falkland Islands, and might be easily taken for it but for the absence of the gum, which perhaps was attributable to the quality of the soil or the season of the year, is easily recognisable by its mass of tiny green leaflets, and presents the appearance of a small hillock of earth crowned with delicate moss. By digging down into the heap, one large and several small tuberous roots are found, which when roasted in the ashes prove sufficiently palatable to hungry men.

We went to sleep in the open air, rolled up in our guanaco mantles, but awoke to find that a heavy fall of snow had covered everything a foot deep, and totally hidden all trail of

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useless. Tankelow, however, found an ostrich and nest, the eggs from which, about thirty in number, he, according to Indian custom, divided among those who came up before they were removed from the nest; among these lucky individuals was myself; for, seeing him make to the spot, and the male bird get up, and being moreover, well mounted and exceedingly hungry, I was among the first arrivals. Far away to the right of our track, extending thirty or forty miles eastward, lies a district called by the Indians 'The Devil's Country,' which, they assured me, is never entered, probably from the barren and impracticable nature of the surface, which seems, from description, to be even worse than the wilderness traversed by us. Beyond this district there is a practicable track, sometimes followed by the Indians, leading northward, probably used as a route to the Chupat; but from that line to the sea the country is so impassable that the Indians say it would require two years to proceed by the sea-coast from Santa Cruz to the Rio Negro. The existence of such tracks as these, and the desolate Travisias encountered near the coast, have probably caused Patagonia to be described as an arid, almost waterless country; but, in reality, after passing the coast barrier most of the interior abounds in lagoons, springs, and frequent streams; and, even in the Travisias, the numerous wild animals met with show that water exists.

Towards evening we left the snow behind us; and descending a lofty hill, which had bounded our view all day, came to a large swelling down, from which the prospect was far more encouraging. Rolling plains extended to the north and north-east, whilst the Cordillera rose like a wall on the western side. This hill is called by the Indians 'God's Hill;' and the tradition, as communicated by Casimiro, relates that from this spot the Great Spirit dispersed the animals which he had made in the caverns. But some of the animals must have remained behind, as, out on the lower slope of the downs, two pumas were chased and killed. An hour's ride

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combination was universally approved of. Another day we went fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line, voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish, and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood. Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invitation I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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Christmas time of my life: to parody the 'Ancient Mariner,' it was 'Cattle, cattle everywhere, and never a bit of beef.' The following day was spent in the toldos, and some of the Indians were desirous, or pretended to be, of going once more in search of cattle. Orkeke would not hear of it, so on the 28th we marched, following the course of the river in a more or less north-east direction. The weather was beautiful, and after leaving the plain we rode along the winding valley, now and then starting a herd of guanaco or a solitary ostrich. Towards evening we encamped on the banks of the river, and the women, after pitching the toldos, employed themselves in grubbing up potatoes. This day we saw smoke to the north, caused by the hunting-parties of the other Indians, and also some at a greater distance, which Orkeke said was that of the Araucanian Indians, whom it was expected that we should shortly meet with.

On the 29th we were preparing to march, and while the women were engaged in lading the horses some of us were picking the berries of the 'Califata,' or barberry (Berberis buccifolia), or looking for strawberries, when a boy, from a party of other Indians occupying the toldos near at hand, rode up as if despatched as a chasqui, and stated that his party had communicated with the Araucanians, amongst whom there had been a row in a drinking bout, resulting in the death of the cacique. This story was fully believed, and Orkeke was rather perplexed, as perhaps the new cacique might not be friendly disposed towards the Tehuelches. Without hunting, we rode quietly down to the next encampment, where the two strange toldos had already arrived. On our near approach one of the Indians came to meet us, and whilst discussing a pipe, after the observance of the usual ceremonial prescribed by etiquette (as we had not seen the man before), we asked him about the row amongst the Araucanos, which turned out to be all a hoax on the part of the promising youth who had visited us. After a while we

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After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Engel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Chocoepe, and the much-praised

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We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours. A T 525

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nurseling carried in the cradle behind her. A T 525 231

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Mofia, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these A T 222 ● 137 A T [282] T 242 226 177 T [227]

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Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2:100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:32; Mori, [1535], 1880, p. 220), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no mares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1900, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1908 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 339). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND DWELLINGS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 119) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41, and hem. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 490, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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242 food, from the sinews of the leg thongs for bolas are con-
[281] structed; the neck is used as a pouch for salt or tobacco; the feathers are exchanged for tobacco and other necessaries; the grease from the breast and back is tried out and secured in bags formed of the skin (taken off during the spring season, when the females, like all the Patagonian animals except the puma, are thin); the meat is more nourishing and more relished by the Indians than that of any other animal in the country, and the eggs form a staple commodity of food during the months of September, October, and November. The male bird stands about two feet and a
136 half high, and is to be distinguished from the female by its being of a slightly darker colour, and of greater size and strength; nevertheless, it requires a practised eye to detect the difference at any distance. The male bird is also swifter. Their usual food consists of short grass and the seeds of various shrubs, but more especially of tender grass, which I have on several occasions watched them plucking, from a convenient rock which hid me from their sight. On being alarmed they immediately set off at a great speed; they possess great powers of eyesight. If met or obstructed by horsemen in their line of flight, they not unfrequently squat so closely that they can scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding rocks, as the greyish colour of their plumage so closely resembles the almost universal aspect of the Pampas of Patagonia. These birds, though not web-footed, can swim sufficiently well to pass a river. In the winter season
[225] it is not unfrequent for the Indians to drive them into the water, where, their legs getting numbed with cold, they are drifted to the shore by the current, and easily captured, being unable to move. In snowy weather they are also easily taken, as their eyes appear to be affected by the glare of the white snow, and their saturated plumage doubtless becomes heavier. They are polygamous, one male bird consorting with five or six hens, which lay their eggs in the same nest—a hole about two feet six inches in diameter,

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Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used bolas against guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Figueroa, 1905, 1: 88; Moré, [1535], 1889, p. 330), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41-42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 60, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 60, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1905, pp. 365-366, 366, and Outes, 1909 d.)

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—evengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1924, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education have refer to the inter *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with deep gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1908, p. 86) states that children's hands were

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175 the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacos, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could commend my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1870 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Setteboth." They never cut their hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a bag for fire-sticks, and what not; they are fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

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gether wrong in naming them giants, yet they are not taller [75
than some Englishmen.' Drake next visited Port St. Julian; and, curiously enough, as Magellan had in this place put to death two and marooned a third of his captains who mutinied, so this harbour was the scene of the execution of Mr. Doughty, who chose rather to be beheaded than to be put on shore. The ensuing year Sarmiento was despatched from Callao to examine the Straits in search of the daring Englishmen. He saw natives who chased their game on [226]
horseback, and brought it down with bolas. But fifty years had elapsed since horses had been imported by the Spaniards of the Rio de la Plata, and already the Indians in the far [29]
south had become horsemen, and would seem to have exchanged their bows and arrows for the bolas. [41]

In 1581 Sarmiento was sent from Spain with 2,500 men in twenty-three ships, to found new colonies in the Straits, and established a settlement, leaving 400 men and thirty women furnished with eight months' provisions. On his way home his ship was captured by the English, and the unhappy colonists were altogether forgotten and neglected by their Government.

Five years after, Thomas Cavendish anchored in a bay to the south of St. Julian, called by him Port Desire, which perpetuates the name of his little craft of 120 tons. Here the natives attacked his men with bows and arrows. Visiting the Straits, he arrived at the settlement, and found only twelve men and three women surviving, the rest having perished of slow starvation and disease; and the name of the place, Port Famine, conferred by him, still recalls the miserable fate of these ill-fated colonists.

On his next voyage, in 1591, Cavendish died; but John

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136 The Indians affirm that the pumas will attack a single man alone and on foot, and, indeed, subsequently, an example of this came under my notice; however, if a person should be benighted or lost, he has only to take the precaution of lighting a fire, which these animals will never approach. They are most savage in the early part of the spring or breeding season, when, according to my experience, they are found running over the country in an unsettled manner; they are then also thinner than at other times, but, like the wild horse, they are generally pretty fat at all times of the year. The females I saw were sometimes accompanied by two cubs, but never more. The meat of the puma resembles pork, and [285] is good eating, though better boiled than roasted, but one or two Indians of my acquaintance would not touch the meat. 281 The hide is useful either for saddle-cloths or to make 136 mantles of; and owing to its greasy nature it can be softened with less trouble than that of the guanaco. In Santa Cruz one of the men had a pair of trousers made of lion's skin, which worn with the hair side out was impervious to wet. From the hock and lower part of the hind legs boots may be constructed similar to those made from horse hide, and in common use amongst the Indians and also the gauchos of Plata. These, however, are only made from pumas of large size, and they wear out very quickly. To • 286 kill a puma with a gun is rather a difficult matter, as, unless the ball enters his skull, or strikes near the region of the heart, he has as many lives as his relations the cat. I once put three revolver bullets into one, and ultimately had recourse to the bolas as a more effective weapon. When wounded they become very savage, but they are at all times bad customers for dogs, which they maul in a shocking manner. The Indian dogs are trained to stand off and bay them, keeping out of range of the claws; nevertheless they not unfrequently get killed. Perhaps the simplest way of taking the puma, is to throw a lazo over them, as directly they feel the noose they lie down as if dead, and are easily do-

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painted. I was particularly struck, as are all hunters, with their eyes, large, brown, and beautifully bright, but with a fierce glare that does not appeal to any feelings of compassion. I shall never forget the expression in the eyes of one puma, best described by the remark made by one of the Indians as he raised back his brows, expecting a spring: 'Mira los ojos del diablo!' ('Look, what devil's eyes!')

One expedition on the northern shore was long remembered and talked of over the fire; and, indeed, might easily have had a very disastrous conclusion.

Towards the latter end of July I proposed to Mr. Clarke that we should proceed on foot, and investigate more closely the bed of fossil shells mentioned as situated on the hills about a mile from the north bank of the river. Accordingly, one morning we prepared to cross the river, and the remainder of the men, hearing of our intentions, volunteered, together with El Gaucho, to accompany us, and, after having visited the hills, to organize a hunting circle on foot: we started about sunrise, and crossed the river on the north side, where we entered the boat above high-water mark; we then all proceeded to the hills, investigated the beds of fossil shells, and gathered many beautiful specimens. The boat was then formed, so many dogs being apportioned to each person, and the circle being directed to close on a point on the bank of the river about three or four miles west of the settlement. The ground was very favourable for our operations, as the dips, or slightly depressed valleys, hid us from the view of the game. On emerging on the plain at different points we saw several guanacos and some ostriches; and these constant flocks slipped their hounds, following on foot at their topmost speed. Mr. Clarke, Isidoro, El Gaucho, and myself were in the centre, and killed amongst us two guanacos and an ostrich. Antonio, who was policeman, disappeared to the westward with El Gaucho, following their dogs in full chase of a band of guanacos. Our party lit a fire, ate the ostrich, and conveyed what meat we thought advisable to take back

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a huge puma couched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, however, as Aden was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indian with the meat and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of march and method of hunting which constitute the daily routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a loud oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of hunting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonition, by way of a wind up, with a boastful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's 'oration' —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men and boys lace and bring up the horses, and the women place on their backs the bolster of reeds, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their belts on, or putting their babies

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into wickerwork cradles, or rolling up the skins that form the coverings of the toldos, and placing them and the poles on the baggage horses; last of all the small breakers, which are carried on the march, are filled with water. The women mount by means of a sling round the horses' necks, and sit astride of their bolster-saddles; their babies—if they possess any—and their pet dogs are hoisted up, the babies being stowed in the cradles behind them; then they take their baggage-horses in tow and start off in single file. The men, who generally wait until all are ready, then drive the spare horses for a short distance, and having handed them over to the charge of their wives or daughters, retire to a neighbouring bush, where a fire is kindled, pipes are lighted, and the hunt commenced in the following manner. Two men start off and ride at a gallop round a certain area of country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are despatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use. Pumas are very frequently found in the circles, and quickly despatched by a blow on the head from a ball. On one occasion I saw Waki completely crush, by a single blow, the skull of an unusually large one. The Indian law of division of the game prevents all disputes, and is as follows. The man who hails the ostrich leaves it for

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224 the other, who has been chasing with him, to carry or take charge of, and at the end of the hunt it is divided; the feathers and body from the head to the breast-bone and one leg belonging to the captor, the remainder to the assistant. In the case of guanaco, the first takes the best half in the [262] same manner; the lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, and the fat and marrow bones are sometimes eaten raw. The Tehuelches also cut out the fat over the eyes, and the gristly fat between the thigh joints, which they eat with great gusto, as also the heart and blood of the ostrich. Owing to the entire absence of farinaceous food, fat becomes a necessary article of diet, and can be consumed in much larger quantities than in more civilised countries. That this is not merely owing to the inclemency of the climate is proved by the appetite for fat which the gauchos in the Argentine provinces acquire.

252 When the hunt is finished, and the [illegible] cut up and divided, fires are kindled, and whilst stones are heating the ostrich is plucked, the wing feathers being carefully tied together with a piece of sinew. The bird is then laid on its back and drawn; the legs are carefully skinned down, and the bone taken out, leaving the skin; the carcase is then separated into two halves, and the backbone having been extracted from the lower half, and the meat sliced so as to admit the heated stones laid in between the sections, it is tied up like a bag, secured by the skin of the legs, with a small bone thrust through to keep all taut; this is placed on the live embers of the fire, a light blaze being kindled when it is nearly done to perfectly roast the outside meat. During the process of cooking it has to be turned frequently to ensure all parts being thoroughly cooked. When ready it is taken

264 off the fire, and the top part being cut off and the stones extracted, the broth and meat are found deliciously cooked. The party, generally consisting of twos or fours, sit round the dish and eat the meat, sopping it in the broth. The back part, which consists nearly altogether of fat (when the ostrich is in good condition), is then divided, pieces being given to

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over a sandy plain brought us to a valley with a stream flowing through beautifully green pastures. This was the spot chosen for our encamping, and some of the women were already busy planting the poles that form the skeleton of the toldos; so, turning my horse adrift, I started down to the stream, and after the luxury of a bath, lay down and smoked until the toldos were thoroughly arranged. The following day a short march was made, in a north-west direction, to a valley containing better pasture; here it was intended to give the horses much-needed repose. Meanwhile, however, meat fell short, so a circle was organised: my horse was too tired; but Orkeke, seeing me standing unprepared, said, 'Ask Ako (his pet dog, and adopted child, and in virtue of his office the owner of several horses) to lend you a horse.' As Ako had no objection I was soon mounted, and started for the chase in high spirits. On our previous journey we had remarked numerous tracks of what appeared to be ostrich near the ground where our present circle was to be formed (viz., in the direction of the Cordilleras), and all expected to find plenty of game. The circle was formed, myself going as one pointsman; and, after arriving at the point, I watched anxiously for some time, but the only animal that appeared was a male guanaco, which as he did not see me crouched behind an incense-bush, until he came within shot, I successfully balled and killed. After waiting a little longer, and the Indians being moderately near at hand, I changed my position a few hundred yards, to a more likely spot; but no animals appeared, so I proceeded in search of Orkeke, whom I shortly discovered smoking on the top of a small eminence. After the pipe had been passed in silence, I asked him what he had killed. 'Nothing,' was the answer; 'let's wait and see; perhaps some other Indian has an ostrich.' A careful survey, however, failed to discover any one so lucky, although several had killed guanaco. So we retired to where my dead guanaco lay uncovered: at our approach two or three condors rose

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heavily up; and shortly about twenty or thirty more spread 224
their huge wings, sailed away, and perched on a neighbouring rock. As for the guanaco, in the short half hour of my absence it had been literally torn to pieces; so, after extracting and eating the marrow-bones, we returned to camp, on our way capturing two armadillos. During the past day or 232
two the temperature had considerably risen; the wind, though westerly, was mild and genial, and the Indians affirmed that farther north it would be so warm that I should require some covering for the head. We found on our return that 237
Ariza during our absence had gone off somewhere on foot. As he had that morning asked and obtained some tobacco from me, it seemed probable that he had determined to attempt to make his way alone to reach civilization at some point or other. During our stay in this valley Casimiro 202
requested me to write a letter for him to the commandante at the Rio Negro, inquiring whether the Argentine Government still allowed him his ration and pay as a lieut.-colonel in their service. I also wrote some letters to my friends, but without much hope of their being 'mailed;' though Casimiro assured me that when we joined the Northern Indians they would forward them to the Araucanos, whence they *might* go on by the people who went to Rio Negro to fetch the chief's allowance of cattle; remote, however, as were all these contingencies, still it was a pleasure to write. We 135
quitted the valley after three days' rest, during which Ariza had not appeared, and he was concluded either to have fallen a prey to a puma, or to have gone off on his own account. We journeyed all day over a rough hilly country, encumbered with large stones and occasional patches of scrub of considerable height; ostriches abounded, and large quantities of eggs were found. During a long march of about thirty miles no water was seen until we reached the camp at sunset, situated in a cañon; but along the route an occasional patch of snow sufficed to quench our thirst. As I rode along in company 521
with an Indian named 'Tehang,' he began asking me ques-

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party, who set out in 1777 from Rio Bueno, and marched to Lake Llanquehue, crossed the passes of the Cordillera, under Osorno, and passed the night near the snow line. They heard distant artillery, and beheld the head of a great Laguna on the eastern side; they brought back the astounding intelligence that two distinct towns existed, one peopled by a race of Spanish origin, the Auca-Huincas, at war with the Tehuelches; and the other by Englishmen, or Moro-Huincas, who lived in amity with the Indians. And the Fiscal of Chili, in his report, insisted strongly on the necessity of rooting out these audacious islanders who had dared to plant themselves in the dominions of 'our Lord the King.' Just as the jealous fear of the encroaching English were thus mixed up in the Spanish version of the mysterious Cesares, so the Indians connected them with the traditionary glories of the great Inca race, and spoke of the Indian Cesares; and the potency of the fable was shown by a proclamation put forth by the heroic and ill-starred Tupac Amaru, who headed the unsuccessful rebellion against the tyrant Christians in 1781, styling himself 'Inca, Señor de los Cesares y Amazonas, con dominio en el Gran Paytiti.' But success mocked his grasp, and he perished by the hand of the executioner, just as the rich and coveted city whose lordship he claimed has eluded many an explorer who has sacrificed his life in the hopeless search. But the patient reader is probably weary of enchanted cities, and glad to return to the daily routine of our Indian life, though it was at this time butcherly enough. It was the all-important season of young guanaco hunting; and though the chase afforded plenty of riding, it could hardly be said to offer sport; but to the Indians it was a matter of business, as their clothing and stock of skins to trade with depended on the number of young guanaco killed at this time. Some notes of the habits of the guanaco and rhea, or ostrich, which furnish the Patagonian Indians with food and clothing, may not be out of place, though all critics are warned that they are not those

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prise and kill the sitting bird, which he carefully hides, and then proceed to eat the eggs with great gusto. We not unfrequently found the eggs broken and scattered by these animals, whilst the bird was generally discovered hard by. The foxes, I think, content themselves with sucking the eggs; but I was assured that near Geylum, where wild cats are common, these latter will kill the bird on the nest, like their relatives the puma. Besides these there are the condors, eagles, and hawks, which no doubt commit extensive ravages on the young broods. With all these difficulties to contend with, the Rhea Darwinii exists in great numbers, and if not kept down to a certain extent by the Indians and other enemies would overrun the whole country. We were, while at Chiriq, busily engaged in the destruction of both guanaco and ostrich, the high rugged range of hills that bounded Chiriq on the eastern side literally swarming with guanaco; and as the females, heavy with young, could not keep up their speed for a long distance, one man not unfrequently captured and killed five and six, or even eight; extracting the young and taking its skin for mantles and the carcase for food, while the hide of the mother served, if needed, to repair the toldo. The marrow bones also were taken as a dainty, but the meat was left for the condors, puma, and foxes. We hunted almost every day, and traversed nearly all the surrounding country. The plains lying to the west afforded beautiful ground to ride over, covered with soft grass, but a few leagues from the Cordillera a sudden dip occurs, which forms a huge basin, lying about fifty feet below the level of the plain, like the bed of a lake, and extending to the mountains; the surface of this was chiefly covered with grass, but in some parts the yellow clay and beds of stone were visible. On the higher ground, before reaching this basin, numerous lagoons occurred, round one of which there was a large gull-rookery, and the inhabitants made themselves audible at a long distance. Here also I noticed many of the teru-tero, a spur-winged lapwing, com-

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mon near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The Northern Indians ride most recklessly, going at full speed down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say, although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunting, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare horses (and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race, make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy; if ornaments, bolas, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the winners removing them directly the race is decided. The horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting themselves after cantering side by side for a few yards. Owing to the great care taken in training the horses, very few false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long distances, four miles or a league being the average, although, of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses, and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed, the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

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hill,' and certainly is worthy of its name; for during our stay 132
a succession of S.W. winds blew with great violence. After
our arrival a small boy cut his finger, and, according to 752
custom, a mare was killed. Some of the meat sent to our
toldo was thankfully received, as we were all half starved.
Having strolled through the camp and visited Cayuke's toldo, 137
I found that Casimiro had not arrived, having started, to my
great disgust, with the party travelling to the S.W., and
taken with him a specially good horse, which he had given
me in exchange for a revolver. I was, however, glad to find
that Jackechan, the Pampa chief, was there, and we had a
confabulation and smoke together. On the 22nd, the pre- 229
vious day having been too rough, the Indians started to
hunt the enclosing grassy basin before mentioned as existing
at the foot of the mountains. Immense herds of guanaco
were driven down, and being encircled by men and fires the
sport soon commenced. The Tehuelches had for some reason
set light to the grass in every available part, and the wind
rising to a furious gale, the fires soon spread and joined in an
advancing line. Jackechan, myself, and several other Indians
were in the centre of the circle, each employed in skinning
the guanaco we had already killed, when suddenly we found
that we were encircled in flame and smoke, and that if we did
not want to be well scorched we had better look out for means
of exit. Leaving our game, we galloped at the spot where
the smoke appeared thinnest, but after riding three or four
minutes with our faces covered up, found an impassable
barrier of flame; so, half maddened with the hot sand dashed
in our eyes by the gale, and nearly suffocated with smoke, we
galloped down the line of flame to a spot where, the grass
being stunted, we managed to get through without injury,
although our horses' legs were singed a little. We were very
thankful to breathe pure air, though the atmosphere was still
thick with smoke, and nothing could be distinguished of
valley or anything else. Jackechan, with unerring Indian
instinct, led the way to a stream of water, where we were

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able to drink and wash some of the lint and dirt out of our eyes. After a quarter of an hour's rest and a smoke, as the flames had passed on, we determined to ride back over the still smoking ground, and endeavour to discover the bodies of our gunners. We accordingly emerged from the hollow where we had sheltered ourselves, and once more plunged into the thick of the driving smoke and heated sand: holding our mantles over our eyes, we penetrated the murky atmosphere till Jackechan discovered two of his animals; but as they were both roasted, or rather burned, and ourselves and horses were nearly suffocated, we beat a hasty retreat. I was very thankful when at length, ascending a steep declivity, we emerged at the top into the pure air. 'Ah!' said Jackechan, looking down on the plains still full of smoke, 'it has been a rough time, but "we are men, not women," though we were fools to remain to the last.' I fully agreed with him in this, as my eyes still smarted very painfully. How he feigned his way through the smoke was perfectly inexplicable to me: if I had been alone, my travels would have been concluded then and there. Towards the evening of this eventful day the wind abated in violence, and during the night snow fell, and all the ensuing day there were passing squalls of white water or snow, and furious blasts of wind. About this time I came to the conclusion that summer was unknown in these regions, and that the Patagonian year consisted of two seasons—a hard winter and a bad spring. The Indians, however, declared that the climate had grown colder during the last two years. On the 28th of November we broke up camp and marched to a valley situated under one spur of the wooded hills previously mentioned as bounding the northern side of the valley—killing some young guanaco by the way. I was astonished on galloping up to two, to find they did not run away at first, although their mothers had already gone, and taken up a position on a rocky eminence some distance off. Whilst watching them, however, and meditating on the necessity and cruelty of killing them, the two little things

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started off; so, as my mantle was fast losing its beautiful 135
appearance, I put composition on one side, and shortly
killed them with a blow on the head. On arriving at the fire
where some of the Indians were collected eating ostriches,
I was proceeding to take the skins off, when Tankelow, who 262
presided, stopped me, saying that we would skin them in the
tolderia, where the blood would be a treat to the women and
children. We accordingly reserved the luxury, and after a
ford crossed a small stream and piece of marsh, beyond
which lay the encampment, where the women soon verified
Tankelow's words. Though the flesh of the young guanaco
is rather tasteless and soft, the blood has a sweeter taste than
that of the adult. The rennet, or milk, which is found
curdled into a sort of cheese in the intestines, is also eaten
with gusto. The most laborious part of young guanaco 281
hunting consists in taking off the skin, which, after the
necessary incisions have been made with a knife, has to be
taken off by hand, the thumb being used to separate the hide
from the body. The calves, when three days old, run at [224]
about the speed of a horse's hand-gallop, but sometimes give
longer chases. The Indian plan is to kill them with a blow
on the head from a ball, and then pass on to another, and so
on, afterwards returning to collect them in a heap and skin
them. After the hide is taken off it is necessary to expose it
to the air for a few minutes before folding it up, otherwise it
is liable to get heated, and will tear easily in the subsequent
processes. We hunted in the neighbourhood of Jeroshaik, 137
or 'Red Hill,' several times, with varying success, sometimes
proceeding up into the wooded hills, where the timber in
some places grew in clumps, as if planted by the hand of
man; in others filled up the rocky dells, until the main
forests were reached, which appeared to extend far into the
Cordillera. Most of the trees were of a species of beech, on
which were many small edible fungi, some of which we
gathered for use; and traces of red deer were frequently seen, 136
and a few were chased by the Indians, but owing to the

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peruse my library, namely, half of the delightful 'Elsie Venner,' which Crimé had picked up on board some ship to serve as wadding for his guns, and sold to me for a little powder. To enable the reader to follow our somewhat devious course and the intricacies of these hills and frequent rivers, the sketch map at page 164 will be found useful; it does not pretend to be exact, but gives a very fair idea of the line of country traversed, and of our migrations between Henno and Teckel.

On the 22nd, Indians having been seen to the north and guanaco hunting proving a failure, Orkeke, to my great delight, proposed a visit to the wild-cattle country. The camp was accordingly struck, and following more or less the valley of the river, which flowed after one turn nearly due east, we shortly came out into an open plain running up between the mountains, at the head of which we encamped by some tall beeches on the banks of the stream. The whole of the latter part of the plain traversed was literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom, the soil being of a dark peaty nature. Young ostriches were now numerous, and every hunt some were captured, and formed a welcome addition to our dinner. The children had several alive as pets, which they used to let loose and then catch with miniature bolas, generally ending in killing them. Our programme was to leave all the women, toldos, and other encumbrances in this spot, named 'Weskel,' or Chaykash—a regular station, and which Hinchel's party had occupied a few weeks previously—and proceed ourselves into the interior in search of cattle. The following morning at daylight horses were caught and saddled, and, after receiving the good wishes of the women, who adjured us to bring back plenty of fat beef, we started off just as the sun was rising behind the hills to the eastward. The air was most invigorating, and we trotted along for some distance up a slightly irregular and sandy slope, halting after an hour or two by the side of a deliciously clear brook, flowing east,

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where we smoked. We had previously passed guanaco and 153
ostrich, but no notice was taken of them, the Indians having 136
larger game in view. After passing this brook, the head- 224
water of the river near which we had left the toldos, we skirted a large basin-like plain of beautiful green pasture, and after galloping for some time entered the forest, travelling along a path which only permitted us to proceed in Indian-file. The trees were in many places dead, not blackened by fire, but standing up like ghostly bleached and bare skeletons. It is a remarkable fact that all the forests on the eastern side are skirted by a belt of dead trees. At length, however, just as we came in sight of a curiously pointed rock which in the distance resembled the spire of a church, we entered the forest of live trees; the undergrowth was composed of currant, bay, and other bushes, whilst here and there were beds of yellow violets, and the inevitable strawberry plants everywhere. After crossing a stream, which, flowing from the north, afterwards took a westerly course, thus proving that we had passed the watershed, we proceeded, under cover of a huge rock, to reconnoitre the hunting ground. The scenery was beautiful: a valley, about a mile wide, stretched directly under us; on the southern verge a silver line marked the easterly river, and another on the northern the one debouching in the Pacific; whilst above, on both sides, rose high mountains covered with vegetation and almost impenetrable forests. On the western side of the valley a solitary bull was leisurely taking his breakfast, and above our look-out rock a huge condor lazily flapped his wings. Those were the only specimens of animal life in view. Pursuing our way in perfect silence, as from the first entrance into the forests speaking had been prohibited, we followed the leader along the narrow cattle path, passing here and there the remains of a dead bull or cow that had met their fate by the Indian's lazo, and at length descended to the plain. It was about midday, and the day was warm, so we halted, changed horses, looked to our girths, got lazos ready

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for us, and then started on. As we were proceeding we observed two or three animals amongst the woods on the opposite side, but knowing that it would be useless to follow, pursued our course up the valley. Having crossed the western stream, we at once entered a thicket where the path was scarcely distinguishable from the cover, but our leader never faltered, and led the way through open glades alternating with thick woods, on every side of which were cattle marks, many being holes stamped out by the bulls, or wallowing places. The glades soon terminated in forests, which seemed to stretch unbroken on either side. We had expected before reaching this point to have found cattle in considerable numbers, but the warmth of the day had probably driven them into the thickets to seek shelter. We now commenced to ascend over a dangerous path, encumbered here and there with loose boulders and entangled in dense thickets, whilst we could hear and catch occasional glimpses of the river foaming down a ravine on our left, and presently arrived at the top of a ridge where the forests became more uniformly dense, and we could with great difficulty pursue our way. It was a mystery to me how Orkeke, who acted as guide, knew where we were, as on one occasion the slightly-marked paths diverged in different directions, and on another we literally found ourselves amongst fallen trees in a forest so dense that the light of day scarcely penetrated its shades. Our leader, however, never hesitated, but led us onwards in all confidence. Whilst brushing along, if I may be allowed the term, trying to keep the leader in sight, I heard something tapping on a tree, and looking up, saw close above
[36] me a most beautifully marked red-crested woodpecker. We at length commenced to descend, and, after passing many channels of rivulets issuing from springs, where a slip of the horse's foot on the wet and mossy stones would have occasioned something worse than broken bones, as they were situated on the edge of a deep ravine, finally emerged from the woods and found ourselves on a hill of some three hundred

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feet in height, whence we looked down on a broad plain 133
in the form of a triangle, bounded by the river flowing 136
through the ravine on the north side, and on the southern 220
by another coming from the south, which two streams united in one large river at the western apex, at a distance of about perhaps a league. Above and around, on all sides excepting to the west and the ravines through which the rivers flowed, rose the unbroken wall of the lofty mountains of the Cordillera, many of their peaks snow-clad. No sound was to be heard except the rushing of the river in the ravine, and no animal life to be seen except a condor or two floating high above us in the clear sky. The scene was sublime, and I viewed it in silence for some minutes, till the pipe, being handed to me, dispelled all nascent poetic tendencies. The Indians remained silent and looked disgusted, as a herd of cattle had been expected to be viewed on the plain below. We descended to the flats, and crossed the river, on the banks of which 'Paja' or Pampa-grass grew in abundance, as well as the bamboo-like cones from which Araucanian Indians make their lance shafts, and a plant called by the Chilians 'Talka,' the stalk of which, resembling rhubarb, is refreshing and juicy. On the northern edges and slope of the ravine behind us towered graceful pines sixty feet high, which, though an impassable barrier of rock prevented close inspection, appeared to be a species of Araucaria; the bark was imbricated and the stems rose bare of branches for two-thirds of their height, like those figured by M. Gay. Many had been carried down by landslips, and lay tossed and entangled on the sides of the ravine. The increase of temperature after [12]
passing the watershed was sensibly great, amounting to from seven to ten degrees, and the vegetation far more luxuriant, the plants presenting many new forms unknown at the eastern side. After leaving the plain and crossing the 133
shallow stream, we left our mantles, and girthed up near a 137
tree in a thicket festooned with a beautiful creeper, having 224
a bell-shaped flower of violet radiated with brown. The

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173 variety of flowers made an Eden of this lovely spot: climbing
197 clusters of sweet-peas, vetches, and rich golden flowers re-
224 sembling gorgeous marigolds, and many another blossom,
filled the air with perfume and delighted the eye with their
beauty. Proceeding still westward we entered a valley with
alternate clumps of trees and green pastures, and after
riding about a mile I espied from a ridge on one side of the
valley two bulls on the other side, just clear of the thick
226 woods bordering the ascent of the mountains. The word
was passed in whispers to the cacique, and a halt being
called under cover of some bushes, a plan of attack was
arranged in the following manner. Two men were sent round
to endeavour to drive the animals to a clearing where it
would be possible to use the lace, the remainder of the
party proceeding down towards the open ground with lazos,
ready to chase if the bulls should come that way. For a
few minutes we remained stationary, picking the strawberries,
which in this spot were ripe, although the plants previously
met with were only in flower. At the end of five minutes
spent in anxiously hoping that our plan would prove successful,
a yell from the other side put us on the alert, and we
had the gratification to see one of the animals coming
straight towards our cover. Alas! just as we were preparing
to dash out, he turned on the edge of the plain, and after
charging furiously at his pursuers dashed into a thicket, where
he stood at bay. We immediately closed round him, and
dismounting, I advanced on foot to try and bring him down
with the revolver; just as I had got within half a dozen
paces of him, and behind a bush was quietly taking aim at
his shoulder, the Indians, eager for beef, and safe on their
horses at a considerable distance off, shouted, 'Nearer!
nearer!' I accordingly stepped from my cover, but had
hardly moved a pace forward when my spur caught in a
root: at the same moment 'El Toro' charged. Entangled
with the root, I could not jump on one side as he came on;
so when within a yard I fired a shot in his face, hoping to

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A WILD BULL IN THE CORDILLERA.

[facing p. 159]

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224 turn him, and wheeled my body at the same instant to prevent his horns from catching me, as the sailors say, 'broadside on.' The shot did not stop him, so I was knocked down, and, galloping over me, he passed on with my handkerchief, which fell from my head, triumphantly borne on his horns, and stopped a few yards off under another bush. Having picked myself up and found my arms and legs all right, I gave him another shot, which, as my hand was rather unsteady, only took effect in the flank. My cartridges being exhausted, I returned to my horse, and found that, besides being considerably shaken, two of my ribs had been broken by the encounter.

The Indians closed round me, and evinced great anxiety to know whether I was much hurt. One more courageous than the rest, despite the warnings of the cacique, swore that he would try and lazo the brute, and accordingly approached the infuriated animal, who for a moment or two showed no signs of stirring: just, however, as the Indian was about to throw his lazo, it caught in a branch, and before he could extricate it the bull was on him. We saw the horse give two or three vicious kicks, as the bull gored him: at length he was lifted clean up, the fore legs alone remaining on the ground, and overthrown, the rider alighting on his head in a bush. We closed up and attracted the bull in another direction, then went to look for the corpse of our comrade, who, however, to our surprise, issued safe from the bush where he had lain quiet and unhurt, though the horse was killed. This little incident cast a gloom over our day's pleasure, and lost us our Christmas dinner, as Orkeke ordered a retreat to the spot where we had left our mantles, although we tried to persuade him to attack the beast again, or, at any rate, remain and eat some of the dead horse, and try our luck next day, but he was inflexible. So having regained our spare horses we prepared to return home, hoping to be able to pass through the forest before nightfall. On our way across the plain previously described, wild cattle were seen

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224 and one chased; but he, although balled by Orkeke, contrived to slip the bolas, and escaping to cover stood to bay, where he was left master of the field. This bull would have been taken had the other Indians showed any degree of alacrity when Orkeke balled him; but they were dispirited
136 by the previous failure. As evening was coming on I noticed a cormorant on the river: this and the increase of temperature led me to believe that had we penetrated a few miles farther west we should have reached the shores of the Pacific. Pursuing our track homewards, after the second unsuccessful engagement, we managed to pass the thick forest before dark, and decending to the eastern valley saw numerous cows and bulls at intervals. A short time after dark we encamped for the night under the shelter of some trees near to the head-waters of the western river, and after a pipe—by way of supper—wrapping ourselves in our
[137 mantles were soon fast asleep. At daylight we mounted and
262] continued our journey, arriving about two P.M. pretty considerably hungry, having eaten nothing barring strawberries and talka, and a few unripe currants, since our last evening in the toldos. The women were naturally disappointed at our ill-luck, but uttered no complaints or reproaches, and hastened to pound some charqui for our refreshment. Next day, all except myself and my companion in the overthrow, who complained of headache, went out hunting and returned at night with young guanaco, and an ostrich or two. Some of the women had seen cattle near the encampment, and Orkeke informed me that in former years they used to occupy the plains below us in large herds, but that the Indians had driven them into the interior by excessive hunting: he also
[231] stated that on one occasion he spent some months in this spot, and caught and tamed a considerable number. His accurate knowledge of the country made his statement credible, and he also showed me a sort of corral that had been made to enclose the wild animals. For my own
000 part, the name of the Cordillera recalls the most hungry

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the next chapter—the Indians began to arrive, and the hunting was resumed; only, however, when absolutely necessary. Some of the new arrivals proceeded to the wild cattle district, and managed to kill a bull, although—as before—an accident occurred. As my lazo was used to capture the bull, I came in for a share of the meat, which was divided amongst the people in our toldo; but it proved very tough, and rather nasty. Perhaps the palate, having been so long accustomed to guanaco, ostrich, or horse, could not relish meat of a coarser description; but the hide was invaluable for making maneos and other horse-gear. On the 7th of January a messenger arrived from Casimiro requesting me to send him some information, and stating that he was distant some three marches, and wished to wait some time to refresh his horses, &c. After consulting with Orkéke and Jackechan, we sent back a messenger to say that, 'As game was scarce now in the vicinity of Teckel, and all were more or less desirous of pushing forward, he had better make haste and join us, otherwise we should continue our march towards Las Manzanas.' This message had the desired effect, as on the 11th he made his appearance, with several other toldos, a few only remaining in the rear with Crimé, who was reported to be unwell.

On Casimiro's arrival, as he now possessed a good toldo, I changed my quarters to his residence, as agreed on at the outset of the journey. I was sorry to leave Orkéke, and the old man was very much grieved, a present of a revolver only troubling him the more, as he informed me that he had nothing to offer in exchange; however, my assurance that I did not give him a present expecting an exchange, as is customary with Indians, appeared to console him. The usual consultation of the chiefs took place, in which all the preceding arrangements were agreed to, and we remained stationary in Teckel until January 20. As I had by this time become well acquainted with the mode of life and usages of the Tehuelches, and was looked upon as one of them-

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanliness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called 'chumé,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachiko,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Ganchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are generally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are employed, procured in the settlements, which require no covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact

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224 line, as the necks of guanaco and ostrich are always aimed at; entangling the hind legs of the quadruped being useless, though cattle and horses are always balled round the hind legs. A shot at a bird or beast bounding or running across is almost sure to miss; of course misses are frequent, as fifty to seventy yards is often the distance of a shot delivered from a horse's back at full gallop and the balls whirr through the air with their peculiar sound, only perhaps to fall into a tangled bush. Then it is that the advantage of the bright material becomes evident, for the horseman does not stop, but gallops on and throws another pair, returning afterwards to pick up the dropped weapons, frequently very hard to find on the pebble-strewn, grass-grown, or shrub-covered surface. I generally threw down a handkerchief or some such thing, easily seen, to mark the spot; but the metal bolas are so much preferred on account of 224 being easily seen, that a pair are worth a horse. In addition 411 to the bolas, a lazo is used when hunting cattle or horses, and sometimes for the pumas, although the ordinary method is to kill them by first stunning them with a blow on the 411 head. The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun or revolver, sword or dagger, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and altogether different to the light lance of Araucanian and Pampa horsemen, and the bola perdida or single ball, so called because once thrown it is not picked up again: this weapon is quickly constructed; a sharp-pointed stone is taken, covered with hide except the point, which is left out, and thong of raw hide about a yard long is attached, with a knot made in the end to prevent it slipping from the hand whilst whirling it round previous to throwing it at an enemy. Before the introduction of firearms, the bola perdida was the original weapon of the Tehuelches, and is even at the present day a most deadly missile in their hands. (See fig. 11.)

I am aware that Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan's voyage, describes the ancestors of these Indians as using

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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Head-stalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'maneos,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal [illegible], and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoe-horn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

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some four hours on our march, we met two men, bringing 133
with them a pack-horse with a couple of skins of grog for
Foyel's people. They were soon surrounded by Tehuelches,
who proposed to drink there and then, and were much inclined
to help themselves; but a messenger from Foyel's people in
the rear arriving, they were permitted to pass unmolested on
their way to Geylum, and we proceeded on our journey and
formed a circle to hunt. The country became more im-
practicable for riding as we left the lower plains and mounted
some hills broken by deep gorges and bristling in every part
with rocks sparkling with unusually large plates of mica,
which glistened like glass in the sunshine; these hills were
terminated by steep cliffs, over which the ostriches were 224
driven, a party having previously descended to look out for
them below. It was a curious sight to see the ostriches
dropping down heights varying from ten to fifty feet, often
two or three together, with outspread wings. They appeared
generally to be stunned for a minute or two on reaching the
bottom, and by the time they were on their legs found them-
selves hampered by a ball from the unerring hand of some
stalwart Tehuelche, and running a yard or two fell with
broken legs.

Descending from these cliffs we mounted a range of hills 133
more than 2,000 feet high, by means of a tolerably practicable
track for travelling, and on arriving at the summit halted
for the remainder of the cavalcade. From this point a most
magnificent view presented itself; right below us, looking
quite close, but really some thirty miles distant, lay a dark
line as of a deep cutting, marking the valley of the Rio
Limay, which on the west side was terminated by high
wooded mountains with steep precipitous sides. Away to
the N.W. was a very high snowclad mountain, on which the
rays of the setting sun were shedding a rose-coloured light.
Between this and the line of the river rose wooded ranges of
hills, the real apple groves we had heard so much about;
below these again was a low peaked eminence, at the foot of

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755 his mouth close to its chest and shouted to bring the devil out: he then turned it on its face and repeated the same process. The child's health mended next day, and it was shortly out of danger.

●224 About ten o'clock at night Casimiro returned with his horses, which had strayed a considerable distance on the road back to Geylum. The next day a long march of twenty miles brought us to an encampment on the western verge of a broad plain, watered by a brooklet. During the [136] hunt the first Patagonian hares, or cavies, were caught. These little animals live in burrows, but are generally out feeding or sleeping in the grass during the day. They are excessively swift for perhaps a mile, but, like the foxes of this country soon get tired. The chase of these small deer afforded an agreeable relief to the monotony of the journey. As soon as we entered a plain or valley where they abounded, as they always were found in numbers where the pasture was good, all hurried off to 'stop the earths,' *i.e.*, close up the burrows with bushes; but the cunning little beasts often evaded us by slipping into a burrow overlooked by the earth, stoppers. It required considerable skill to bring them down with the bolas, as, if only caught round the legs or body, they disentangled themselves quickly, but a blow on the head proved at once fatal. They are good eating, though the flesh [262 281] is somewhat dry when roasted. Their skins are made up into mantles, but are of little value, as the hair soon comes off.

133 About a mile below the encampment, where the sandy plain narrowed and sloped down to a low-lying grassy valley, a singular phenomenon presented itself. The morning after our arrival, when going out to look for the horses, a furious easterly gale whirled the dust aloft in dense clouds, and, to my great surprise, the sand, which was driven into our faces, was as hot as when the fire so nearly encircled us. Almost blinded in forcing our way through this curtain of driving sand, we rode right into a hollow, where the earth appeared to be on fire; as the horses plunged

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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hunter must be moving in the same line as the quarry when he makes his cast.

The actual hunting of guanaco was a joint occupation for all male members of the group who happened to be living together. After camp had been broken, the horses packed, and the women and children set on the road, the men would sit around a fire and smoke for a while. Then, at the command of the chief, "two men start off at a gallop and ride around a certain area of the country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are dispatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use."[11]

Information about the manufacture and decoration of guanaco robes is scanty. We therefore quote in full the accounts of Musters[12] and Bourne,[13] as they are the most extensive we have been able to find.[14] Musters' narrative follows:

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed in a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle [fig. 4]. They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into a pulp, after which they are softened in the

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[11] Musters, 1871, p. 71.

[12] Ibid., pp. 179–180.

[13] 1853, pp. 98–99.

[14] Cooper (1925) cites the following references to Tehuelche robes and colors: Maximilianus Transylvanus, 1523, p. AV. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498. Nuño da Silva, 1906, p. 135. Outes, 1905, p. 258. Pigafetta, 1906, I, pp. 48–49. Oviedo, II, p. 43. Fletcher, 1854, p. 53. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 234. Dr. Cooper has most kindly assured me that he knows no detailed accounts except those of Bourne and Musters.

[The original sources have been processed—A]

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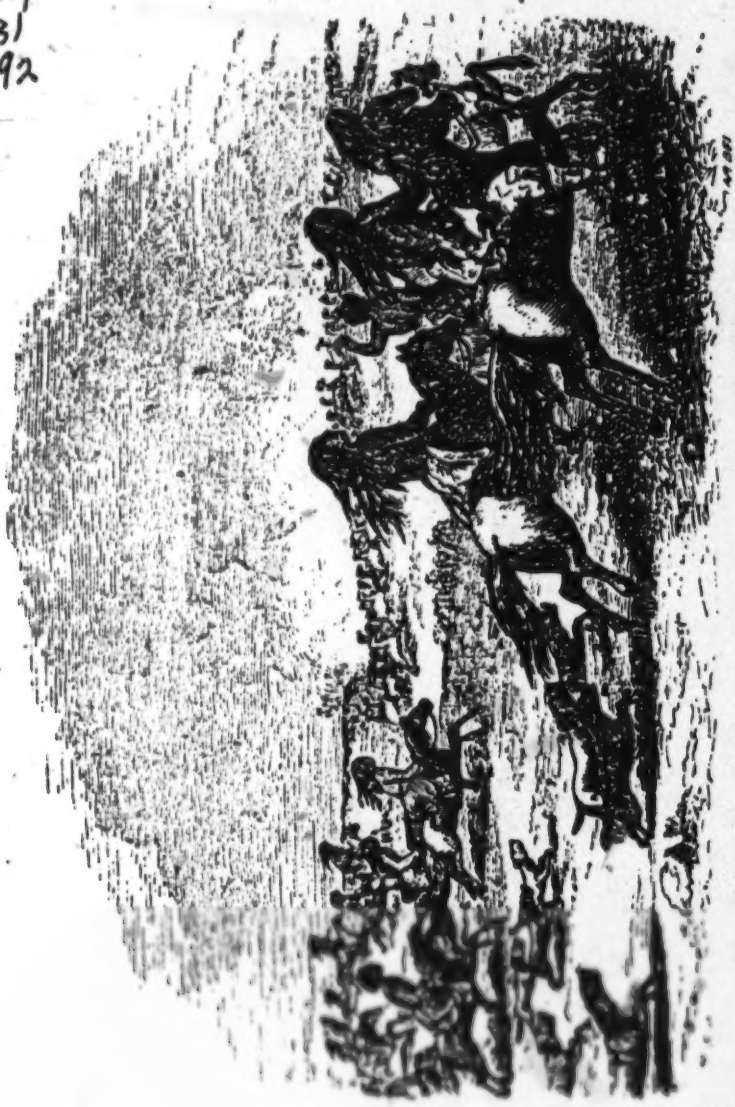
•224
231
492



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[p. 16]
[pp. 13, 14, + 15 are blank]
[No pages before p. 13]

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is found in considerable numbers. It is larger than the red deer, fleet on the foot, usually found in large herds, frequenting not only the plains, but found along the course of the Andes. Its flesh is a principal article of food; its skin is dried with the hair on, in such a manner that, when wet, it retains its pliability and softness. This process of preserving skins seems to be peculiar to the Indian tribes, and is not unlike that by which buffalo-robes, bear-skins, buckskins, and other articles of luxury, and even necessity, among us, are prepared by the North American Indians. Guanaco-skins are cut into pieces of all sizes, and sewed into a thousand fanciful patterns, every workman originating a style to suit himself. The hoofs are sometimes turned to account by the natives as soles for shoes, when they indulge in such a luxury, which is not often.

The enemy of the guanaco is the cougar, or "American lion," smaller than its African namesake, and more resembling the tiger in his character and habits, having a smooth, sleek coat, of a brownish yellow color,—altogether a very beautiful but ferocious creature. His chase is a favorite, though rare and dangerous, sport of the natives. Patagonia likewise boasts of the skunk, whose flesh is used for food. There are also foxes, and innumerable mice. Of birds, the only noticeable varieties are the condor, in the Andes, and the cassowary, a species of ostrich, smaller than that of Africa, on the plains; its plumage is not abundant, generally of a gray or dun color. Its flesh is tender and sweet, and with the fat much prized by the Indians. Like the African ostrich, it is exceedingly swift, only to be captured on horseback, and often fleet enough to outrun the fastest racer.

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556 horses, the stock of which is frequently replenished by 231 stealing from the Spanish and Chilian settlements. These animals are, for the most part, of small size and inferior quality, half wild, coated with coarse, shaggy hair — lean and woe-begone enough, just "fit for the crows." A few valuable specimens of a superior breed are found among them, doubtless "conveyed" there. The rude saddles in 492 use among them are mostly of Spanish origin, obtained at the settlements. They consist each of two boards, an inch thick, six inches wide, and two feet long, rounded at the corners so as to fit the horse's back, and united by two strips of board passing across the back-bone, the several pieces lashed together with leather strings. A piece of guanaco-skin often serves in default of a saddle. The steed is guided by a single rein, tied round the lower jaw; some of them sport a bit of iron or wood, secured by a string round the jaw, attaching the rein to this. Spurs, like the rest of their riding apparatus, are more efficient than elegant. They are indeed rude and cruel things, — straight sticks, six inches long, with a long, sharp iron inserted into the end, secured by a string or strap around the hollow of the foot, and tied at the top, a second strap nearer the heel, and a third passing round the heel. They are all agile and excellent horsemen.

411 For weapons, the chief, and a few of the principal men, had cutlasses or swords. They had no fire-arms, nor could I learn that they understood their use; bows and arrows, spears and war-clubs, appeared to be equally unknown. 441 All the men carried knives; and the *bolas*, a missile 224 weapon used in the capture of all kinds of game. This consists of two round stones, or lead balls, if they can be

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procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

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080 quantities of the feathers are blown all over the country without attracting the least regard, while men and women disfigure themselves with paint, and load their persons with the cheapest of all trumpery, brass and copper and beads, picked up from traders, or stolen.

●224 The hunting of the guanaco is not only their chief reliance for food, but a spirited amusement, conducted after a fashion peculiar alike to hunters and hunted. Patagonia, as before mentioned, has no trees, but is covered here and there, in patches, with a kind of under-brush of scrub growth, and the plains extend back for hundreds of miles from the Atlantic shore, like a vast rolling prairie. This affords a clear and excellent hunting-ground, with nothing to conceal the game, or hinder the pursuer, except now and then a clump of low bushes, or the tall grass of the marshes. Two to four hundred Indians on horseback, bare-headed, and with their skin mantles about them, and each having the bolas and his long knife tucked beneath his belt, the whole followed by an innumerable pack of dogs of every kind, down to curs of low degree, make up a hunting party; as far as the eye can reach, their gigantic forms, diminished by the distance, may be seen projected on the horizon, their long hair streaming in the wind. Presently a thickness is perceived in the air, and a cloud of dust arises, — a sure indication that a herd of guanacos has been beaten up, and is now approaching. All eyes are fixed intently on the cloud; it soon appears as if several acres of earth were alive, and in rapid motion. There is a herd of from five hundred to a thousand of these animals, infuriated, rushing forward at their utmost speed; whatever direction they may chance to take, they follow

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in a straight line; and, as soon as their course is ascertained, the Indians may be seen running their horses at break-neck pace to plant themselves directly in the course of the living tide. As the game approach, the hunter puts spurs to his horse and rushes across their track. When within twenty or thirty yards, he jerks the bolas from his girdle, and, whirling it violently above his head, lets fly. The weapon usually strikes the head or neck of the animal, and winds itself about his fore-legs, bringing him to the ground. The hunter dismounts, cuts the victim's throat, remounts, and is again in pursuit. The whirring missile, unerring in its aim, brings down another and another, till the party are satisfied with their chase and their prey. The dogs fall upon the poor animals, when helplessly entangled by the bolas, and often cruelly mangle them before the hunter has time to despatch them. Seldom does any one miss the game he marks. It is the height of manly ambition among them, the last result of their training, to excel in the chase.

The sport being over, then comes the dressing of the meat. The body is split open, the entrails removed, the heart and large veins opened, to permit the blood to flow into the cavity. The Indians scoop up with their hands and eagerly drink the blood. When their thirst is satisfied, the remainder is poured into certain of the intestines selected for the purpose, to become (to their accommodating tastes) a luxury as highly prized as any surnamed of Bologna. The ribs are disjointed from the back-bone, and, with the head, discarded as worthless. The body is quartered, cutting through the skin; the quarters, tied together in pairs, are thrown across the horses' backs, and conveyed to the camp. Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous

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purpose, till I got so tired of my showman's duty that I wished the watch in the bottom of the sea. The Indians, as they listened to its vibrations, would stand in every attitude of silent amazement, their eyes dilated, their countenances lighted up in every feature with delighted wonder and then break out in a roar of hoarse laughter, the tone of which strangely contrasted with the infantile simplicity of their demeanor. The business was dreadfully annoying, and yet it was plain that a new and almost unbounded power affecting my destiny was hidden in that little machine. It had captivated the chief, and struck an awe over the tribe like the rod of an enchanter. Whether it boded good or evil, was another question.

Our next move took us in a west-north-west direction, and in our progress we not only secured abundant game of the ordinary varieties, but encountered and killed a young lion, — to use the popular term, — the first living specimen I had seen in the country. I had seen their skins in possession of the Indians, and heard stories of their chase. This was a youthful creature, about the size of a well-grown calf of six weeks. I was riding side by side with the chief across a piece of low bushy land, when the dogs gave token that they scented something uncommon. We halted, and the chief cried out to the dogs, "Chew! Chew!" They were off in a jiffey, rushing hither and thither through the bushes, barking furiously, and soon drove the beast from his covert. Other Indians, a little distance off, ascertaining what was in the wind, made after the game with a reinforcement of dogs. The chase began in good earnest. Horses, riders and dogs, from all points of the compass, were scampering to the scene of action, hal-

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224 locing, barking, howling, enough to frighten any unsophisticated lion out of his senses. Some were running full tilt to cut off his retreat; while the hunters, bareheaded, leaning forward in their saddles and urging their horses to their utmost speed, whirled the bolas about their heads and let fly with a vengeance, with no other effect than to arrest the furious animal, and cause him to turn in desperation on the dogs, and drive them back yelping with pain. Others of the pack, watching their opportunity, would spring upon his back and fasten their teeth in his flesh. He brushed them off with a single stroke of his paw, as if they had been flies, and was again in motion, halting occasionally to give fight to his nearest assailant. Now and then the bolas is hurled at him, but his lithe limbs, though sometimes entangled, are not fettered by it, and his prowess is hardly diminished. The Indians press around him; the battle waxes fiercer; his whole strength is taxed. "Chew! Chew!" roar the savages; the flagging dogs return fresh to the onslaught, and, after a hard and unequal contest, the animal is fairly overborne by numbers, and despatched by the blows of the Indians. I had kept in the vicinity, but yet at a respectful distance, and now rode up to view the slain, amidst the howlings of the wounded dogs and the boisterous laughter of the hunters. It was a beautiful animal, with soft, sleek, silvery fur, tipped with black; the head having a general resemblance to that of a cat, the eye large and full, and sparkling with ferocity.

After the Indians had eyed their game sufficiently, and talked and laughed and grunted their satisfaction, and congratulated themselves generally on their victory, and severally on the part each had taken, the body was driven off

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on the back of a horse, and the hunters again spread themselves over the country. Some ostriches were soon started up. The chief drew out his bolas, put spurs to his horse, and darted away. His mantle fell from his shoulders; his long, straight black hair, so coarse that each particular hair stood independently on end, streamed in the wind; his hideously painted face and body loomed up with grotesque stateliness, and the deadly missile whirled frantically over his head. The whizzing weapon is suddenly hurled at his victim, the chief still sitting erect in his saddle to watch its effect. His horse suddenly stops, — he dismounts nimbly, seizes the entangled bird by the throat, and swings it violently around till its neck is broken. As I rode up he deposited the great bird on my horse, remounted, and rushed in pursuit of another. That was killed and also placed in my keeping, making me a kind of store-ship. Others pursue the guanaco with equal success, till they are satisfied with their booty. We ride up to a convenient thicket, a fire is lighted, a portion of the prey is cooked and eaten, the remnants of the feast and the residue of the game are duly packed up, and the whole troop is under march for the camp. 224

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The ferrying recommenced the next morning: and before night the whole tribe were safely landed, with their effects, on the west side of the river, and their wigwams were all pitched. We were short of provisions; but this was a common case, and I was accustomed to it. I got an occasional morsel of grease, sufficient to keep starvation at bay; but illness, with bad and insufficient food, had greatly emaciated me, till I was a spectacle but few degrees above the living skeleton. But hope was still in the ascendant, and I had no idea of lying down to die till I was quite sure my time had come. We continued our wanderings the next day in a westerly direction, slaying every living creature that came within reach, from a skunk to a guanaco. This was a great disappointment, as I hoped we should go down the river, the direction in which they said "Holland" lay, and the only direction in which we were likely to strike a white settlement, if any existed on the Atlantic coast. But my remonstrances on this head were vain; they would go where they pleased, and I must go with them. Time dragged heavily; hours seemed days, and days weeks. But impatience is no virtue, and submission was imperative.

The country hereabout was more broken and mountainous than any we had before traversed, with a more abundant growth of bushes, and some clumps of stunted trees here and there. As we proceeded, keeping still to the north-west, game was more plenty. We came to two ponds, or small lakes, one of not more than four acres in extent, the other considerably larger; the latter was shallow, at least near the shore, as some ostriches pursued

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by the Indians ran into it, and their pursuers waded after, and succeeded in capturing them.

At one time I observed a large scar in the calf of the chief's leg; the mark of a wound that must have been inflicted a long time before, as it was completely healed. Its depression was so great as to indicate a very severe cut, unless the old fellow had grown uncommonly fat since he received it. On inquiring the cause of it, he said it was from a wound inflicted by the Alanagros, a tribe inhabiting a country to the northward. The name he gave them signifies the blacks; and, from the manner in which he spoke of them, I inferred they were in some respects superior to the Patagonians. He said they were armed with cutlasses, and very long knives,—had tobacco, and plenty of horses; and I conjectured that they might have been a party of Spanish Americans, or one of the mixed races of Spanish origin. The fight, he said, arose on occasion of his tribe being on a horse-stealing expedition; they encamped a short distance off, and at night he made a descent on the Alanagros, killed some of them, and plundered their camp, carrying off many of their horses. The plundered tribe rallied, hotly pursued them, and recaptured a part of the booty; in the struggle wounding him with a cutlass, and, as I judged by appearances, cutting to the bone. He told the story with great spirit, slashing right and left, and grunting with extraordinary emphasis, as if to give an impression that good hard blows were given and taken; but I afterwards learned that it was a cowardly running fight, in which more sweat than blood was spilled.

Nothing of importance occurred at our encampment near

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retreating fight, and convinced me that they got a sound drubbing for their pains. He said he killed one Indian, with an air that would have done justice to the slaying of a regiment. Shocking to relate, there were found persons who slanderously reported to me that Old Boy's legs had the unhappy propensity of Pat O'Flaherty's, whose heart was as brave as any man's, but his cowardly legs ran away with his body; and they scrupled not to affirm that in this same hard-fought battle he crawled into the bushes, and there secreted himself till the cessation of hostilities enabled him to rejoin his tribe.

The reader has doubtless noticed that "the tribe" has been all along anonymous. The explanation comes rather late, but, in point of fact, I never could learn that they had any distinctive name; they never used any. Indeed proper names were very seldom heard. Even in conversation concerning each other, they managed to avoid "naming names" as strictly as so many honorable senators, though for no reason that I could discover. By signs and gestures, and other hints, they indicated the personal subject of remark, and seemed to suffer no inconvenience from what would be felt among us as a serious want.

While out hunting one day with the chief, we ascended a slight eminence, commanding a view of an extensive plain. The chief suddenly stopped his horse, and looked steadily forward. I bent my eyes in the same direction, and saw two or three mounted Indians moving towards a common point. There was nothing unusual to be seen, but Old Boy seemed to discover something. I inquired what it was. He answered by pointing; and, on a second view, I observed a horse loose, which I took to be that of some

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Indian temporarily dismounted. But the chief said they were about to catch a wild horse, and forthwith dashed off at a furious rate, bidding me follow. We were rapidly nearing the spot, when the two in advance of us put their horses at top speed towards the lone horse that was standing beside a clump of bushes. It suddenly ran before its pursuers, followed by two colts from the thicket. The colts appeared to be one or two years old, and were doubtless following their dam. One Indian singled out the mare, and another the larger colt. The little one did not lag behind. The chief and myself followed at a pace which would have made a single misstep fatal to our necks; but fortunately our horses proved sure-footed. On we dashed, helter-skelter, in a direction to head off the pursuers, and to place ourselves nearest to the affrighted animals. The mare yet holds the lead, and fairly tears up the soil with her flashing hoofs. An Indian, in close pursuit, presently swings his lariat about his head; but she makes a curve in her course, and springs beyond the reach of his aim. Her pursuer once more gains on her; again the lariat swings through the air, — he lets go, — the noose catches her neck, — the hunter's horse turns suddenly off, and the rope, securely attached to the saddle, brings the poor captive headlong to the ground. The trained horse keeps a strain on the noose sufficient to prevent her from rising, while the hunter dismounts and secures his prize. The colts shared the same fate, and, with the mother, were subdued and made useful to the tribe.

The scenes and reminiscences I have described did not prevent the matter of most absorbing interest to myself — the projected visit to "Holland" — from engaging due

133 entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals
to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow
[484] most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This find-
ing made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect
that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other
places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there
flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the
second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the
Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the
last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de
Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at
622 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which
comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz
[sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the
chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-
law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz
lakes.

133 Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream,
fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the
Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos
and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary.
At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits
of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very
Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the
[312 other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams,
315 an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite
136 number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs
137 these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest fol-
[622] lowing, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings
492 being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses,
484 which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian.
727 This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo in-
vaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it
has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but
no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors
224 under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there
136 are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory.
In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also
live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater
east since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more
136 southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

4/62 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Río Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
4/38 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Río
283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
● 224 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

A T 525 231

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

A T 222 137

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

A T [252]

T 262 226 177

T [227]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Tehuelches would before this touch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

On the 12th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Crimè, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuhual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Esgel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my Tehuelche friends.

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 73.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and
133 is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found
only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by
[312] a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some
four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small
[137] springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which
313] there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian
[221] chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up
to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward
toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but
the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast.
136 Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good
to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating,
[415] have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh
which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of
a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many
[262] ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat,
which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food.
Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete
and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

133 The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south.
It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bot-
tom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and
rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water.
The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of
[134] Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile
[629] than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called
136 Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but
[226] the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them
and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called
Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian
and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already men-
[313] tioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot
of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same
133 latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to
cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been ex-
plored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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A T 222 137

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T 262 226 177

T [227]

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

[54] [27]

231 [24] The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 177 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2:100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them!]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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gether wrong in naming them giants, yet they are not taller than some Englishmen.' Drake next visited Port St. Julian; and, curiously enough, as Magellan had in this place put to death two and marooned a third of his captains who mutinied, so this harbour was the scene of the execution of Mr. Doughty, who chose rather to be beheaded than to be put on shore. The ensuing year Sarmiento was despatched from Callao to examine the Straits in search of the daring Englishman. He saw natives who chased their game on horseback, and brought it down with bolas. But fifty years had elapsed since horses had been imported by the Spaniards of the Rio de la Plata, and already the Indians in the far south had become horsemen, and would seem to have exchanged their bows and arrows for the bolas.

In 1581 Sarmiento was sent from Spain with 2,500 men in twenty-three ships, to found new colonies in the Straits, and established a settlement, leaving 400 men and thirty women furnished with eight months' provisions. On his way home his ship was captured by the English, and the unhappy colonists were altogether forgotten and neglected by their Government.

Five years after, Thomas Cavendish anchored in a bay to the south of St. Julian, called by him Port Desire, which perpetuates the name of his little craft of 120 tons. Here the natives attacked his men with bows and arrows. Visiting the Straits, he arrived at the settlement, and found only twelve men and three women surviving, the rest having perished of slow starvation and disease; and the name of the place, Port Famine, conferred by him, still recalls the miserable fate of these ill-fated colonists.

On his next voyage, in 1591, Cavendish died; but John

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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Masters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sown up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women. The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

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over a sandy plain brought us to a valley with a stream flowing through beautifully green pastures. This was the spot chosen for our encamping, and some of the women were already busy planting the poles that form the skeleton of the toldos; so, turning my horse adrift, I started down to the stream, and after the luxury of a bath, lay down and smoked until the toldos were thoroughly arranged. The following day a short march was made, in a north-west direction, to a valley containing better pasture; here it was intended to give the horses much-needed repose. Meanwhile, however, meat fell short, so a circle was organised: my horse was too tired; but Orkake, seeing me standing unprepared, said, 'Ask Ako (his pet dog, and adopted child, and in virtue of his office the owner of several horses) to lend you a horse.' As Ako had no objection I was soon mounted, and started for the chase in high spirits. On our previous journey we had remarked numerous tracks of what appeared to be ostrich near the ground where our present circle was to be formed (viz., in the direction of the Cordillera), and all expected to find plenty of game. The circle was formed, myself going as one pointsman; and, after arriving at the point, I watched anxiously for some time, but the only animal that appeared was a male guanaco, which as he did not see me crouched behind an incense-bush, until he came within shot, I successfully balled and killed. After waiting a little longer, and the Indians being moderately near at hand, I changed my position a few hundred yards, to a more likely spot; but no animals appeared, so I proceeded in search of Orkake, whom I shortly discovered smoking on the top of a small eminence. After the pipe had been passed in silence, I asked him what he had killed. 'Nothing,' was the answer; 'let's wait and see; perhaps some other Indian has an ostrich.' A careful survey, however, failed to discover any one so lucky, although several had killed guanaco. So we retired to where my dead guanaco lay uncovered: at our approach two or three condors rose

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only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of sixte, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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more near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as [34]
low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our 224
hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the
hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted
that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco
had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the
rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The
Northern Indians ride most recklessly, going at full speed 442
down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say,
although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken
limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the
sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when
hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses
fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunt-
ing, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare
horses (and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the
racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their
horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race,
make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to 526
that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of 525
Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on
principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited
before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy;
if ornaments, boleadoras, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the
winners removing them directly the race is decided. The
horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting them-
selves after mustering side by side for a few yards. Owing
to the great care taken in training the horses, very few
false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long dis-
tances, four miles or a league being the average, although,
of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The 231
Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the
Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses,
and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a
horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed,
the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

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racers and best horses, although if a white man approaches or attempts to catch them they show signs of fear and temper. Indeed, there appears to be a sort of instinctive mutual bond between the Indians and their horses. For lameness the cure most prevalent is bleeding in the fetlock with an awl; sometimes the incision is made higher up the leg, and the awl forced nearly through the horse's leg; he is then tied up for a short time, and then let go, and the cure is generally certain. Of course before the bleeding he is tied up several hours without water. The cure for sore backs, which, though rare, sometimes occur owing to an ill-made saddle, is a species of aluminous earth, applied to the wound after it has been cleansed with a knife. This earth is only found in the southern parts of the country, and it is very difficult to obtain any of this much-prized medicine from the Indians. One deposit of it is found in a cliff near Lake Viedma, so high that it can only be got at by throwing stones at the face of the cliff, and so dislodging the earth.

A few lines will suffice to gratify any 'horsey-doggy' friends who may be curious as to the horse-flesh and dog-shows of the Indians. The horses in use amongst the Southern Indians are, as a rule, of a hardier race than those found amongst the Northern, Araucanian, and Pampas Indians. Their general size is about fifteen hands, or indeed perhaps less, but nevertheless they are of great speed and endurance; when one takes into consideration that the weight of their riders is frequently over fourteen stone, it appears extraordinary that they should be enabled to carry them in the way they do. The horses are, of course, all of Spanish origin, but time, climate, and the different nature of the country have altered them to a considerable degree from the original race. The horses found amongst the Northern Tehuelches are, as a rule, larger than those previously mentioned, with finer heads and smaller legs; they are also extremely swift, and being bred frequently from captured wild mares, are admirably adapted

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for hunting purposes. The horse, however, most valued is 231
the wild horse captured and tamed; these differ from the others in being, as a rule, of larger size and superior speed. This, I think, only applies to Northern Patagonia, as I have in other parts seen wild horses which in no way equalled those in captivity. The horses vary in colour, those captured from the wild herds generally being a dark bay, black, or brown. Near Port San Julian, I am informed that there are numbers of wild ponies, about the size and make of a shelty, which the children play with. The horses are entirely grass fed, and in consequence of the dry nature of the pasture in the winter season, and the subsequent hard treatment, they generally get very thin in the spring time of the year, but soon pick up condition when given a few days' rest, and allowed to feed on the fresh pasture. The dogs generally in use amongst the Patagonian Indians vary considerably both in size and species. First of all comes a sort of lurcher (smooth-haired), bred by the Indians from some obtained in the Rio Negro, the mothers being a description of mastiff, with a muzzle, however, much sharper than that of a mastiff proper; they are also very swift, and have longer and lower bodies. Our chief, Orkeke, kept his breed of this dog, which probably had been derived from the earlier Spanish settlements, pure; and they were, for hunting purposes, the best I saw, running both by scent and view.

Another description of dog observed had long woolly hair, and indeed much resembled an ordinary sheep dog. These were passably common amongst the Indians, but most of the dogs used in the chase—which are nearly all castrated—are [232]
so mixed in race as to defy specification. I heard of a dog captured from some Fuegians, which was very swift, and answered perfectly to our description of harrier. These Fuegians are probably those known as the 'Foot' Indians, who, by those who have descended on their coasts, have been observed to use dogs for hunting purposes.

Casimiro informed me that Quintuhual's people formerly

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231 hunted on foot with a large sort of dog, which, from his description, must have resembled a deer hound. The dogs are rarely fed, being allowed generally to satiate themselves in the chase. The hounds belonging to Orkeke, and one or two others, were exceptions to this rule, being fed with cooked meat when it was plentiful. The women keep pet lap-dogs of various descriptions, generally a sort of terrier, some of them much resembling the Scotch terrier. 'Ako,' for instance, was to all appearance a thoroughbred dog of that breed. These little lap-dogs are the torment of one's life in camp: at the least sound they rush out yelping, and set all the big dogs off; and in an Indian encampment at night, when there is anything stirring, a continual concert of bow-wows is kept up. The dogs are fierce towards strangers, but generally content themselves with surrounding them, showing their teeth and barking, unless set on. That they are ugly customers at night an amusing instance will prove. One morning a dog was found dead near its owner's toldo, which had evidently been knocked on the head with a bola, and finished with a knife; the owner made a great outcry, but no explanation could be had. It subsequently became
837 known to me that a young gallant had sought admission to the toldo of his inamorata by the accustomed method of cautiously lifting the back tent cover from the ground, and dexterously crawling underneath; when half through, he felt his leg seized in a pair of powerful jaws. The lady was highly amused at the predicament of her lover, who, however, extricated himself by a mighty and well-directed kick with his foot in the muzzle of his assailant. When returning from his 'rendezvous' he met his active enemy, and vindictively knocked him on the head, and, to make sure work, cut his th[illegible]t; but his leg carried after all a deeper scar than his heart as a token of the love-adventure, and when the story was told, and, as may be supposed, excited roars of laughter, it recalled forcibly to my mind,

'He jests at scars who never felt a wound.'

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[133] dismounting; but as their burrows do not penetrate far, Orkeke soon grubbed out a couple. As they were too small to kill for the value of their skins, and too much trouble to carry home as pets for the children, we set them free again, and I proceeded, leaving Orkeke to pursue his way slowly. A slight rise brought me in front of a rocky hill, on the other side of which was a river with wooded banks, across the valley of which river lay my route. I at first considered it to be the same as that seen in the previous encampment, but on reflection it was plainly another, this flowing north-east, whilst the other took a south-west course. Our hunt progressed very fairly. On closing the circle, one of the Chilians, who was running a guanaco with me, and not expert in the use of the bolas, entangled his horse and himself instead of the chase, which lost him his spoils, and caused much merriment amongst the remainder of the party; although I may as well state here that when a horse gets a ball round his legs or under his tail, it is not much of a joking matter for the rider. On our way back to camp, halting by a [137] spring, we found large quantities of wild celery; nettles were also common—the real old English white-flowering one being prevalent. Although my bare legs got considerably stung, I forgot to swear in Tehuelche, and forgave the plant for old acquaintance sake. At the toldos we found the Chilian, who had arrived recently, having run a herd some distance and lost his way, but had been safely directed by our signal [231] fires. In the afternoon some of the party were occupied in breaking their horses, while others were sitting at home lazily watching the performance. Conde's step-father, generally known as 'Paliki,' had a three-year-old iron-grey, with a white star, and a very fine animal, tied up ready to be mounted for the first time. Paliki entered our toldo to borrow my cincta, or girth, and chaffed me, asking if I would venture to 'domar' him. Orkeke seconded the proposal, and accordingly, having stripped off mantle and boots, I proceeded to take the lazo and reins and mount. The in-

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stant he felt the unwonted incumbrance he buck-jumped for several yards, finally jumping into the middle of the brook and nearly losing his footing. I spurred him out, and once on the bank he commenced to whirl round and round like a teetotum. At last I got his head straight, and after a few more buck-jumps he went off at a racing speed, urged by whip and spur. After a stretching gallop of three miles, I rode him quietly back, now and again turning him to accustom him to the bridle-thong, but not venturing to feel his mouth, and then brought him up to the toldo amidst the shouts of the spectators. Orkeke expressed great surprise, and wanted to know where I had learned to 'domar'; and the gratified owner insisted on presenting me with a piece of tobacco. This was most welcome, as my store was almost exhausted, though it had been replenished occasionally by the possessors of guns and revolvers in return for my services in putting the locks to rights; and the fear of being left tobaccoless—the agony of which all smokers will appreciate—was becoming unpleasantly strong. The following day we bade adieu to the lagoon, which, as usual, was covered with swans and other wild-fowl, which we never molested, husbanding our powder in the event of future disturbances with other Indians. We marched a few miles, and encamped near the river—indeed, on its very banks, under the shadows of the trees. Here we passed our time away hunting, bathing in the stream, smoking, and lying in the shade for three days. One of my horses being lame, I could not hunt every day, so frequently passed hours under the trees by the river, scrubbing my one remaining shirt for future use, and working hide, &c. As writing in the toldo was made almost impossible by the curiosity of the children, crowding round me and asking questions, I generally used to take my note-book to my retreat; here, however, I was often interrupted by the girls, who came on the pretence of bathing, and evinced great playful curiosity as to the contents of my book—for here, too, I used to peruse and re-

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peruse my library, namely, half of the delightful 'Elsie Venner,' which Crimè had picked up on board some ship to serve as wadding for his guns, and sold to me for a little powder. To enable the reader to follow our somewhat devious course and the intricacies of these hills and frequent rivers, the sketch map at page 164 will be found useful; it does not pretend to be exact, but gives a very fair idea of the line of country traversed, and of our migrations between Henno and Teckel.

On the 23rd, Indians having been seen to the north and guanaco hunting proving a failure, Orkeke, to my great delight, proposed a visit to the wild-cattle country. The camp was accordingly struck, and following more or less the valley of the river, which flowed after one turn nearly due east, we shortly came out into an open plain running up between the mountains, at the head of which we encamped by some tall beeches on the banks of the stream. The whole of the latter part of the plain traversed was literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom, the soil being of a dark peaty nature. Young ostriches were now numerous, and every hunt some were captured, and formed a welcome addition to our dinner. The children had several alive as pets, which they used to let loose and then catch with miniature bolas, generally ending in killing them. Our programme was to leave all the women, toldos, and other encumbrances in this spot, named 'Weekel,' or Chaykash—a regular station, and which Hinchel's party had occupied a few weeks previously—and proceed ourselves into the interior in search of cattle. The following morning at daylight horses were caught and saddled, and, after receiving the good wishes of the women, who adjured us to bring back plenty of fat beef, we started off just as the sun was rising behind the hills to the eastward. The air was most invigorating, and we trotted along for some distance up a slightly irregular and sandy slope, halting after an hour or two by the side of a deliciously clear brook, flowing east,

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and one chased; but he, although balled by Orkeke, contrived to slip the bolas, and escaping to cover stood to bay, where he was left master of the field. This bull would have been taken had the other Indians showed any degree of alacrity when Orkeke balled him; but they were dispirited by the previous failure. As evening was coming on I noticed a cormorant on the river: this and the increase of temperature led me to believe that had we penetrated a few miles farther west we should have reached the shores of the Pacific. Pursuing our track homewards, after the second unsuccessful engagement, we managed to pass the thick forest before dark, and decending to the eastern valley saw numerous cows and bulls at intervals. A short time after dark we encamped for the night under the shelter of some trees near to the head-waters of the western river, and after a pipe—by way of supper—wrapping ourselves in our mantles were soon fast asleep. At daylight we mounted and continued our journey, arriving about two P.M. pretty considerably hungry, having eaten nothing barring strawberries and talka, and a few unripe currants, since our last evening in the toldos. The women were naturally disappointed at our ill-luck, but uttered no complaints or reproaches, and hastened to pound some charqui for our refreshment. Next day, all except myself and my companion in the overthrow, who complained of headache, went out hunting and returned at night with young guanaco, and an ostrich or two. Some of the women had seen cattle near the encampment, and Orkeke informed me that in former years they used to occupy the plains below us in large herds, but that the Indians had driven them into the interior by excessive hunting: he also stated that on one occasion he spent some months in this spot, and caught and tamed a considerable number. His accurate knowledge of the country made his statement credible, and he also showed me a sort of corral that had been made to enclose the wild animals. For my own part, the name of the Cordillera recalls the most hungry

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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Headstalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'manèos,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoehorn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

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 A T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

A T 525 231

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

A T 222 137

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

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Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

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202 explained to the assembled caciques, the two messengers (sons of caciques) appeared with two horses each, and after receiving some verbal injunctions, started on their journey, amidst the howlings of a few old women and a blast from the
000 cornet. The remainder of us, who had mounted, to add to the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, went out hunting, some following the ravine in an easterly direction, which, penetrating high pampas, opened into a plain containing a lagoon fed by the waters of the brook, whilst others encircled the high pampas above. Hinchel, whom I accompanied on
136 this occasion, pointed out to me several small holes with little mounds of earth and rubbish at the mouth, which he asserted to be the abodes of snakes, but no occupants were visible outside. He described the snakes as dark in colour, about two feet six inches long, and perfectly harmless,
[262] adding that they would be good to eat, which facts were subsequently corroborated by Casimiro.

231 One of the troubles of pampa life is occasionally losing one's horses, as was my case in this place, and I spent one entire day in search before I recovered them, as they had strayed in company with a troop of mares far up the valley, which here divided into two branches, opening into watered grassy plains extending to the Cordillera. As there were horse tracks up both valleys, according to the usual law of contrariety I took the wrong one at first and had a long gallop for nothing. At any time it is troublesome to have to look through about two thousand horses all unmarked, and many of the same colour, and perhaps resembling those belonging to the perplexed searcher. An Indian, however,
[151] with his natural quickness of sight, will distinguish his own horses at a great distance amongst a hundred others. It has been already said that in this roving life all must look after their own horses, for Indians do not understand another person doing it for them, unless he be a son or relation, and in all cases when preparing for the march every one is expected to find and bring up his own.

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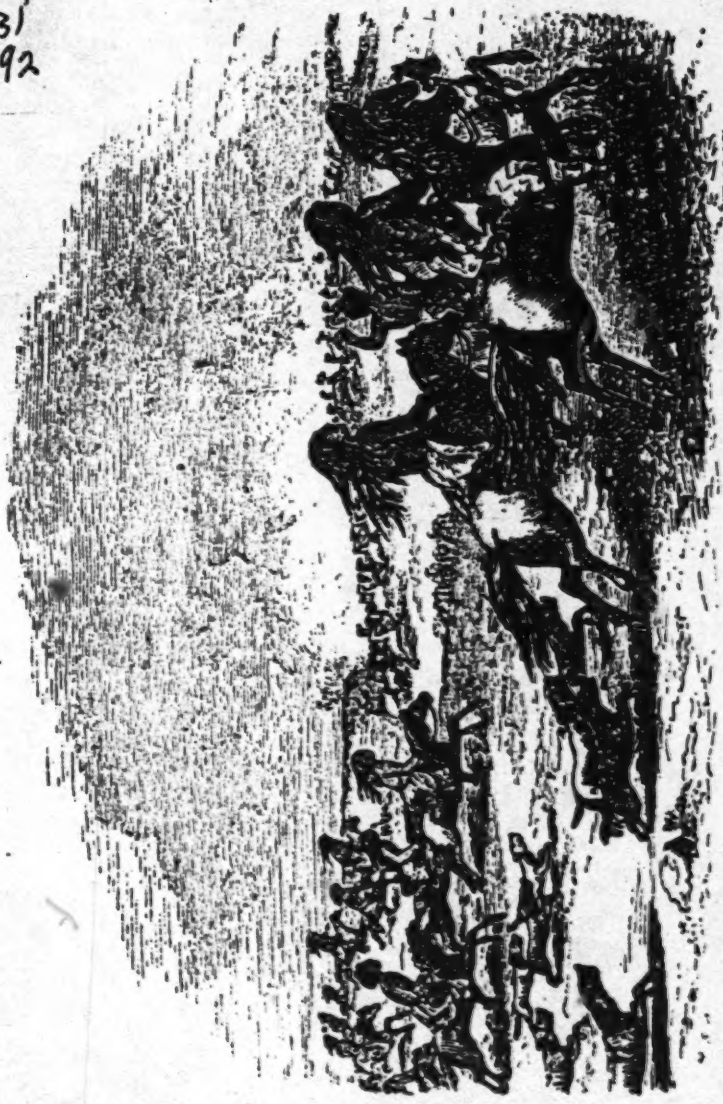

Hunting the Guanacho. Page 70.

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[pp. 13, 14, + 15 are blank]
[No pages before p. 13]

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000 mistaken? No — those infernal eyes were fastened on me as before! There was no eluding their vigilance. At
● [231] this moment a howling as of a hundred wolves was heard approaching, and about that number of dogs came rushing, pell-mell, towards me. I scampered for the wigwam as fast as my feet could carry me, and in my flight stumbled over a stick nearly eight feet long. I seized the weapon thus kindly lent me, and, swinging it furiously about me, gave all intruders that came within my reach a sufficient touch of its quality. Thus defending myself from the brutes, I backed towards the lodge, glad to shelter myself among its detested inmates. The cunning old Parosilver, as before, had bestowed himself on the ground among his squaws and dirty children, and was, apparently, fast asleep.

This was more than I could compass. Vexation at my fruitless attempts to escape, — dread, inspired by the relentless vigilance and quiet assurance of the chief, — tormenting apprehensions as to the issue of any effort on the morrow to effect my ransom, — all kept my brain upon the rack, and effectually drove sleep from my eyes, till near daylight, when I fell into a disturbed slumber. In my dreams I was at once transported from the savage hut, on board my vessel. Methought she was driving before the wind, all sails set, at full speed, upon a dangerous reef. All on board seemed insensible of the danger; I alone perceived it, but a nightmare spell was on me, and my lips refused to speak, my limbs to move. Rooted to my place on the deck, I stood in dumb agony, while our vessel rushed upon her fate. There came a sudden shock, — our bark had struck, and her total destruction

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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556 horses, the stock of which is frequently replenished by
●231 stealing from the Spanish and Chilian settlements. These animals are, for the most part, of small size and inferior quality, half wild, coated with coarse, shaggy hair — lean and woe-begone enough, just "fit for the crows." A few valuable specimens of a superior breed are found among them, doubtless "conveyed" there. The rude saddles in
492 use among them are mostly of Spanish origin, obtained at the settlements. They consist each of two boards, an inch thick, six inches wide, and two feet long, rounded at the corners so as to fit the horse's back, and united by two strips of board passing across the back-bone, the several pieces lashed together with leather strings. A piece of guanaco-skin often serves in default of a saddle. The steed is guided by a single rein, tied round the lower jaw; some of them sport a bit of iron or wood, secured by a string round the jaw, attaching the rein to this. Spurs, like the rest of their riding apparatus, are more efficient than elegant. They are indeed rude and cruel things, — straight sticks, six inches long, with a long, sharp iron inserted into the end, secured by a string or strap around the hollow of the foot, and tied at the top, a second strap nearer the heel, and a third passing round the heel. They are all agile and excellent horsemen.

411 For weapons, the chief, and a few of the principal men, had cutlasses or swords. They had no fire-arms, nor could I learn that they understood their use; bows and arrows, spears and war-clubs, appeared to be equally unknown.
411 All the men carried knives; and the *bolas*, a missile
224 weapon used in the capture of all kinds of game. This consists of two round stones, or lead balls, if they can be

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as he loved rum and tobacco, and expected to get any, not to leave me. John saw at a glance what was in the wind, and appreciated both the immediate danger and the ultimate reward of averting it; namely, the privilege of being gloriously drunk at my expense. He told me to go into his hut, and pointed me to the furthest corner; where, I being duly ensconced, he took his station, cutlass in hand, directly in front of me. The singing grew louder, and the voices more numerous about the door; the song was their regular powwow strain, which invariably preluded the killing of a horse. The Indians began to enter the lodge, and looked unutterable things in the direction where I was crouching; the wigwam was soon filled with them, and they were beginning to crowd towards me, when old John opened upon them, and told them they ought to be ashamed of themselves, to come in there in that manner; they did not even know what had happened, — they did not know whether any lives were lost. They were threatening on account of the death of a child, when, for aught they knew, the child was alive; they had better wait patiently, till they knew more about the matter, before they made any further uproar about it. In this strain he parleyed with them for some time, till they concluded to retire, uttering, as they went, the most horrible sounds. I felt less relief from their absence than if John had not, by implication, fully assented that *if* the brat was drowned, my life should answer for it. News soon came that the children were all safe, but that the boat was lost.

An instant change ensued: the fire appeared to be quenched, but I feared it might break out at any moment afresh. Knowing their treachery, I kept a pretty sus-

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231 racers and best horses, although if a white man approaches or attempts to catch them they show signs of fear and temper. Indeed, there appears to be a sort of instinctive mutual bond between the Indians and their horses. For
232 lameness the cure most prevalent is bleeding in the fetlock with an awl; sometimes the incision is made higher up the leg, and the awl forced nearly through the horse's leg; he is then tied up for a short time, and then let go, and the cure is generally certain. Of course before the bleeding he is tied up several hours without water. The cure for sore backs, which, though rare, sometimes occur owing to an ill-made
135 saddle, is a species of aluminous earth, applied to the wound
232 after it has been cleansed with a knife. This earth is only found in the southern parts of the country, and it is very difficult to obtain any of this much-prized medicine from the Indians. One deposit of it is found in a cliff near Lake Viedma, so high that it can only be got at by throwing stones at the face of the cliff, and so dislodging the earth.

231 A few lines will suffice to gratify any 'horsey-doggy' friends who may be curious as to the horse-flesh and dog-shows of the Indians. The horses in use amongst the Southern Indians are, as a rule, of a hardier race than those found amongst the Northern, Araucanian, and Pampas Indians. Their general size is about fifteen hands, or indeed perhaps less, but nevertheless they are of great speed and endurance; when one takes into consideration that the weight of their riders is frequently over fourteen stone, it appears extraordinary that they should be enabled to carry them in the way they do. The horses are, of course, all of Spanish origin, but time, climate, and the different nature of the country have altered them to a considerable degree from the original race. The horses found amongst the Northern Tehuelches are, as a rule, larger than those previously mentioned, with finer heads and smaller legs; they are also extremely swift, and being bred frequently from captured wild mares, are admirably adapted

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for hunting purposes. The horse, however, most valued is the wild horse captured and tamed; these differ from the others in being, as a rule, of larger size and superior speed. This, I think, only applies to Northern Patagonia, as I have in other parts seen wild horses which in no way equalled those in captivity. The horses vary in colour, those captured from the wild herds generally being a dark bay, black, or brown. Near Port San Julian, I am informed that there are numbers of wild ponies, about the size and make of a shelty, which the children play with. The horses are entirely grass fed, and in consequence of the dry nature of the pasture in the winter season, and the subsequent hard treatment, they generally get very thin in the spring time of the year, but soon pick up condition when given a few days' rest, and allowed to feed on the fresh pasture. The dogs generally in use amongst the Patagonian Indians vary considerably both in size and species. First of all comes a sort of lurcher (smooth-haired), bred by the Indians from some obtained in the Rio Negro, the mothers being a description of mastiff, with a muzzle, however, much sharper than that of a mastiff proper; they are also very swift, and have longer and lower bodies. Our chief, Orkeke, kept his breed of this dog, which probably had been derived from the earlier Spanish settlements, pure; and they were, for hunting purposes, the best I saw, running both by scent and view.

Another description of dog observed had long woolly hair, and indeed much resembled an ordinary sheep dog. These were possibly common amongst the Indians, but most of the dogs used in the chase—which are nearly all cistreted—are so mixed in race as to defy specification. I heard of a dog captured from some Fuegians, which was very swift, and answered perfectly to our description of harriet. These Fuegians are probably those known as 'Foot' Indians, who, by those who have descended on their coasts, have been observed to use dogs for hunting purposes.

Casimiro informed me that Quintuhual's people formerly

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262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of [58] method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them [27] chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

231 [241] The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 177 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Boncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–229).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2:100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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ous household, however, seemed to enjoy immense satisfaction; and jabbered and grunted, and played their antics, and exchanged grimaces, as complacently as if they breathed a highly exhilarating atmosphere.

My meditations and observations were shortly interrupted by preparations for a meal. The chief's better half — or rather fifth part, for he had four wives — superintended the culinary operations, which were as rude and simple as the hut where they were carried on. And now my fancy began to conjure up visions of the beef, fowls and eggs, the promise of which had lured my men from the boat, — had proved stronger than the suggestions of prudence, and had made me a prisoner. But these dainties, if they existed anywhere within the chief's jurisdiction, were just at present reserved. The old hag threw down from the top of one of the stakes that supported the tent the quarter of some animal; whether dog, guanaco, or whatever, was past imagining. She slashed right and left, with might and main, an old copper knife, till it was divided into several pieces. Then taking a number of crotched sticks, about two feet long, and sharpened at all their points, she inserted the forked ends into pieces of the meat, and drove the opposite points into the ground near the fire; which, though sufficient to smoke and comfortably *warm* the mess, was too feeble to roast it. At all events, time was too precious, or their unsophisticated appetites were too craving, to wait for such an operation; and the raw morsels were quickly snatched from the smoke, torn into bits by her dirty hands, and thrown upon the ground before us. The Indians seized them with avidity, and tossed a bit to me; but what could I do with

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224 the other, who has been chasing with him, to carry or take charge of, and at the end of the hunt it is divided; the feathers and body from the head to the breast-bone and one leg belonging to the captor, the remainder to the assistant. In the case of guanaco, the first takes the best half in the
[262] same manner; the lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, and the fat and marrow bones are sometimes eaten raw. The Tehuelches also cut out the fat over the eyes, and the gristly fat between the thigh joints, which they eat with great gusto, as also the heart and blood of the ostrich. Owing to the entire absence of farinaceous food, fat becomes a necessary article of diet, and can be consumed in much larger quantities than in more civilised countries. That this is not merely owing to the inclemency of the climate is proved by the appetite for fat which the gauchos in the Argentine provinces acquire.
252 When the hunt is finished, and the birds cut up and divided, fires are kindled, and whilst stones are heating the ostrich is plucked, the wing feathers being carefully tied together with a piece of sinew. The bird is then laid on its back and drawn; the legs are carefully skinned down, and the bone taken out, leaving the skin; the carcase is then separated into two halves, and the backbone having been extracted from the lower half, and the meat sliced so as to admit the heated stones laid in between the sections, it is tied up like a bag, secured by the skin of the legs, with a small bone thrust through to keep all taut; this is placed on the live embers of the fire, a light blaze being kindled when it is nearly done to perfectly roast the outside meat. During the process of cooking it has to be turned frequently to ensure all parts being thoroughly cooked. When ready it is taken
264 off the fire, and the top part being cut off and the stones extracted, the broth and meat are found deliciously cooked. The party, generally consisting of twos or fours, sit round the dish and eat the meat, sopping it in the broth. The back part, which consists nearly altogether of fat (when the ostrich is in good condition), is then divided, pieces being given to

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[264] each, and reserved as tid-bits for the women and children.
252 When the head and breast half are to be cooked, the bone is not extracted, but the wings turned inside and the breast cavity filled with heated stones, and tied up with half of the skin of the legs, which have been divided, additional pieces of meat from the legs having been placed in the breast cavity.
264 The fat of the breast is divided amongst the party at the fireside, the owner in all cases reserving none or a very small piece for himself, as the others who are cooking at the
[622] same fire are sure to give him plenty. The cacique gene-
rally receives the largest share, or if he is not present, the greatest friends of the owner. The wing feathers are care-
[439] fully taken to the toldos and stored with others for future
262 trade. The ostrich is most thoroughly eaten; the gizzard, which is large enough to fill both hands, being carefully cooked by the insertion of a hot stone and roasted; the eyes, too, are sucked, and the tripe devoured; but when the birds are thin they are simply skinned, and the carcase left to the pumas. After the meal, concluding the hunt, is finished, a pipe is handed round, saddles are re-adjusted, and the game placed on them, and the party adjourn to the toldos, which by this time have been pitched and arranged by the women.

Guanaco are not much killed, unless a long stay in a place is intended, or an Indian feels inclined for blood, or ostriches, which are always eaten in preference, are scarce. The meat
252 of the guanaco is, however, excellent; the haunches are generally what is termed in Spanish 'charqueared,' which means that the meat is cut off in thin slices, and after a little salt has been sprinkled over it, is dried in the sun. When thoroughly dried it is roasted in the ashes, pounded between two stones, and mixed with ostrich or other grease; this preparation, like pemmican, is very useful for a man going a long journey, as it can be carried in a small compass, and a mere handful satisfies the appetite.

000 It would be tedious to describe every day's march, and the

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262 which the root, or rather lower stem, is eaten by the Indians, and is succulent and juicy, with a pleasant taste. The boys and girls soon brought a large supply into the toldos. The
881 day after our arrival in this place, the attainment of the age of puberty of one of the girls was celebrated according to custom. Early in the morning the father of the child informed the cacique of the event, the cacique thereupon officially communicated the intelligence to the acting doctor or medicine-man, and a considerable shouting was set up, while the doctor adorned himself with white paint and was bled in
881 the forehead and arms with a sharp bodkin. The women
346 immediately set to work to sew a number of 'mandils' together. When the patchwork was finished, it was taken with pomp and ceremony by a band of young men, who marched round the poles—already fixed to form a temporary toldo—singing, whilst the women joined in with the most dismal incantations and howlings. After marching round several times, the covering was drawn over the poles, and lances were stuck in front, adorned with bells, streamers, and brass plates that shook and rattled in the breeze, the whole thing when erected presenting a very gay appearance (its Indian name literally meaning 'The pretty house'). The
881 girl was then placed in an inner part of the tent, where nobody was admitted. After this everybody mounted, and some were selected to bring up the horses, out of which certain mares and fillies were chosen, and brought up in front of the showy toldo, where they were knocked on the head by a ball—thus saving the blood (which was secured in
[262] pots) to be cooked, being considered a great delicacy. It is a rule amongst the Indians that any one assisting to take off the hide of a slaughtered mare is entitled to a piece of meat, but the flesh was on this occasion distributed pretty equally all round. Whilst the meat was cooking, Casimiro, who was
881 ruler of the feast, sent a message for me to come to Crimé's
252 toldo, where I found him busy working at a saddle, in the construction of which he was, by the way, an adept. His

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881 wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some
252 of the blood mixed with grease. When the mess was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagists—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat.
881 On this occasion everybody ate where they liked, in their
535 own toldos. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The
[534] orchestra consisted of a drum made by stretching a piece of hide over a bowl, also a sort of wind instrument formed of the thigh-bone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is placed to the mouth and played, or with a short bow having a horsehair string. When all was ready, some of the old
[533] hags all the time singing in their melodious way, the band struck up, and four Indians, muffled up in blankets, so that
[301] their eyes only were visible, and their heads adorned with ostrich plumes, marched into the ring, and commenced pacing slowly round the fire, keeping time to the music. After two or three promenades, the time gradually quickened, until they went at a sort of trot; and about the fifth round, dancing fast to the music they threw away their mantles, and
[302] exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from
[301] the shoulder to the hip, which jingled in tune to their steps. The first four consisted of the chiefs Casimiro, Orkeke, Crimé, and Camillo, who, after dancing with great action (just avoiding stepping into the fire), and bowing their plumed

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000 snow fell heavily, notwithstanding which on the following day the Indians, who did not appear to feel secure, marched again in a northerly direction. Before quitting this valley, 252 I was fortunate enough to find an ostrich nest with four eggs in it, which we devoured later on, cooked in the ashes by the simple method of placing the egg upright, with a hole broken in the upper surface, through which a piece of stick is inserted to stir round the yolk and white, a little salt being thrown in, and the egg turned to ensure all sides being equally done; the result being an omelette in the shell of most appetising flavour, but a novice in this cookery is apt 133 to burn his fingers in turning the egg. Towards night we entered a dark and gloomy gorge, winding amongst fantastic and confused cliffs and peaked hills, thrown together in utterly chaotic confusion, which appeared to form a barrier east and west. But it was impossible accurately to distinguish the line, so inextricably were the heights jumbled together. My powers of description are utterly inadequate to convey the idea of the formless irregularity of this region of rocky hills.

At a late hour we encamped in a glen, or corrie, apparently without a second outlet, and walled in by frowning cliffs, down the midst of which a torrent foamed in a rocky channel. All the next day our march continued through a barren desert of rocks, frequently intersected by deep ravines with precipitous cliffs, the faces of which in many places displayed beds of red and yellow ochre, visible at a great distance. From some of these the women, after a scramble, replenished their supplies of paint. The whole face of this district was torn and tossed, as if by tremendous explosive force; and, except in some deep-lying clay bottoms, where an occasional shallow lagoon was to be met with, the track was waterless; snow lay on the heights and in some places on the ground traversed by our march, in the course of which a number of the large ibises, called in Chili bandurria (Theristicus melanopis), were seen. The nature of the country rendered hunting laborious and

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252 In the hunt not less than
pumas were killed, which were, as usual at this time, very fat, and were duly boiled in the iron pots, furnishing an excellent supper, the meat closely resembling boiled pork.
576 During the day seven of the Chilians were missed, and on our arrival at the toldos, it transpired that they had determined to try and find their own way to the Chupat settlement; and as they had left in an underhand manner, which the Indians look upon as tantamount to a declaration of war, some of the people wished to pursue and kill them, but this
133 proposition was overruled by Orkeke and Casimiro. The en-
[136] campment was sheltered by a hill named 'Téle,' close to a large lagoon covered with waterfowl, into which flowed a beautiful spring issuing from the hill; along the margin of the clear pure water grew a profusion of a sort of green cress, and at sunset flights of flamingoes (Phœnicopterus tgnipallo) and rose-coloured spoonbills (Platalea ajaja) came to the lagoon to feed. One day's hunting was done in the surrounding plain, which to the west presents several of the remarkable drops, or basin-like formations described by Darwin as existing on the eastern side of the Cordillera. On October 5th we broke up the camp and marched in a northerly direction, until a stream of considerable size was arrived at; this some of us crossed at once, although it was deep and the banks rotten and unsound. The women and remainder of the party diverged to a ford, old Orkeke sending one of the Chilians to take care that his little dog (on whom he lavished his paternal affections) did not get wet. In half an hour's time the whole party—Ako included—had crossed in safety, and the camp was pitched on a peninsula between this river and another which joined it lower down. The united streams may or may not form a tributary of the Chupat, as the Indians disagreed on this point, some averring it to be so, others stating that the river flowed into a large lagoon. The weather had changed into drizzling rain, and the wet and sloppy state of the toldos was very disagreeable. It
291 did not, however, much affect our clothing, as it is easy to

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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable.

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind.

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combination was universally approved of. Another day we went fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line, voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish, and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood. Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invitation I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they *do not* devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeke and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being gluttonous gormandisers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

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position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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T A 526 525 After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

T 137 222 252 Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

000 We made a stay of eight days in Esgel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Checoque, and the much-praised

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We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Mafia, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

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● 252 When the council was concluded a sheep was brought up and killed. The poor beast was lashed to a post with its head looking to the sky, and the throat being cut, salt was forced into the wound, the lip of which was compressed *secundum artem*, in order to flavour the blood and lungs, &c., ~~of~~ which formed the repast. All the girls then crowded round, each preferring a request to us to bring a little yerba, flour, sugar, &c., from the settlements, till, our horses being ready, mine having been additionally burdened with the dead mutton by way of provisions for the road, we extricated ourselves from the crowd, and amidst repeated injunctions, charges, and affectionate farewells, got away, and towards four P.M. started to overtake the now distant cavalcade.

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there the river, sweeping to the northern side, leaves a wide 484
rinetm, or expanse of rich alluvial ground. This is con- 133
sidered as belonging to the Indians, some of whom are always
to be found encamped near the rancho, which belonged to
the cacique El Inglés, and three toldos were pitched in its
vicinity.

We presented to the chief his wife, whom we had brought 574
with us, and I was warmly welcomed as a relative, the
cacique being a nephew of Quintuhual. This chief derives
his name from his alleged relationship to some one or other
of the officers of *Fitzroy's* surveying expedition, so that I
was doubly welcome in my English and Indian character.
Here we camped amongst the pajas, or pampa grass, and, 252
having been presented with a mare and some pumpkins, soon
had a good fire blazing and meat and pumpkins cooking;
these latter being dressed by cutting them in halves, taking
out the seeds, and filling the interior with hot ashes, and
then placing them on the ashes, the result being, at all
events as it seemed then to my taste, delicious. I wished 484
to proceed direct to the Guardia, but as Patricio and the
others put it off till the morrow, in my ignorance of the road
and usages of the place, I was forced to 'do at Rome as
Rome does.'

A good wash in the river was one of the first things
indulged in, and the enjoyment of getting rid of several
days' accumulation of the dust and mud of the travesia can
be better imagined than described.

The following morning, before daylight, we all bathed in
the river, and, after taking maté with the cacique El Inglés,
and a warm by the fireside after sleeping in the frosty night
air, we prepared to visit the Guardia. Casting off the Indian
mantle, I assumed the usual dress of an Englishman of the
period, shooting-coat, &c.; and having been provided with
fresh horses by our friend, half an hour's gallop brought us to
the north bank, opposite the Guardia—not, however, without
misadventure, for as we made our way along the narrow,

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the incensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, zerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

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ous household, however, seemed to enjoy immense satisfaction; and jabbered and grunted, and played their antics, and exchanged grimaces, as complacently as if they breathed a highly exhilarating atmosphere.

My meditations and observations were shortly interrupted by preparations for a meal. The chief's better half—or rather fifth part, for he had four wives—superintended the culinary operations, which were as rude and simple as the hut where they were carried on. And now my fancy began to conjure up visions of the beef, fowls and eggs, the promise of which had lured my men from the beat,—had proved stronger than the suggestions of prudence, and had made me a prisoner. But these dainties, if they existed anywhere within the chief's jarisdiction, were just at present reserved. The old hag threw down from the top of one of the stakes that supported the tent the quarter of some animal; whether dog, guanaco, or whatever, was past imagining. She slashed right and left, with might and main an old copper knife, till it was divided into several pieces. Then taking a number of crotched sticks, about two feet long, and sharpened at all their points, she inserted the forked ends into pieces of the meat, and drove the opposite points into the ground near the fire; which, though sufficient to smoke and comfortably warm the mess, was too feeble to roast it. At all events, time was too precious, or their unsophisticated appetites were too craving, to wait for such an operation; and the raw morsels were quickly snatched from the smoke, torn into bits by her dirty hands, and thrown upon the ground before us. The Indians seized them with avidity, and tossed a bit to me; but what could I do with

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old Parosi ver and enlist his authority for me, if circumstances should compel me to appeal to it.

The reunited tribe remained in camp three or four days dividing their time between gambling and hunting. When I accompanied the hunters, as I sometimes did, I was sure to get something to eat towards night, as they invariably kindled a fire and cooked part of the game on the spot where it was killed. Their method of preparing all meats was essentially the same as has been described; tossing large pieces into the fire, or suspending them over it, till they were somewhat smoked and dried, and then devouring them, without salt, or any other condiment but the sauce of hunger. Cooking the ostrich, however, forms an exception: the feathers are plucked out, the bones dissected and removed; hot stones are placed within the body, the skin is tightly sewed together, and the whole is partially roasted on the embers. The lacings are then cut, and the meat is served up; it has an excellent flavor, far surpassing that of the domestic turkey. The bird is covered with a layer of fat, half an inch thick, which is melted, and collects in the body, forming a condiment which is relished as the greatest luxury of Patagonian living. If any fragments of the repast remain, they are slung to the backs of the saddles, and so carried home, dangling at the horses' sides, till they are so begrimed with dust as to defy all conjecture as to their quality or origin. These choice morsels are proffered to the home department, are received with smiles of gratitude, and devoured with a gust sharpened by long abstinence. It was noticeable that the plumage of the ostrich, though beautiful, was not at all valued by the Indians; large

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in a straight line; and, as soon as their course is ascertained, the Indians may be seen running their horses at break-neck pace to plant themselves directly in the course of the living tide. As the game approach, the hunter puts spurs to his horse and rushes across their track. When within twenty or thirty yards, he jerks the bolas from his girdle, and, whirling it violently above his head, lets fly. The weapon usually strikes the head or neck of the animal, and winds itself about his fore-legs, bringing him to the ground. The hunter dismounts, cuts the victim's throat, remounts, and is again in pursuit. The whizzing missile, unerring in its aim, brings down another and another, till the party are satisfied with their chase and their prey. The dogs fall upon the poor animals, when helplessly entangled by the bolas, and often cruelly mangle them before the hunter has time to despatch them. Seldom does any one miss the game he marks. It is the height of manly ambition among them, the last result of their training, to excel in the chase.

The sport being over, then comes the dressing of the meat. The body is split open, the entrails removed, the heart and large veins opened, to permit the blood to flow into the cavity. The Indians scoop up with their hands and eagerly drink the blood. When their thirst is satisfied, the remainder is poured into certain of the intestines selected for the purpose, to become (to their accommodating tastes) a luxury as highly prized as any surnamed of Bologna. The ribs are disjointed from the back-bone, and, with the head, discarded as worthless. The body is quartered, cutting through the skin; the quarters, tied together in pairs, are thrown across the horses' backs, and conveyed to the camp. Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous

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last argument was decisive, and she kept her huge mouth closed for the night. There was a silent pause for some minutes, and, without another word, we ranged ourselves for repose. I thought the old heathen's conscience troubled him through the night; his sleep was broken, and he appeared very restless. Early the next morning he went to the lodge of the newly-married pair, and had a long chat with them. They thought him rather severe upon them at first; but, after a good deal of diplomacy, a better understanding was brought about. The young people could hardly get over a sense of the indignities they had received; but in the course of the day they returned, bag and baggage, to the old chief's tent, and made it their permanent abode.

We now moved in a westerly direction, and on the way succeeded in capturing a good deal of game. Their mode of dealing with the carcass of the guanaco is enough to dissipate whatever appetizing qualities the meat — in itself very palatable — would otherwise possess. It was no uncommon circumstance, while the squaws were removing the hide, to see the dogs tugging at the other extremity, the women, meantime, crying out "Eh! Ah!" in a dissuasive, though not angry, tone. If the animals become too audacious, the ire of their mistresses is kindled, and they break out with "Cashuran cashahy!" a phrase equivalent to that which, in English, directs its object to a region unmentionable in ears polite.

The Indians have, strictly speaking, no profane expressions. I never could learn that they worshipped or had any idea of a Supreme Being. The only observance which bore any aspect of religion was associated with something we

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tricks. It seemed that they thought a white man could afford to go without dressing. I explained to them that, having always worn clothes, — having in infancy, even, unlike Patagonian piccaninnies, been externally protected against the fresh air, — it was quite impossible for me to change my habits without the hazard of my life; and, if I should die in consequence of yielding to their wishes, they were reminded they would lose the valuable ransom they expected for me. This reasoning proved convincing; greatly as they longed for my wardrobe, they more desired rum and tobacco, and I was permitted the undisturbed enjoyment of the scanty covering left me.

The storm continued for two days and nights; on the third day it cleared up. About mid-day, observing a crowd of Indians together with a huge jargon of tongues, I learned, on inquiry, that a horse was to be killed; a matter which, it appeared, was always the occasion of a solemn powwow. On reaching the spot, a poor old beast, lean and lank, with a lariat about his neck, stood surrounded by some fifty Indians. The squaws were singing, in stentorian tones, "Ye! Ye! Yup! Yup! Lar, lapuly, yapuly!" with a repetition that became unendurable, and drove me to a respectful distance. The horse's fore-legs were fast bound together, a violent push forward threw him heavily to the ground, and he was speedily despatched with a knife; anticipating, by a few days, the ordinary course of nature. Soon after my return to the wigwam, a huge portion of the carcass was sent to our quarters and hung up, to furnish our next meals! After being duly dressed by the women, with the aid of the dogs, and scorched and smoked according to usage, it was served

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up,—my only alternative to starvation. Famine has no scruples of delicacy; if the reader is disgusted, he is in a state of sympathy with the writer.

Early the next day we (literally) pulled up stakes, and were on the move; and, after journeying all day, encamped in a situation very like the one we left in the morning. The Indians spent their time, as usual, in gambling and in combing each other's hair, with a brush made of stiff dry roots, tied up together. The operator received as a fee the *game* captured in the process. The reader will excuse a more explicit statement of what, though less abominable than cannibalism, is hardly less repulsive.

One evening our family circle were seated round a fire, which sent up volumes of smoke sufficiently dense to suit a savage of the most exacting taste, and which drove me, as usual, to the back part of the hut, where I lay flat on my face. One of the chief's wives was inveighing against me, as was her wont, and a second occasionally joined in the strain, by way of chorus. A third was cracking the bones of a guanaco, that her son Cohanaco might eat the marrow. The fourth and last of the women was attending to a piece of meat for our supper, fixed on a forked stick, in the smoke. Two sons were engaged, as usual, in doing nothing, except occasionally begging a little of the marrow, and scraping their dirty legs with a sheath-knife, by way of diversion; sundry by-plays, and little pieces of mischief, served to fill up the spare minutes. The old chief, who had been silently regarding the scene, now commenced talking, in a low, mumbling, guttural tone, to one of his wives. She was busily eying the toasting-fork, and studying the process of cooking; but, at her husband's instance,

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142 Tehuelches, although the Southerners proved generally to be the tallest, I found no reason to alter this average, as any smaller men that were met with in their company were not pure Tehuelches, but half-bred Pampas. The extraordinary muscular development of the arms and chest is in all particularly striking, and as a rule they are well-proportioned throughout. This fact calls for especial mention, as others have stated that the development and strength of the legs is inferior to that of the arms. Even Mr. Cunningham alleges this to be the case, but I cannot at all agree with him. Besides the frequent opportunities afforded me of scrutinising the young men engaged in the game of ball, in which great strength and activity are displayed, or when enjoying the almost daily bath and swimming or diving, I judged of the muscular size of their legs by trying on their boots, which, in nearly all cases, were far too large for me, although the feet, on the other hand, were frequently smaller than mine. The height of their insteps is also worthy of remark, one example of which may suffice. Having negotiated an exchange of an excellent pair of high boots, manufactured by Messrs. Thomas, for some necessary article, with a Tehuelche, the bargain fell through because he was unable to get his foot into the boot, the high arched instep proving an insuperable obstacle to further progress.

481 147 An instance of the walking powers of the Tehuelches came under my particular notice. On my first arrival at Santa Cruz, it will be remembered that the schooner was lying in the mouth of the river waiting for a fair wind. Two Tehuelches, named Tchang and Getchkook, had embarked in order to proceed to the Rio Negro, but their patience becoming exhausted by the delay, they asked to be put ashore, and walked back to the settlement—a distance of over forty miles—in about twelve hours, without food. I saw them on their arrival, and they did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been 'a long walk.'

261 Their powers of abstaining from food are also very re-

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markable. When the disturbances and fighting were going on they rarely ate anything: also when travelling as 'chasquis,' or messengers, they will not unfrequently go for two and even three days without tasting food. In our expedition into the Cordillera we remained over forty-eight hours without food except wild fruit, and, although I at first suffered from hunger, my companions did not appear to be in any way inconvenienced. As a Chilian deserter remarked on one occasion, it was all very well for them to go on without eating; 'but we can't—we've not so much fat.' Their strength of arm is very great, and the distance to which they can throw the ostrich bola is truly astonishing: thus I have seen Crimè and some others ball an ostrich over seventy yards distant. When cutting wood in the Cordillera with Hinchel, a Chilian deserter and myself had cut a tree through, and, having fastened a lazo to the top branch, were endeavouring to drag it down, but its branches became entangled in another tree, and we could not stir it. Hinchel, seeing our difficulty, came up, and with one well-directed, vigorous tug cleared it from the branches and brought it to the ground.

Mr. Clarke also informed me that when he was ill with fever, and had to be removed from the Almacen to the lower house on the island, on account of the noise made by the drunken Indians, Wáki mounted, and, taking him in his arms, rode down seemingly unencumbered by the burden. Their faces, of course, vary in expression, but are ordinarily bright and good-humoured, though when in the settlement they assume a sober, and even sullen, demeanour. Wáki and Cayuke, two friends of mine, are particularly present to my recollection as having always had a smile on their faces. Their ever-ready laughter displays universally good teeth, which they keep white and clean by chewing 'maki,' a gum which exudes from the incense bush, and is carefully gathered by the women and children. It has a rather pleasant taste, and is a most excellent dentifrice, worthy to rival Odonto or Floriline, and it is used simply as

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cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they *do not* devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeke and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being gluttonous gormandisers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

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drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was current that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them, and various other stories, most of which were declared to be lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish their hearers. Crimè's widow took up her abode in our toldo; and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the rank of lieutenant in the Buenos Ayrean army, and the right of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique, who at last declared that he should name his almost insane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated by annual pay! On April 22 a start was made, but we remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing, so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular hills, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce, what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given to those recovering from sickness.

Jackechan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for. He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, muttering a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Ona SH4
Alacaluf SH2

1882–83; Musters (1871, p. 184; 1872, p. 204), not over 1,500 souls, about 1,400, in 1869–70; Berg (1875, p. 371), 200 [2,000–?] souls, in 1874; Lista (1879 a, p. 75), about 500 warriors, 2,000 to 3,000 souls, in 1878–79; Roncagli (1884, p. 768), 300 [warriors–?], in 1882; Spears (1895, p. 159), perhaps about 500 souls, in 1894, according to gaucho informants; Hatcher (1903, p. 262), doubtful if over 500 left, in 1896–99; Borgatello (1924, p. 134), at most 1,300 to 1,500 souls. Of the foregoing writers, probably Viedma, Muñiz, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Borgatello were best situated to learn the facts.

Detailed data on the *Tehuelche* are given by Reiher (1920, p. 115) as of 1913–14, for the *Tehuelche* then living on the reserve in Santa Cruz territory: 35 men, 40 women, 17 boys, 15 girls—of whom 4 were non-Indians, and about 50 of the rest were full-blooded *Tehuelche*. The present writer has not found it possible to obtain statistics on the number of *Tehuelche* surviving today (1943).

In 1829 the population had become reduced by one-half since the smallpox epidemic of 1800–12, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 97). Borgatello (1924, pp. 133–136) attributed the modern decline in numbers to wars with the Whites, smallpox, and alcohol. Reiher (1920, p. 118) called attention to the widespread incidence of pulmonary diseases at the time (1913–14) among the reserve *Tehuelche*, and believed that change of diet, from meat and plant food, to meat, biscuit, and marmalade, had been largely responsible.

Before passing on to consideration of the *Puelche*, four minor groups of Indians found in Patagonia or adjacent thereto call for brief attention: *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, *Caucahue*, *Huilliche Serrano*, and *Poya*.

Ona and Alacaluf.—Falkner's *Yacana-cunnees* were described by him as tall people living on both sides of the Strait of Magellan, those on the south side being obliged to cross the Strait in order to communicate with the *Yacana* cacique, Tamu, Falkner's friend (Falkner, 1774, pp. 91–93, 111; discussion in Cooper, 1917, p. 86, cf. pp. 195–196). King (1839, 1: 104, 113) in 1827–28 saw a Fuegian [*Ona?*] Indian among the *Tehuelche* of Gregory Bay. Coan (1880, pp. 103, 127, 171), who spent about 2½ months with the *Tehuelche* in 1833–34, very definitely reported that one clan in southern Patagonia was largely made up of Indians from Tierra del Fuego and spoke a dialect different from that of the other *Tehuelche*. Gardiner (1852, pp. 21–24) found a number of Fuegians, apparently *Ona*, mixed with or residing among the southern *Tehuelche* (cf. also Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, pp. 31, 33, 35, 40). Spears (1895, p. 129) also stated that a considerable number of *Ona* had been found in Patagonia and were still there. Likewise, Spegazzini recorded (1884, pp. 233, 235, 237) the presence of Fuegians [*Ona?*] among the *Tehuelche*. It seems fairly clear, from these sources, particularly Falkner, Coan, Gardiner, and Spears, that an appreciable migration of *Ona* across the Strait of Magellan into *Tehuelche* territory occurred in the last couple of centuries.

Moreno (1872, p. 378) referred to the capture of *Alacaluf* women by the *Tehuelche;* Dumont d'Urville earlier (1842, 1: 51, 156, 265–266), of *Alacaluf* children. The *Husicurá* mentioned by Cox (1863, p. 165)

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 100; 4: 101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1: 278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5: 77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1: 154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1906, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 596, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga ovallensdas* "como excitante nervioso."

The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 177 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, probably some time around 1735, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2: 100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Flores de Léon (1896), Gerónimo Pistas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (in Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latcham, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Flores de León and Pistas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (in Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild @uita.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Flores de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1896, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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136 The Indians affirm that the puma will attack a single man alone and on foot, and, indeed, subsequently, an example of this came under my notice; however, if a person should be benighted or lost, he has only to take the precaution of lighting a fire, which these animals will never approach. They are most savage in the early part of the spring or breeding season, when, according to my experience, they are found roaming over the country in an unsettled manner; they are then also thinner than at other times, but, like the wild horse, they are generally pretty fat at all times of the year. The females I saw were sometimes accompanied by two cubs, but never more. The meat of the puma resembles pork, and [262] is good eating, though better boiled than roasted, but one or two Indians of my acquaintance would not touch the meat.
28 The hide is useful either for saddle-cloths or to make
136 mantles of; and owing to its greasy nature it can be softened with less trouble than that of the guanaco. In Santa Cruz one of the men had a pair of trousers made of lion's skin, which worn with the hair side out was impervious to wet. From the hock and lower part of the hind legs boots may be constructed similar to those made from horse hide, and in common use amongst the Indians and also the gauchos of Plata. These, however, are only made from
224 pumas of large size, and they wear out very quickly. To kill a puma with a gun is rather a difficult matter, as, unless the ball enters his skull, or strikes near the region of the heart, he has as many lives as his relation the cat. I once put three revolver bullets into one, and ultimately had recourse to the bolas as a more effective weapon. When wounded they become very savage, but they are at all times bad customers for dogs, which they maul in a shocking manner. The Indian dogs are trained to stand off and bay them, keeping out of range of the claws; nevertheless they not unfrequently get killed. Perhaps the simplest way of taking the pumas, is to throw a lazo over them, as directly they feel the noose they lie down as if dead, and are easily dea-

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the other, who has been chasing with him, to carry or take charge of, and at the end of the hunt it is divided; the feathers and body from the head to the breast-bone and one leg belonging to the captor, the remainder to the assistant. In the case of guanaco, the first takes the best half in the same manner; the lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, and the fat and marrow bones are sometimes eaten raw. The Tehuelches also cut out the fat over the eyes, and the gristly fat between the thigh joints, which they eat with great gusto, as also the heart and blood of the ostrich. Owing to the entire absence of farinaceous food, fat becomes a necessary article of diet, and can be consumed in much larger quantities than in more civilised countries. That this is not merely owing to the inclemency of the climate is proved by the appetite for fat which the gauchos in the Argentine provinces acquire.

When the hunt is finished, and the birds cut up and divided, fires are kindled, and whilst stones are heating the ostrich is plucked, the wing feathers being carefully tied together with a piece of sinew. The bird is then laid on its back and drawn; the legs are carefully skinned down, and the bone taken out, leaving the skin; the carcass is then separated into two halves, and the backbone having been extracted from the lower half, and the meat sliced so as to admit the heated stones laid in between the sections, it is tied up like a bag, secured by the skin of the legs, with a small bone thrust through to keep all taut; this is placed on the live embers of the fire, a light blaze being kindled when it is nearly done to perfectly roast the outside meat. During the process of cooking it has to be turned frequently to ensure all parts being thoroughly cooked. When ready it is taken off the fire, and the top part being cut off and the stones extracted, the broth and meat are found deliciously cooked. The party, generally consisting of two or four, sit round the dish and cut the meat, sopping it in the broth. The back part, which consists nearly altogether of fat (when the ostrich is in good condition), is then divided, pieces being given to

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each, and reserved as tid-bits for the women and children. When the head and breast half are to be cooked, the bone is not extracted, but the wings turned inside and the breast cavity filled with heated stones, and tied up with half of the skin of the legs, which have been divided, additional pieces of meat from the legs having been placed in the breast cavity. The fat of the breast is divided amongst the party at the fireside, the owner in all cases reserving none or a very small piece for himself, as the others who are cooking at the same fire are sure to give him plenty. The cacique generally receives the largest share, or if he is not present, the greatest friends of the owner. The wing feathers are carefully taken to the toldos and stored with others for future trade. The ostrich is most thoroughly eaten; the gizzard, which is large enough to fill both hands, being carefully cooked by the insertion of a hot stone and roasted; the eyes, too, are cooked, and the tripe devoured; but when the birds are thin they are simply skinned, and the carcase left to the pumas. After the meal, concluding the hunt, is finished, a pipe is handed round, saddles are re-adjusted, and the game placed on them, and the party adjourn to the toldos, which by this time have been pitched and arranged by the women.

Guanaco are not much killed, unless a long stay in a place is intended, or an Indian feels inclined for blood, or ostriches, which are always eaten in preference, are scarce. The meat of the guanaco is, however, excellent; the haunches are generally what is termed in Spanish 'charqueared,' which means that the meat is cut off in thin slices, and after a little salt has been sprinkled over it, is dried in the sun. When thoroughly dried it is roasted in the ashes, pounded between two stones, and mixed with ostrich or other grease; this preparation, like pemmican, is very useful for a man going a long journey, as it can be carried in a small compass, and a mere handful satisfies the appetite.

It would be tedious to describe every day's march, and the

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routine of hunting, as we made our way slowly up the valley of the Rio Chico, which was still frozen over. The weather was cold, and occasional showers of snow accompanied the strong piercing westerly winds which blew every day. The valley sometimes opened out into wide grass-covered plains, dotted with incense-bushes, then rose again in huge bare ridge and furrow-like undulations. Occasionally there occurred patches of swampy ground with frozen lagoons, and here and there open springs, the resort of numerous water-fowl. The hills on the northern side appeared bare and rugged, rising abruptly out of irregular forms, while the southern heights were lower, and presented more of the steep declivities known as barrancas, interrupted at intervals by high rugged hills of basalt, often assuming the appearance of ruined castles, closing in at the bends of the winding river. To one of these—a remarkable hill under which we were encamped on August 23, about 120 miles from Santa Cruz—I gave the name of Sierra Ventana, from a window-like opening through its peak; the Indians called it Mówaish. (See Illustration.) In many places the bases of these hills were formed entirely of a description of lava, and one of the Chilians informed me that whilst passing over a ridge, he had observed several large masses of pure iron: this, however, I was inclined to disbelieve, as although farther up the country iron ore exists in large quantities, I only observed in this part a species of ore similar to that common at Drobak, in Norway.

On one occasion, while marching, we observed smoke in our rear, which was thought to be caused either by a messenger in search of us announcing the arrival of the schooner, or else by a party of the Southern Indians who had some idea of marching north. However, no scout was sent back to discover the truth, so we remained in ignorance. On the 26th we halted, and encamped by the side of the river in a broad opening of the valley; here there was a lagoon, not completely frozen, in which grew a description of flag, of

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137 which the root, or rather lower stem, is eaten by the Indians,
262 and is succulent and juicy, with a pleasant taste. The boys and girls soon brought a large supply into the toldos. The
881 day after our arrival in this place, the attainment of the age of puberty of one of the girls was celebrated according to custom. Early in the morning the father of the child informed the cacique of the event, the cacique thereupon officially communicated the intelligence to the acting doctor or medicine-man, and a considerable shouting was set up, while the doctor adorned himself with white paint and was bled in
881 the forehead and arms with a sharp bodkin. The women
346 immediately set to work to sew a number of 'mandils' together. When the patchwork was finished, it was taken with pomp and ceremony by a band of young men, who marched round the poles—already fixed to form a temporary toldo—singing, whilst the women joined in with the most dismal incantations and howlings. After marching round several times, the covering was drawn over the poles, and lances were stuck in front, adorned with bells, streamers, and brass plates that shook and rattled in the breeze, the whole thing when erected presenting a very gay appearance (its Indian name literally meaning 'The pretty house'). The
881 girl was then placed in an inner part of the tent, where nobody was admitted. After this everybody mounted, and some were selected to bring up the horses, out of which certain mares and fillies were chosen, and brought up in front of the showy toldo, where they were knocked on the head by a ball—thus saving the blood (which was secured in
[262] pots) to be cooked, being considered a great delicacy. It is a rule amongst the Indians that any one assisting to take off the hide of a slaughtered mare is entitled to a piece of meat, but the flesh was on this occasion distributed pretty equally all round. Whilst the meat was cooking, Casimiro, who was
881 ruler of the feast, sent a message for me to come to Crime's
252 toldo, where I found him busy working at a saddle, in the construction of which he was, by the way, an adept. His

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tions: first, 'Who is cacique of the English?' I explained to him that it was Her Gracious Majesty. 'Is she married?' 'She is a widow.' 'Has she any children, and how many? Has she lots of horses and mares and silver ornaments?' And so on until I had satisfied him; after which he rode along, repeating, 'A woman cacique! A woman cacique! Four sons and five daughters! Lots of horses, mares, sheep, and cattle!' On the 22nd of September we left the encampment in the cañon about sunrise, and, mounting the ridge on the north side, halted close to the grave of an Indian; the broad and high cairn of stones erected over it denoting him to have been a cacique of importance, which fact was communicated to me in a low whisper by Wáki. Here a fire was made, and a few stones added to the pile. Whilst the Indians were warming themselves the sun rose, and the view of the Cordillera, seen through the clear atmosphere, with the sun's first rays illuminating the snowy mountain summits with a roseate flush was magnificent. We pursued our route over sandy plains, crossed at intervals by shallow streams of water, and halted near some lagoons in a place called by the Indians 'Kinck.'

The following day we marched again, hunting as usual on the way. A fat ostrich at this time of the year was a rarity, but eggs abounded, and formed the main staple of food; and the armadillos were also getting into condition, and assisted to furnish a repast at the camp fire. On the 27th we arrived at a place named 'Gelgel,' situated on the banks of a rapid river, probably that debouching at Port Desire. This was the point of divergence from the northern route to Patagones for any party proceeding to hunt in the western plains. During our stay in Gelgel we hunted in the surrounding country, and on several occasions observed columns of smoke to the south, as if made by a party approaching. These at last appeared nearer, and as no distinct answer was made to our signal fires, scouts were sent out, but returned with no information, one, however, asserting that he had found the

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combination was universally approved of. Another day we went fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line, voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish, and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood. Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invitation I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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saddle-cloths. The animal at this early age is very swift of foot, and will give a good chase. They attain their full size in the second or third year after birth, and the adult male cannot be better described than as apostrophised by Lieut. Gallegos. As we watched a solitary guanaco standing on a hill above us, and every now and then uttering its shrill warning neigh, 'Ah,' said Gallegos, 'you are a queer animal; you have the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil.' The Rhea Darwinii, called by the Indians 'Mekyush,' and by the Spaniards Avestrus or Ostrich, which name is universally applied to it, is peculiar to Patagonia, few being met with north of Rio Negro, and none being found that I am aware of in any other part of the globe; with the exception, perhaps, of the more northern and plain-like parts of Tierra del Fuego, opposite the country extending from Cape Virgin to Oazy Harbour. It is a variety of the Rhea Americana, common in the Argentine provinces of Entre Rios and Santa Fé, also scattered over the Republic of the Banda Oriental, and extending, I believe, as far north as Rio Grande do Sul and the southern Brazilian province. They exist also in Chili, on the plains at the foot of the Cordillera of the Andes. The chief difference between these two species is that the Patagonian Rhea Darwinii is smaller and of lighter colour than the American Rhea. The Patagonian ostriches are very swift of foot, and run with their wings closed, while the other species invariably spread theirs. The former birds also always run in a straight line, except when leaving the nest, when probably, to avoid being tracked, they run in a circuitous manner. Their plumage, that is to say the wing feathers, are an object of commerce, and fetch at present about a dollar a pound in Buenos Ayres. The marrow from the leg bones is also, I believe, of use for making pomade, and was formerly, if not at present, highly prized in Buenos Ayres. To the Indian this bird is invaluable in many ways. Besides furnishing their most favourite

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food, from the sinews of the leg thongs for bolas are con-
[28] structed; the neck is used as a pouch for salt or tobacco; the feathers are exchanged for tobacco and other necessaries; the grease from the breast and back is tried out and secured in bags formed of the skin (taken off during the spring season, when the females, like all the Patagonian animals except the puma, are thin); the meat is more nourishing and more relished by the Indians than that of any other animal in the country, and the eggs form a staple commodity of food during the months of September, October, and November. The male bird stands about two feet and a
136 half high, and is to be distinguished from the female by its being of a slightly darker colour, and of greater size and strength; nevertheless, it requires a practised eye to detect the difference at any distance. The male bird is also swifter. Their usual food consists of short grass and the seeds of various shrubs, but more especially of tender grass, which I have on several occasions watched them plucking, from a convenient rock which hid me from their sight. On being alarmed they immediately set off at a great speed; they possess great powers of eyesight. If met or obstructed by horsemen in their line of flight, they not unfrequently squat so closely that they can scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding rocks, as the greyish colour of their plumage so closely resembles the almost universal aspect of the Pampas of Patagonia. These birds, though not web-footed, can swim sufficiently well to pass a river. In the winter season
[22] it is not unfrequent for the Indians to drive them into the water, where, their legs getting numbed with cold, they are drifted to the shore by the current, and easily captured, being unable to move. In snowy weather they are also easily taken, as their eyes appear to be affected by the glare of the white snow, and their saturated plumage doubtless becomes heavier. They are polygamous, one male bird consorting with five or six hens, which lay their eggs in the same nest—a hole about two feet six inches in diameter,

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scooped out of the earth. They begin to lay in the early 136
part of September, the number of eggs in each nest varying from twenty to as many as forty, or more. In the early part of the laying season extraneous eggs were found scattered in different parts of the plain, some of which were of diminutive size. Contrary to the usual rule amongst birds, the male sits on the eggs, and when the chickens are hatched assumes the charge of the brood. The young run immediately, or shortly after emerging from the shell, and are covered with a down of greyish black colour on the back, and whitish on the breast and neck. Their cry resembles the syllables pi, pi, pi, uttered in a sharp quick manner. The old male, when any dangers appear, feigns to be hurt, like other birds endeavouring to distract the attention of the hunter, in order that his brood may escape by hiding in the grass. After the male has sat for some time on the nest (I should place the period of incubation at about three weeks), he gets thin, and the grass closely surrounding the nest is found eaten quite bare. The females by this time are beginning to pick up flesh, which is a fortunate provision of nature for the Indians, [262] who cannot subsist on lean meat. Whilst the females are [281 439] thin they are killed and skinned, the meat being left, and the skins sewn into mantles for sale at the settlements. These birds at that period are much afflicted with vermin, which invade the toldos and guanaco mantles of the Indians, and cause them infinite annoyance. (A useful hint occurs to me for future travellers amongst the Patagonians—never allow the squaw of the establishment to place ostrich mantles under your sleeping hides.) The young Rhea does not attain its full plumage or size until the second year after its birth, and is never pursued by the Indians unless food is really scarce. The eggs are eaten in all stages, fresh [262] or stale; the Indians not recognising much difference between the unhatched chicken and the unborn guanaco. The inveterate destroyers of these birds are, besides their human enemies, the puma and foxes, the former of which will sur-

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started off; so, as my mantle was fast losing its beautiful 000
appearance, I put compunction on one side, and shortly
killed them with a blow on the head. On arriving at the fire
where some of the Indians were collected eating ostriches,
I was proceeding to take the skins off, when Tankelow, who 262
presided, stopped me, saying that we would skin them in the
toldos, where the blood would be a treat to the women and
children. We accordingly reserved the luxury, and after a
feed crossed a small stream and piece of marsh, beyond
which lay the encampment, where the women soon verified
Tankelow's words. Though the flesh of the young guanaco
is rather tasteless and soft, the blood has a sweeter taste than
that of the adult. The rennet, or milk, which is found
curdled into a sort of cheese in the intestines, is also eaten
with gusto. The most laborious part of young guanaco 281
hunting consists in taking off the skin, which, after the
necessary incisions have been made with a knife, has to be
taken off by hand, the thumb being used to separate the hide
from the body. The calves, when three days old, run at [224]
about the speed of a horse's hand-gallop, but sometimes give
longer chases. The Indian plan is to kill them with a blow
on the head from a ball, and then pass on to another, and so
on, afterwards returning to collect them in a heap and skin
them. After the hide is taken off it is necessary to expose it
to the air for a few minutes before folding it up, otherwise it
is liable to get heated, and will tear easily in the subsequent
processes. We hunted in the neighbourhood of Jeroshaik, 137
or 'Bad Hill,' several times, with varying success, sometimes
proceeding up into the wooded hills, where the timber in
some places grew in clumps, as if planted by the hand of
man; in others filled up the rocky dells, until the main
forests were reached, which appeared to extend far into the
Cordillera. Most of the trees were of a species of beech, on
which were many small edible fungi, some of which we
gathered for use; and traces of red deer were frequently seen, 136
and a few were chased by the Indians, but owing to the

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224 and one chased; but he, although balled by Orkeke, contrived to slip the bolas, and escaping to cover stood to bay, where he was left master of the field. This bull would have been taken had the other Indians showed any degree of alacrity when Orkeke balled him; but they were dispirited
136 by the previous failure. As evening was coming on I noticed a cormorant on the river: this and the increase of temperature led me to believe that had we penetrated a few miles farther west we should have reached the shores of the Pacific. Pursuing our track homewards, after the second unsuccessful engagement, we managed to pass the thick forest before dark, and decending to the eastern valley saw numerous cows and bulls at intervals. A short time after dark we encamped for the night under the shelter of some trees near to the head-waters of the western river, and after a pipe—by way of supper—wrapping ourselves in our
[137 mantles were soon fast asleep. At daylight we mounted and
262] continued our journey, arriving about two P.M. pretty considerably hungry, having eaten nothing barring strawberries and talka, and a few unripe currants, since our last evening in the toldos. The women were naturally disappointed at our ill-luck, but uttered no complaints or reproaches, and hastened to pound some charqui for our refreshment. Next day, all except myself and my companion in the overthrow, who complained of headache, went out hunting and returned at night with young guanaco, and an ostrich or two. Some of the women had seen cattle near the encampment, and Orkeke informed me that in former years they used to occupy the plains below us in large herds, but that the Indians had driven them into the interior by excessive hunting: he also
[231] stated that on one occasion he spent some months in this spot, and caught and tamed a considerable number. His accurate knowledge of the country made his statement credible, and he also showed me a sort of corral that had been made to enclose the wild animals. For my own
087 part, the name of the Cordillera recalls the most hungry

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the next chapter—the Indians began to arrive, and the hunting was resumed; only, however, when absolutely necessary. Some of the new arrivals proceeded to the wild cattle district, and managed to kill a bull, although—as before—an accident occurred. As my lazo was used to capture the bull, I came in for a share of the meat, which was divided amongst the people in our toldo; but it proved very tough, and rather nasty. Perhaps the palate, having been so long accustomed to guanaco, ostrich, or horse, could not relish meat of a coarser description; but the hide was invaluable for making maneos and other horse-gear. On the 7th of January a messenger arrived from Casimiro requesting me to send him some information, and stating that he was distant some three marches, and wished to wait some time to refresh his horses, &c. After consulting with Orkeke and Jackechan, we sent back a messenger to say that, 'As game was scarce now in the vicinity of Teckel, and all were more or less desirous of pushing forward, he had better make haste and join us, otherwise we should continue our march towards Las Manzanas.' This message had the desired effect, as on the 11th he made his appearance, with several other toldos, a few only remaining in the rear with Crimé, who was reported to be unwell.

On Casimiro's arrival, as he now possessed a good toldo, I changed my quarters to his residence, as agreed on at the outset of the journey. I was sorry to leave Orkeke, and the old man was very much grieved, a present of a revolver only troubling him the more, as he informed me that he had nothing to offer in exchange; however, my assurance that I did not give him a present expecting an exchange, as is customary with Indians, appeared to console him. The usual consultation of the chiefs took place, in which all the preceding arrangements were agreed to, and we remained stationary in Teckel until January 20. As I had by this time become well acquainted with the mode of life and usages of the Tehuelches, and was looked upon as one of them-

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terns; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented 462
with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they 461
occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating 857
their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been pre- 534
viously described. In Teckel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonies, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jackechan's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle 533
calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the *Rio Negro* or *at Punta Arenas*; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried 173
on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the 262

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262 cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they *do not* devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also [252] extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeke and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are 263 especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they [64] have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

261 I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being glutton- 264 ous gormandisers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly 000 a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

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We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Meña, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

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Tehuelches would before this touch the fish caught by me, and even expressed great disgust at the idea, is worthy of note, as it has been stated that on the coast they catch and eat sea fish, which could only be alleged by persons ignorant of their real habits of life.*

On the 12th we marched; the cause of our detention for the two extra days being the continued sickness of Crimè, who, however, at length determined to make an effort and proceed, although barely able to sit on his horse. The women followed, more or less, the valley of the river, whilst the hunters ranged over the hills, which on the western side were in most parts free from rock and stones and abounded with ostriches. During the journey I came suddenly on two wild cats, one of which my dog attacked and killed, and the other fell a victim to my bolas. These were of the species common in the provinces of La Plata, and especially in the islands of the Parana. Towards evening we came on another small stream flowing into the main river, into the plain of which we subsequently descended and found the toldos already pitched, literally 'sub tegmine fagi.' During this day's ride, happening to be in the same part of the circle as the Araucanians, we cooked our dinners in company and rode home together. On the way Quintuhual's eldest son, with whom I had always had very friendly relations, said that he desired to recognise me as his brother. So we accordingly joined hands, and riding together formally declared that we were as brothers, and would always remember the duties of our relationship and assist each other, if needs be, in whatever part of the world we might be placed. All this was very satisfactory, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that my sisters and cousins were the good-looking girls who had asked such curious questions at Esgel, and with whom, though we could not understand each other's language, I had always kept up a laughing acquaintance, thereby arousing considerable jealousy in the bosoms of my

Tehuelche friends.

* Cf. Guinnard, 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 73.

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202 explained to the assembled caciques, the two messengers (sons of caciques) appeared with two horses each, and after receiving some verbal injunctions, started on their journey, amidst the howlings of a few old women and a blast from the 000 cornet. The remainder of us, who had mounted, to add to the pomp and ceremony of the occasion, went out hunting, some following the ravine in an easterly direction, which, penetrating high pampas, opened into a plain containing a lagoon fed by the waters of the brook, whilst others encircled the high pampas above. Hinchel, whom I accompanied on 136 this occasion, pointed out to me several small holes with little mounds of earth and rubbish at the mouth, which he asserted to be the abodes of snakes, but no occupants were visible outside. He described the snakes as dark in colour, about two feet six inches long, and perfectly harmless, [262] adding that they would be good to eat, which facts were subsequently corroborated by Casimiro.

231 One of the troubles of pampa life is occasionally losing one's horses, as was my case in this place, and I spent one entire day in search before I recovered them, as they had strayed in company with a troop of mares far up the valley, which here divided into two branches, opening into watered grassy plains extending to the Cordillera. As there were horse tracks up both valleys, according to the usual law of contrariety I took the wrong one at first and had a long gallop for nothing. At any time it is troublesome to have to look through about two thousand horses all unmarked, and many of the same colour, and perhaps resembling those belonging to the perplexed searcher. An Indian, however, [151] with his natural quickness of sight, will distinguish his own horses at a great distance amongst a hundred others. It has been already said that in this roving life all must look after their own horses, for Indians do not understand another person doing it for them, unless he be a son or relation, and in all cases when preparing for the march every one is expected to find and bring up his own.

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his mouth close to its chest and shouted to bring the devil out: he then turned it on its face and repeated the same process. The child's health mended next day, and it was shortly out of danger.

About ten o'clock at night Casimiro returned with his horses, which had strayed a considerable distance on the road back to Gaylum. The next day a long march of twenty miles brought us to an encampment on the western verge of a broad plain, watered by a brooklet. During the hunt the first Patagonian hares, or cavies, were caught. These little animals live in burrows, but are generally out feeding or sleeping in the grass during the day. They are excessively swift for perhaps a mile, but, like the foxes of this country soon get tired. The chase of these small deer afforded an agreeable relief to the monotony of the journey. As soon as we entered a plain or valley where they abounded, as they always were found in numbers where the pasture was good, all hurried off to 'stop the earths,' i.e., close up the burrows with bushes; but the cunning little beasts often evaded us by slipping into a burrow overlooked by the earth, stoppers. It required considerable skill to bring them down with the bolas, as, if only caught round the legs or body, they disentangled themselves quickly, but a blow on the head proved at once fatal. They are good eating, though the flesh is somewhat dry when roasted. Their skins are made up into mantles, but are of little value, as the hair soon comes off.

About a mile below the encampment, where the sandy plain narrowed and sloped down to a low-lying grassy valley, a singular phenomenon presented itself. The morning after our arrival, when going out to look for the horses, a furious easterly gale whirled the dust aloft in dense clouds, and, to my great surprise, the sand, which was driven into our faces, was as hot as when the fire so nearly encircled us. Almost blinded in forcing our way through this curtain of driving sand, we rode right into a hollow, where the earth appeared to be on fire; as the horses plunged

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search of an hour they were found, having wandered in search of better water, and, wiser than ourselves, found out a spring about two miles to the east.

The sun was up before we got away, after warming and eating the last of our food, which we had cooked overnight it was dry and dusty, and all the washing in the world could not have got the grit out of it; however, we laughed over it, saying we would soon have a bottle of wine to wash away the dirt from our throats. One thing we congratulated ourselves on was being well provided with tobacco, and although we boasted no pipe, mine having been lost at a previous encampment, Casimiro's correspondence with Foyel and Cheoeque, which I had carefully kept, provided us with cigarette papers. We rode on accordingly, rejoicing, and passing out of this wooded country traversed a succession of high pampas, set with small blocks of granite exactly resembling paving-stones, and placed as thickly and regularly as if paviors had been at work. The appearance of a London street undergoing repair brought this singular formation vividly to my mind. These pampas terminated in waterworn cliffs thickly strewn with stones, and as our horses scrambled like cats up the slopes, their hoofs sent the stones clattering down, and they found it hard to keep their footing. At the foot of the cliffs were watered valleys, and whilst descending into one of these valleys I noticed for the first time the algarroba thorn, which was in fruit. There were two sorts, one with black fruit, which Nacho warned me not to touch, as it was poisonous, the other bearing yellow pods, which though somewhat dry, as the season was so advanced, we plucked and ate as we rode along, the taste proving something between tamarinds and peach.

Near a lagoon in one of these valleys we halted for a few minutes, and on pursuing our journey espied a horseman with a troop of led horses approaching from the opposite side. I had halted for a moment and saw my companions rein up, and racing up to know the cause, observed him. When within

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and pifiones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the inciensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, yerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

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is found in considerable numbers. It is larger than the red deer, feet on the foot, usually found in large herds, frequenting not only the plains, but found along the course of the Andes. Its flesh is a principal article of food; its skin is dried with the hair on, in such a manner that, when wet, it retains its pliability and softness. This process of preserving skins seems to be peculiar to the Indian tribes, and is not unlike that by which buffalo-robes, bear-skins, buckskins, and other articles of luxury, and even necessity, among us, are prepared by the North American Indians. Guanaco-skins are cut into pieces of all sizes, and sewed into a thousand fanciful patterns, every workman originating a style to suit himself. The hoofs are sometimes turned to account by the natives as soles for shoes, when they indulge in such a luxury, which is not often.

The enemy of the guanaco is the cougar, or "American lion," smaller than its African namesake, and more resembling the tiger in his character and habits, having a smooth, sleek coat, of a brownish yellow color,—altogether a very beautiful but ferocious creature. His chase is a favorite, though rare and dangerous, sport of the natives. Patagonia likewise boasts of the skunk, whose flesh is used for food. There are also foxes, and innumerable mice. Of birds, the only noticeable varieties are the condor, in the Andes, and the cassowary, a species of ostrich, smaller than that of Africa, on the plains; its plumage is not abundant, generally of a gray or dun color. Its flesh is tender and sweet, and with the fat much prized by the Indians. Like the African ostrich, it is exceedingly swift, only to be captured on horseback, and often fleet enough to outrun the fastest racer.

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The climate is severe. The Rio Negro forms the northern boundary, and nearly the whole country is south of the parallel of 40° south latitude. At the time of my capture, which was in the month of May, the weather corresponded to that of November in the New England States. Its chilliness, however, was greatly increased by the bleak winds of that exposed locality. Along the Straits of Magellan the weather is also exceedingly changeable. Sudden and severe squalls, often amounting almost to a hurricane, vex the navigation of the straits, and sweep over the coast with fearful fury.

The habits of the Patagonians, or at least of the tribe among whom I was cast, are migratory, wandering over the country in quest of game, or as their caprice may prompt them. They subsist altogether on the flesh of animals and birds. The guanaco furnishes most of their food, and all their clothing. A mantle of skins, sewed with the sinews of the ostrich, fitting closely about the neck and extending below the knee, is their only article of dress, except in the coldest weather, when a kind of shoe, made of the hind hoof and a portion of the skin above it, serves to protect their inferior extremities.

In person they are large: on first sight, they appear absolutely gigantic. They are taller than any other race I have seen, though it is impossible to give any accurate description. The only standard of measurement I had was my own height, which is about five feet ten inches. I could stand very easily under the arms of many of them, and all the men were at least a head taller than myself. Their average height, I should think, is nearly six and a half feet, and there were specimens that could have been

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in a straight line; and, as soon as their course is ascertained, the Indians may be seen running their horses at break-neck pace to plant themselves directly in the course of the living tide. As the game approach, the hunter puts spurs to his horse and rushes across their track. When within twenty or thirty yards, he jerks the bolas from his girdle, and, whirling it violently above his head, lets fly. The weapon usually strikes the head or neck of the animal, and winds itself about his fore-legs, bringing him to the ground. The hunter dismounts, cuts the victim's throat, remounts, and is again in pursuit. The whizzing missile, unerring in its aim, brings down another and another, till the party are satisfied with their chase and their prey. The dogs fall upon the poor animals, when helplessly entangled by the bolas, and often cruelly mangle them before the hunter has time to despatch them. Seldom does any one miss the game he marks. It is the height of manly ambition among them, the last result of their training, to excel in the chase.

The sport being over, then comes the dressing of the meat. The body is split open, the entrails removed, the heart and large veins opened, to permit the blood to flow into the cavity. The Indians scoop up with their hands and eagerly drink the blood. When their thirst is satisfied, the remainder is poured into certain of the intestines selected for the purpose, to become (to their accommodating tastes) a luxury as highly prized as any savoured of Bologna. The ribs are disjointed from the back-bone, and, with the head, discarded as worthless. The body is quartered, cutting through the skin; the quarters, tied together in pairs, are thrown across the horses' backs, and conveyed to the camp. Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous

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000 tricks. It seemed that they thought a white man could afford to go without dressing. I explained to them that, having always worn clothes, — having in infancy, even, unlike Patagonian piccaninnies, been externally protected against the fresh air, — it was quite impossible for me to change my habits without the hazard of my life; and, if I should die in consequence of yielding to their wishes, they were reminded they would lose the valuable ransom they expected for me. This reasoning proved convincing; greatly as they longed for my wardrobe, they more desired rum and tobacco, and I was permitted the undisturbed enjoyment of the scanty covering left me.

252 The storm continued for two days and nights; on the third day it cleared up. About mid-day, observing a crowd of Indians together with a huge jargon of tongues, I learned, on inquiry, that a horse was to be killed; a matter which, it appeared, was always the occasion of a solemn powwow. On reaching the spot, a poor old beast, lean and lank, with a lariat about his neck, stood surrounded by some fifty Indians. The squaws were singing, in stentorian tones, "Ye! Ye! Yup! Yup! Lar, lapuly, yapuly!" with a repetition that became unendurable, and drove me to a respectful distance. The horse's fore-legs were fast bound together, a violent push forward threw him heavily to the ground, and he was speedily despatched with a knife; anticipating, by a few days, the ordinary course of nature. Soon after my return to the wigwam, a huge portion of the carcass was sent to our quarters and hung up, to furnish our next meals! After being duly dressed by the women, with the aid of the dogs, and scorched and smoked according to usage, it was served

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up,—my only alternative to starvation. Famine has no scruples of delicacy; if the reader is disgusted, he is in a state of sympathy with the writer.

Early the next day we (literally) pulled up stakes, and were on the move; and, after journeying all day, encamped in a situation very like the one we left in the morning. The Indians spent their time, as usual, in gambling and in combing each other's hair, with a brush made of stiff dry roots, tied up together. The operator received as a fee the *game* captured in the process. The reader will excuse a more explicit statement of what, though less abominable than cannibalism, is hardly less repulsive.

One evening our family circle were seated round a fire, which sent up volumes of smoke sufficiently dense to suit a savage of the most exacting taste, and which drove me, as usual, to the back part of the hut, where I lay flat on my face. One of the chief's wives was inveighing against me, as was her wont, and a second occasionally joined in the strain, by way of chorus. A third was cracking the bones of a guanaco, that her son Cobanaco might eat the marrow. The fourth and last of the women was attending to a piece of meat for our supper, fixed on a forked stick, in the smoke. Two sons were engaged, as usual, in doing nothing, except occasionally begging a little of the marrow, and scraping their dirty legs with a sheath-knife, by way of diversion; sundry by-plays, and little pieces of mischief, served to fill up the spare minutes. The old chief, who had been silently regarding the scene, now commenced talking, in a low, mumbling, guttural tone, to one of his wives. She was busily eying the toasting-fork, and studying the process of cooking; but, at her husband's instance,

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My only refresh- 262

ment before their return was a little grease, which one of the squaws scooped out of an ostrich-skin with her dirty thumb and finger. It was so black that its pedigree — whether guanaco, ostrich or skunk, or a compound gathered at random from beast and bird — was a problem defying solution; but famine is not fastidious, and I swallowed greedily what, a few months before, I should hardly have thought fit to grease shoes with. The men came back with a few ostriches and skunks. The chief received as his portion one of the quadrupeds. The associations connected with its name, as related to one sense, were not adapted to prepossess the others in its favor; but I made shift to do justice rather to the Indian than to my habitual tastes.

During the three days we remained here, the long-concealed watch was brought to light. The filth of the natives, the condition in which their huts and their persons were always suffered to remain, the swarms of vermin they housed, had imposed upon me extraordinary care to prevent the natural results upon my own person; but no amount of precaution was sufficient to avert them. The reader will excuse me from speaking more particularly on this head. Enough to say that I found myself intolerably tormented. The chief ordered an examination of the case, and sent for an Indian to deal with it according to their art. While divesting myself of my garments, one by one, for this purpose, the old fellow caught sight of the hidden treasure. I knew that it was useless to attempt any longer to retain it, and handed it over. He was vastly pleased with it. I wound it up, and put it to his ear. He was as delighted at the unexpected sound as a child with its first rattle. I explained its use in keeping the hours of the day, but he

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night in commending myself to the mercy and good providence of God, praying that he would soften the heart of the savage and open a way of deliverance.

Among other matters that excited my curiosity, I was anxious to know whether the Indians were expert swimmers. The only occasion on which I had seen them attempt it was at the time of the accident in crossing the river. Then two of them swam across, while the others floated on their horses' backs, clinging to the mane. In answer to some questions dropped on the subject, the chief assured me that they were all expert swimmers, and could stretch off a long distance without resting, as they would show me, but that the coldness of the season made the experiment too unpleasant. Others of the tribe told the same story. The question was interesting, for obvious reasons. I had thought a time might come when it would be a very practical one.

Some new specimens of birds made their appearance from time to time. One was a large black bird, resembling the turkey-buzzard, and subsisting on carrion. Another resembled the snow-birds of the north. I had also seen, near the sea-shore and by the lakes, several species of water-fowl,—one not unlike the wild goose, but the chief said they were not good for food.

Our course, the next day, was northward, and the day following turned once more decidedly towards the east, wherewith my hopes, varying with the compass, began to revive, though their buoyancy was tempered by experience of the uncertainty of Indian movements. Observing a spot covered with small trees, over which a great number of carrion birds hovered, we approached and found the carcass of a poor old guanaco, which had most likely paid the debt of

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262 nature without compulsion, and was stripped of its flesh by the birds. The chief broke some of the bones and eagerly sucked the marrow, and then picked up the remainder to add to the domestic stock of grease.

080 At the close of the next day we brought up at a ravine, and found our camp by following it a short distance to a low flat. Proceeding to the eastward all the next day, we ascended a high eminence, from which the chief pointed in a south-westerly direction, and said that "Holland" lay there. I strained my eyes in the quarter indicated, without, however, making any discoveries, and with a strong disposition to think the Old Boy was hoaxing me. At dark we defiled down a steep declivity, and pitched our tents on the border of an extensive marsh covered with ice. Here I renewed my arguments for speeding our way to the promised land, dilating on the qualities of the promised rum in a style that would have astonished the advocates of the Maine liquor law, and impaired the confidence of those who had reasonably regarded me as a strict temperance man. Indeed, the antics and grimace with which I enforced the description, and illustrated the jovial effects of the creature, — the boasts of how I would teach them, by its aid, to throw the lasso, and perform most astonishing feats of horse-stealing and riding, — might have induced a suspicion that I knew more of it than mere observation or fancy could teach. But, however it may affect my reader, it produced unmistakable contentment and satisfaction to my Patagonian auditors; and that was what I aimed at. They looked and listened with watering mouths and hoarse laughter, giving token that the balmy description was appreciated to a most desirable degree. So evident was the impression that I spent

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the next day running about and giving line upon line to the most influential of the tribe, and succeeded, as I thought, in awakening a degree of enthusiasm to move towards the place where all these good things were to be got. In confirmation of this, I had the satisfaction of being called at night to attend a solemn council.

It was a peaceful gathering, — they left their weapons behind, — but it contemplated only a sort of preliminary inquiry; the Patagonians know how to make their forms of procedure as tedious as any of our courts of law, summary as are many of their dealings. They examined and cross-examined very strictly, sifting my story with a severity which showed that they were in earnest, and at the same time a little suspicious. It was necessary to be on my guard at all points; and if they had been more docile learners of arithmetic, and able to stick on questions of number and quantity, it might have been a harder matter to satisfy them. But, on the whole, the old story was stuck to with a degree of consistency that produced the desired effect. Their confidence was perceptibly raised, and, after a good deal of talk, the council adjourned, every one more than ever disposed to visit "Holland."

While at this encampment, I observed on the ground about a dozen large oyster-shells, that appeared to have been recently opened. These were the first and only shells of the kind I saw in the country. I inquired if they were plenty in that vicinity. They said they were not; none of the tribe seemed to know where they came from, or anything about them. The chief said that he and his people did not relish oysters, but other Indians ate them. He did not like fish of any kind; no fish had grease enough for them; and most of his Indians ate fish.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian chief who rules this section is called Ayno; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Desseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 80 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche SH5

or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2: 100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame *young guanacos* as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 59; Mori, [1535], 1899, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1900, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1926 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1890, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1890, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 259). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1890, p. 119; Bourne, 1893, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND DWELLINGS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 119) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41, and illus. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ledrillero, 1880, p. 490, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
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262 cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they *do not* devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also
[252] extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeks and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are
263 especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they
[164] have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

261 I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being glutton-
264 ous gormandisers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly
[illegible] a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

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We were soon out of sight of the encampment at Trinita, and proceeding at either a gallop or a trot through an undulating country, in which incense, algarroba, and other shrubs abounded, arrived near sunset at a stream, on the north side of which we encamped, amongst some thick bushes. A little distance to the west lay a large salina, from which, several miles across, the place takes its name, being called Hitchin-kaik, or Salt Hill. The stream flows round one side of the salina, and is, I think, the same that we subsequently crossed near Valchita. This time we travelled in great style, the women having brought with them stores of horse-meat and yerba.

After dinner we all sat round the fire and took a maté, and some of an Indian sweetmeat, a yellow paste made from the algarroba bean pounded and mixed with water. Old Patricio, who had turned over a new leaf, and grown quite frisky after the drink, said that I was a fortunate man, having a wife with me; alluding to one of the wives of the cacique El Inglez, who was travelling with us to rejoin her husband near Patagones.

The following morning at daylight we again started, and travelling over much the same description of country as on the previous day, arrived about midday at the place where Teodoro had left his cattle. Here we dismounted and refreshed ourselves off the round berries about the size of a turnip-radish, the fruit of a small plant growing by the margin of the water, which had a very pleasant taste. The river here had a fringe of tussocks of pampa grass, under which we reclined and smoked.

The cattle were grouped about amongst these tussocks, and Gulwin, Jackechan's son with the light hair, amused himself by vain attempts to count them. After half an hour's dawdling we proceeded, leaving behind one of Meña's horses which was done up, and, following more or less the line of the river, we arrived, about three P.M., at the encampment of Valchita. As it was early in the day, some of the party

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them. 857

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point. 861 525 524 526

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On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately 852

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old Paron ver and enlist his authority for me, if circum stances should compel me to appeal to it.

The reunited tribe remained in camp three or four days dividing their time between gambling and hunting. When I accompanied the hunters, as I sometimes did, I was sure to get something to eat towards night, as they invariably kindled a fire and cooked part of the game on the spot where it was killed. Their method of preparing all meats was essentially the same as has been described; tossing large pieces into the fire, or suspending them over it, till they were somewhat smoked and dried, and then devouring them, without salt, or any other condiment but the sauce of hunger. Cooking the ostrich, however, forms an exception: the feathers are plucked out, the bones dissected and removed; hot stones are placed within the body, the skin is tightly sewed together, and the whole is partially roasted on the embers. The lacings are then cut, and the meat is served up; it has an excellent flavor, far surpassing that of the domestic turkey. The bird is covered with a layer of fat, half an inch thick, which is melted, and collects in the body, forming a condiment which is relished as the greatest luxury of Patagonian living. If any fragments of the repast remain, they are slung to the backs of the saddles, and so carried home, dangling at the horses' sides, till they are so begrimed with dust as to defy all conjecture as to their quality or origin. These choice morsels are proffered to the home department, are received with smiles of gratitude, and devoured with a gust sharpened by long abstinence. It was noticeable that the plumage of the ostrich, though beautiful, was not at all valued by the Indians; large

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche SH5

or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 9:100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:89; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1890, p. 64). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1890, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 269). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1890, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 9:41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND DWELLINGS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 9:41, and Ium. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 400, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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a large puma crouched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, however, as Arias was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indian with the mast and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of march and method of hunting which constitute the daily routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a loud oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of hunting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonitions, by way of a wind up, with a beautiful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's "oration" —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men and boys race and bring up the horses, and the women place on their backs the bolster of reeds, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their babes on, or putting their babies

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224 the other, who has been chasing with him, to carry or take charge of, and at the end of the hunt it is divided; the feathers and body from the head to the breast-bone and one leg belonging to the captor, the remainder to the assistant. In the case of guanaco, the first takes the best half in the [262] same manner; the lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, and the fat and marrow bones are sometimes eaten raw. The Tehuelches also cut out the fat over the eyes, and the gristly fat between the thigh joints, which they eat with great gusto, as also the heart and blood of the ostrich. Owing to the entire absence of farinaceous food, fat becomes a necessary article of diet, and can be consumed in much larger quantities than in more civilised countries. That this is not merely owing to the inclemency of the climate is proved by the appetite for fat which the gauchos in the Argentine provinces acquire.

252 When the hunt is finished, and the birds cut up and divided, fires are kindled, and whilst stones are heating the ostrich is plucked, the wing feathers being carefully tied together with a piece of sinew. The bird is then laid on its back and drawn; the legs are carefully skinned down, and the bone taken out, leaving the skin; the carcase is then separated into two halves, and the backbone having been extracted from the lower half, and the meat sliced so as to admit the heated stones laid in between the sections, it is tied up like a bag, secured by the skin of the legs, with a small bone thrust through to keep all taut; this is placed on the live embers of the fire, a light blaze being kindled when it is nearly done to perfectly roast the outside meat. During the process of cooking it has to be turned frequently to ensure all parts being thoroughly cooked. When ready it is taken

264 off the fire, and the top part being cut off and the stones extracted, the broth and meat are found deliciously cooked. The party, generally consisting of two or fours, sit round the dish and eat the meat, sopping it in the broth. The back part, which consists nearly altogether of fat (when the ostrich is in good condition), is then divided, pieces being given to

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each, and reserved as tid-bits for the women and children. When the head and breast half are to be cooked, the bone is not extracted, but the wings turned inside and the breast cavity filled with heated stones, and tied up with half of the skin of the legs, which have been divided, additional pieces of meat from the legs having been placed in the breast cavity. The fat of the breast is divided amongst the party at the fireside, the owner in all cases reserving none or a very small piece for himself, as the others who are cooking at the same fire are sure to give him plenty. The cacique generally receives the largest share, or if he is not present, the greatest friends of the owner. The wing feathers are carefully taken to the toldos and stored with others for future trade. The ostrich is most thoroughly eaten; the gizzard, which is large enough to fill both hands, being carefully cooked by the insertion of a hot stone and roasted; the eyes, too, are sucked, and the tripe devoured; but when the birds are thin they are simply skinned, and the carcase left to the pumas. After the meal, concluding the hunt, is finished, a pipe is handed round, saddles are re-adjusted, and the game placed on them, and the party adjourn to the toldos, which by this time have been pitched and arranged by the women.

Guanaco are not much killed, unless a long stay in a place is intended, or an Indian feels inclined for blood, or ostriches, which are always eaten in preference, are scarce. The meat of the guanaco is, however, excellent; the haunches are generally what is termed in Spanish 'charqueared,' which means that the meat is cut off in thin slices, and after a little salt has been sprinkled over it, is dried in the sun. When thoroughly dried it is roasted in the ashes, pounded between two stones, and mixed with ostrich or other grease; this preparation, like pemmican, is very useful for a man going a long journey, as it can be carried in a small compass, and a mere handful satisfies the appetite.

It would be tedious to describe every day's march, and the

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262 cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they do not devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also [253] extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkake and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are 263 especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they [69] have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

264 I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being glutton-
• 265 ous gormandizers, eat less than civilized people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayetún, who was certainly 266 a great gourmand. He was also a great smoker; and when-

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our household, however, seemed to enjoy immense satisfaction; and jabbered and grunted, and played their antics, and exchanged grimaces, as complacently as if they breathed a highly exhilarating atmosphere.

My meditations and observations were shortly interrupted by preparations for a meal. The chief's better half—or rather fifth part, for he had four wives—superintended the culinary operations, which were as rude and simple as the hut where they were carried on. And now my fancy began to conjure up visions of the beef, fowls and eggs, the promise of which had lured my men from the boat,—had proved stronger than the suggestions of prudence, and had made me a prisoner. But these dainties, if they existed anywhere within the chief's jurisdiction, were just at present removed. The old hag threw down from the top of one of the stakes that supported the tent the quarter of some animal; whether dog, guanaco, or whatever, was past imagining. She clashed right and left, with might and main, an old copper knife, till it was divided into several pieces. Then taking a number of crotched sticks, about two feet long, and sharpened at all their points, she inserted the forked ends into pieces of the meat, and drove the opposite points into the ground near the fire; which, though sufficient to smoke and comfortably warm the meat, was too feeble to roast it. At all events, time was too precious, or their unsophisticated appetites were too craving, to wait for such an operation; and the raw morsels were quickly snatched from the smoke, torn into bits by her dirty hands, and thrown upon the ground before us. The Indians seized them with avidity, and tossed a bit to me; but what could I do with

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it! I should have had no appetite for the dinner of an alderman at such a time and place; but as for tasting meat that came in such a questionable shape, there was no bringing my teeth or resolution to it. While eying it with ill-suppressed disgust, I observed the savages, like a horde of half-starved dogs, devouring their portions with the greatest relish; seizing the fragments with their fine white teeth, at the same time clenching them with their hands, and giving every sign of enjoyment *except* what one is accustomed to see in human beings. The old chief remarked the slight I was putting upon his hospitality, and broke in upon me with a fierce *Por que usted, no mange usted, usted carne! Este carne mucho bueno hombre por mange, no hombre, mange!* "Why don't you eat your meat! This meat very good to eat,—very good to eat. Eat, man! eat!" I may here observe that my knowledge of Spanish, like the chief's, was colloquial; picked up here and there in voyages to South American ports, which may account for my orthography being so plainly determined by the ear rather than by any rules of Castilian grammar. Seeing him so much excited, and not knowing what deeds might follow his words if I refused, I thought it expedient to *try* to "eat what was set before me, asking no questions;" thinking, moreover, that if there were any evil spirit in it that the fire had failed to expel, it could not possibly have resisted the smoke. So, being nearly divided between aversion to the "strange flesh" and fear of showing it, I forced a morsel into my mouth. Its taste was by no means as offensive as its appearance had been unpromising, and I managed to save appearances with less disgust than I had feared. This was my first

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meal with the savages, and a sample of many others; though better viands afterwards varied their monotony, now and then.

The eating being over, a large horn, that had once adorned the head of a Spanish bullock, was dipped into a leathern bucket and passed from one to another. Between the bucket and the horn, the fluid had gained a flavor not found by Adam in his first brewing, and, indeed, not far from nauseating. However, it seemed expedient to "conquer my prejudices" so far as to drink with the other guests, and the ceremonies of dinner were over; for which, "with all other mercies," I felt thankful, and turned to my corner near the expiring fire, to chew the end of sweet and bitter fancies, in which the latter ingredient decidedly predominated. The strange and sudden desolateness of my condition, the doubtful chances of escape, the possible sufferings before me, the uncertainty that rested on the designs of my savage captors, all rushed upon my mind, and suggested to my heated imagination a host of terrors.

These painful thoughts were interrupted by an order to prepare for the night's repose. An old skin, about two and a half feet square, was thrown upon the cold ground in the back part of our rookery, and assigned for my couch; I took possession accordingly, and the whole family bestowed themselves in a row near me. The stifling atmosphere was soon vocal with their snoring. My brain was too busy for sleep. Feverish fancies kept me wakeful. I revolved a variety of plans for escape. Could I steal out of the hut unperceived? Could I find my way to the shore? I doubted the first, and more than doubted the

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old Parous ver and enlist his authority for me, if circumstances should compel me to appeal to it.

The reunited tribe remained in camp three or four days dividing their time between gambling and hunting. When I accompanied the hunters, as I sometimes did, I was sure to get something to eat towards night, as they invariably kindled a fire and cooked part of the game on the spot where it was killed. Their method of preparing all meats was essentially the same as has been described; tossing large pieces into the fire, or suspending them over it, till they were somewhat smoked and dried, and then devouring them, without salt, or any other condiment but the sauce of hunger. Cooking the ostrich, however, forms an exception: the feathers are plucked out, the bones dissected and removed; hot stones are placed within the body, the skin is tightly sewed together, and the whole is partially roasted on the embers. The lacings are then cut, and the meat is served up; it has an excellent flavor, far surpassing that of the domestic turkey. The bird is covered with a layer of fat, half an inch thick, which is melted, and collects in the body, forming a condiment which is relished as the greatest luxury of Patagonian living. If any fragments of the repast remain, they are slung to the backs of the saddles, and so carried home, dangling at the horses' sides, till they are so begrimed with dust as to defy all conjecture as to their quality or origin. These choice morsels are proffered to the home department, are received with smiles of gratitude, and devoured with a gust sharpened by long abstinence. It was noticeable that the plumage of the ostrich, though beautiful, was not at all valued by the Indians; large

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757 [413] left them and drew from their repository of tools a sharpened nail fixed in a wooden handle, like an awl. The chief stretched himself on the ground, face downwards; a surgical operation was plainly impending. What could the matter be? Had the chief, in the excess of his plumpness, burst open, like ripe fruit, requiring to be sewed up? I drew my head from beneath the protection I had provided against the smoke, and rose on my knees, to get a better view; the huge, black, greasy monster lay extended at his full length, his wife pinched up the skin on his back, pierced it with her awl, and continued the process till a number of perforations were made, from which the blood oozed slowly. I asked the meaning of this operation, and was told by the chief that he had pains in his back, for which this was the best remedy. Blood-letting, it seemed, is no monopoly of the faculty. I told him that in my country we applied, in such cases, a liquid called opodeldoc, an infallible remedy, and promised to procure him some when we got to Holland. This was henceforth added to my list of inducements.

●264 The old fellow righted himself, and leaned against one of the pillars of his palace; one of his partners pulled up the toasting-fork, and jerked the half-roasted and more than sufficiently smoked meat upon the ground, seized the knife which the boys had been playing with, and cut the mess into liberal pieces, which were thrown broadcast on either side. The chief's appetite did not appear to be affected either by his indisposition or by the extraordinary remedy applied; his portion of the *olrne* disappeared behind his great white teeth with a haste that seemed to involve no waste.

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844 In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchet-
302 kalk or Rocky Hills, Crimé's illness caused us to remain encamped until March 21, during the greater part of which time I and several others were suffering from neuralgia and
● [345] ulcerations in the mouth, caused I think, by the bad water we had to drink, perhaps also by the want of salt, which had become a very scarce commodity.

758 Friendly rivalry was kept up between the tribes in play, hunting and other sports, in which fortune varied from one side to the other. Every other day I visited poor Crimé, whose groans might be heard at night accompanied by the chant of some old hag. The sick man always asked me how long he would live. I at first tried to persuade him that he would get well, but after a time, as he was really fast sinking, gave him to understand that he might live a month if he was lucky. I offered to open his leg and endeavour to cure him, but this he would not allow, stating that if he died under the operation it would go hard with the doctor, which was indeed true, so I gave up my intentions of performing a surgical operation.

677 Before we broke up the camp, a Valdivian and other Indians arrived from Chocoque's, but brought little news, stating that the Manzaneros were still dispersed amongst the valleys of the Cordillera engaged in gathering the yearly harvest of apples and pihones: of these we had already received plenty from Foyel's people, who kept up a constant communication with their relations near the Rio Limay.

133 On the 21st all left the valley and travelled a few leagues through a diversified country. On the line of marsh cliffs, which stood out in the plains in irregular, picturesque manner, were of yellow and red sandstone, but to the westward black basaltic heights could be seen abutting on the plains, while in hunting over the higher ground masses of limestone and igneous rock were met with scattered over the surface. We remained for the night in a valley called Changi, and, proceeding next day, arrived about noon at a large plain shut in by sandstone cliffs on the eastern side, at the northern

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Though their great size at first sight was fitted to inspire terror, it required no very long observation to discover that they were deficient in natural courage. This, in fact, might be inferred at once, from their habitual deceit, treachery and artifice, which are the defences of the weak and timorous, rather than the weapons of strong and daring natures. They always select the night to inflict injuries; never meet an enemy in open combat whom they can stab from behind, or despatch in the dark; and, when obliged to attack by day, always do so in large numbers. This defect of courage is increased by their superstition; they have great faith in charms, signs and omens, a weakness which I anticipated might exert great influence on my destiny in important conjunctures. Could I by any means so master their secret as to possess myself of its mystic power, it might prove an effective aid to my plans of self-defence, or of escape. Should it, on the other hand, be turned by any accidental causes against me, its impulse might prove irresistible by power or contrivance. There was no appearance of idolatrous worship among them, nor could I observe any allusion to a Supreme Being, or to any superior powers having personal attributes; and, except a single ceremony, of which more hereafter, the nature of which was and is still inexplicable, there was nothing that suggested to my mind the idea of religious worship. Whether they are cannibals or not, has been a matter of some dispute. So far as I know, they have been, heretofore, only casually observed on the beach by voyagers, or vaguely reported of by the people of adjoining countries and neighboring settlements; neither of which is a sufficiently reliable source of information. My own personal advantages on this head

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were greater; but I am obliged, after all, to leave the question about where I found it, so far as certain conclusions are concerned. Yet some circumstances occurred, or were related to me, that incline my mind strongly to the belief that such horrible practices are not unjustly ascribed to them. Of the soundness of my conclusions those who follow the course of the narrative will have the opportunity of judging for themselves; if such had been my persuasion at the beginning, it may be readily imagined what effect this last hazard would have had upon my feelings, in contemplating the possibilities of the future. Happily a convenient scepticism on this point preserved me from this dark apprehension.

I came among these people not, certainly, with the best preparation in my previous habits and associations to endure either the climate of the country or the hardships of captivity. I went on shore in my usual ship's dress; thick frock coat, trousers, and shoes, and glazed cap. My undergarments were woollen; though an important item, as before related, was made way with in fruitlessly signalling vessels in the straits. But to live without any change of dress, to sleep without any additional covering, protected from the cold ground only by a fragment of guanaco-hide, and the other discomforts and exposures of life among savages, made, altogether, a harsh contrast to the comforts of our good schooner. To these, however, I gradually became inured, till I was able to meet cold and wet and storm with as stoical indifference as my dark companions, who had known no other lot from infancy.

Of the character of the natives I had little previous knowledge; and that little was not adapted to stimulate

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had been. He succeeded in effecting his escape the next day; but Douglass and Simms were carried off, murdered, and, it is supposed, — I believe with good reason, — that their bodies were eaten. The Avon, after being plundered, fell into the hands of the remainder of the crew, and sailed for Montevideo.

I travelled with this ruffian about ten days. He was a hard master, though I cannot charge him with personal ill-treatment that amounted to cruelty. Our life was monotonous enough. We slept a good share of the time when we rested, drank pure water when we could get it, and ate what fell in our way; though the reader may be assured that we saw some hungry days. At the expiration of ten days, the tribe was reünited at a place agreed upon. Here we continued several days, the natives occupied exclusively with gambling, which was alike their daily labor and recreation. When the demands of hunger became too imperative to be longer postponed, they would go out and hunt, after which they resumed their games.

Gambling is a vice to which they are greatly addicted, and they pursue it with a perseverance and ardor worthy of amateurs in more civilized communities. The implements used are bits of guanaco-skin, about the size of common playing-cards, on which are rudely depicted dogs and a variety of other beasts, with divers mystic marks and scrawls, done with a stick in a pigment composed of clay, blood and grease. Unlike their compeers in more enlightened circles, they put down stakes on only one side, for which the opposite players contend. In this way they rid themselves of their saddles, bridles, knives, and whatever other portable articles they may have to hazard

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I knew of the superstitions of the savages, that in case of her death I should be held responsible. In this particular case, as very soon appeared, I misjudged; but of the general principle I had startling confirmation.

The widow was better,—my prescription worked to a charm,—but her days were shortened. Late one night, after we had all retired to rest, a ferocious-looking rascal came into the chief's lodge; he muttered a few words to the chief, who arose, and went with him to the front of the wigwam. They conversed in a low tone several minutes, and separated, apparently with mutual satisfaction. I sounded the chief cautiously in reference to the matter in hand. Calmly, and without reserve, as if it were a very ordinary transaction, he said that the savages wished to kill the widow, in order to possess themselves of her horses, which they wanted to eat. I asked no further questions, being fully satisfied that he connived at the dark deed, which was consummated without delay. Before this tragic result, I had taken pains to disabuse the mind of the chief as to my supposed medical skill, and was able to relieve myself of the dangerous and burdensome honor.

Strange flesh was eaten by the Indians about this time; I was told it was *llow-enet*, but was not invited to partake of it. The same thing was observed several times; at times, too, when I was positive they had killed no wild animals without my knowledge, or which were not disposed of openly. The nature of my suspicions may be easily conjectured; yet I made no inquiries, in even the most casual manner, as to their disposition of their dead. It was painful to think of the atrocities, that were but too probably shrouded under the mystery they cast over these

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transactions. On one occasion, however, a young Indian, who could speak a few words of Spanish and English, told me that they had killed and eaten three men. Whether he meant to have me understand this as a singular case, or as a common action of the tribe, I do not know; I made no inquiries of him. In fact, the statement was voluntarily by him; and so painful was the subject, that I left him abruptly, in the middle of a sentence. 266

We again moved in a north-westerly direction, taking a goodly quantity of game on the route, and settled in a wretched, marshy spot. The wind was high, and made the tents quiver like a ship in a gale; a storm set in, beating through the roofs, drenching and chilling me through all the night. On the evening of the second day of our encampment here, an incident occurred which fearfully confirmed the wisdom of my decision to renounce all title to medical skill. As I was seated by the dying embers of a little fire, surrounded by our motley household, and tugging manfully at a bit of half-raw meat, which constituted my evening meal, while a large piece was in process of cooking over the fire, we were suddenly startled by a cry of distress, followed by the distinct alarm of *murder*. The chief drew back to the rear of his lodge, took down his carbine, and ordered me back from the fire, which was at once extinguished by two of his squaws, while the other two ran to the door, and set up a loud, lamentable wailing. All the women throughout the camp were, in like manner, giving their voices to the air, and "making night hideous;" and not a male Indian ventured to show his head for an hour or more. It was to me an hour of fearful suspense, the agony of which I cannot describe. At last a man came 674

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mixed with the savages, and a sample of many others; though better viands afterwards varied their monotony, now and then.

The eating being over, a large horn, that had once adorned the head of a Spanish bullock, was dipped into a leathern bucket and passed from one to another. Between the bucket and the horn, the fluid had gained a flavor not found by Adam in his first brewing, and, indeed, not far from nauseating. However, it seemed expedient to "conquer my prejudices" so far as to drink with the other guests, and the ceremonies of dinner were over; for which, "with all other mercies," I felt thankful, and turned to my corner near the expiring fire, to chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies, in which the latter ingredient decidedly predominated. The strange and sudden desolateness of my condition, the doubtful chances of escape, the possible sufferings before me, the uncertainty that rested on the designs of my savage captors, all rushed upon my mind, and suggested to my heated imagination a host of terrors.

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or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1839-47, 3: 330), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1938, pp. 436-438, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used bone prong gorgeers or decoys in hunting guanaco (Figuerin, 1910, 1: 69; Moreno, [1880], 1880, p. 330), and close plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rhea. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41-42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 42, top); in the drive, guanaco were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 42, bottom). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. One source mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1933, pp. 333-334, 338, and Oetzen, 1938 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1886, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Skinned guanaco were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1886, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 334). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 339). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1886, p. 119; Moreno, 1879, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

Food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851-55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND DWELLINGS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851-55, 2: 41, and hor. 1, fig. 1; cf. Lothrillero, 1930, p. 499, and Cooper, 1936, pp.

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brought a horse, or rather exchanged away a revolver for one 484
(a three year old, newly broken), and started in company with
Orkeke, Campan, Cayuke, and Tuskekew, four Indians, all of
whom were previous acquaintances. Casimiro followed with
his family, taking one of the horses from Santa Cruz to assist
in the transport of his household. This horse was one I had
been accustomed to ride in Santa Cruz, and on arriving at
the Indian camp was lent me as a second horse. Shortly
after passing the first hills on the northern side, our party
not being burdened with women and children, started off at
a hand canter, which was kept up until a puma suddenly
sprung out of a bush, when chase was immediately given; he,
however, got into a thick tangle of incense bushes, from
which we tried in vain to dislodge him, and although pelted
with stones he lay there spitting like a great cat. Cayuke
wished to fire the bush, but Orkeke would not waste time, so
we mounted and proceeded on our journey. We continued
riding over plains and ridges until about four P.M., when we
reached a large laguna, close to which grew some high course
grass and shrubs; here several ostriches were started, and
one killed by Orkeke. On reaching the range of hills before
described as the southern barrier of the valley of the Rio
Chico, we halted, and shortly had the ostrich cooking on a
good fire. We looked back for Casimiro, but could not see
him, so after supper and a smoke pursued our journey by the
soft light of a young moon. We rode on until about nine P.M.,
when we reached the Indian encampment. We had been
previously puzzled by seeing fires burning a considerable dis-
tance up the valley, and found that our chief, Camillo, had
already marched in that direction. One of the first persons
who accosted me was Arica, and I shortly discovered that [609]
all the Chilians were installed with the Indians in different
toldos, which was rather an unpleasant surprise. I was
ushered into Orkeke's toldo with due ceremony, and we took
our seats by the fire. I had brought a bag of coffee with 272
me, so we set to work and roasted some, after which one of

[i.e. escaped prisoners--Analyst]

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the Chilians was given the task of pounding it between stones, and we all drank what the Indians not inappropriately term 'potwater.' Many Indians crowded in to have a look at us, and amongst others that I noticed was a remarkably pretty little girl of about thirteen years of age, a niece of Orkeke's, who took some coffee when offered in a shy and bashful manner which was delightful to contemplate. In due time we all retired to rest, and a little before daylight I was woke by the melodious singing of an Indian in the next toldo. Shortly afterwards Orkeke went out and harangued the inmates of the remaining toldos, and presently the horses were brought up, and most of the men started for the chase. Snow had fallen during the night, a biting cold wind was blowing, and Orkeke told me there were very few animals about. I took this as a hint not to ask for a horse, so contented myself with sauntering round and examining the encampment. Some of the men were playing cards, one or two sleeping, whilst the women were almost universally employed in sewing guanaco mantles. About three P.M., Casimiro arrived with his family, and proceeded to the tent of a southern Indian, named Crimé, and shortly afterwards the hunting party returned by twos and threes, but the chase had not been attended with much success. We passed the evening pleasantly enough, making acquaintance with each other, and Keoken, the little girl, instructed me in the Indian names of the various objects about the place. Next morning the order was suddenly given to march. As this was totally unexpected, and I was not prepared for departure, I made up my mind to return at once to Santa Cruz, and fetch my clothes and other small articles; also to take back a colt, promised by an Indian called 'Tchang' to Mr. Clarke. After some little difficulty, as the Indians did not wish me to go alone for fear of getting lost, or any other mischance befalling me, Graviel, the youngest son of Casimiro, started with me. We had to take the colt, what a sailor would term, in tow, that is, drag it for some distance with a lazo. As Graviel's

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203 be peaceable at Patagones, and a rumour was current that Commandante Murga was about to give up his governorship. Casimiro, on receiving all this intelligence, immediately wished a despatch to be indited, although I pointed out to him that it would be better to wait until we had arrived at a nearer point; he was so urgent that on the following morning I composed an elaborate letter, detailing the union of the tribes, the precautions taken for protecting Patagones, and requesting a hundred mares for Casimiro and his people: when finished it was carefully wrapped up and stowed away in my baggage till wanted.

202 The talk then naturally turned on the subject of the choice of messengers to be despatched to Patagones on our arrival at Margenako. It had been previously arranged that I should be sent fully commissioned, as being better able to represent to the authorities what had been resolved on, as well as to impress upon them the immediate requirements of the Indians, and several others now volunteered to accompany me, and got quite merry at the thoughts of a drink. But we were still three marches distant from Margenako. The following
133 day we were again *en route*, traversing a succession of plains with rocky ridges cropping up at intervals, until we at length reached a grassy valley enclosed by steep walls of rocks sixty feet high; gravely perched on the summits of
[134] which several slate-coloured Chilian eagles were visible, their occupation being to prevent the excessive multiplication of little cavies. On the hill sides bordering this valley, our old friend the incense bush, which had for many marches back been very scarce, grew in luxuriant profusion. At this
[272] season it was covered with berries which, though uneatable, are used by the Indians mixed up with water as a drink; this infusion has a very sweet taste, but I should think must be very unwholesome. On arriving at the encamp-
165 ment, at the head of the valley, near some pools of standing water, we were apprised, by the lugubrious sounds of the women's monotonous chants, that the number of the children

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 a, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *i*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1853, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20–22).

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soychu (*Taluhet* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men; his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Masters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penck,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Arica arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

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[136] thickness of the wood they escaped. Some of the Indians
137 took the opportunity to cut fresh poles for the toldos. The sight of woods and trees was so refreshing that I spent several days consecutively among them, very often alone, or with one companion. Nobody, except a sailor after months on the sea, can imagine the pleasure of wandering under trees to one who had passed so long a time in the barren and monotonous plains. The weather, however, still continued wet and inclement. On the 5th of December,
262 some of us wandering on the heights above, made out smoke to the N.E., and Campan went off at speed on horseback to reconnoitre. He returned towards nightfall very drunk, and riding straight to our toldo, proclaimed that El Sourdo, the Indian left behind in Santa Cruz, had arrived at a place close to us, bringing grog in two small barrels and letters for me: when he had delivered his news, he, with some difficulty, dismounted without coming on his head; then produced a bottle half full of rum from under his mantle, which he dispensed to the attendant company.

574 Our toldo was soon crowded, and it was proposed that on the following day we should march and meet the visitor, all being eager for a drink. Accordingly, on the morrow we started, in a storm of sleet and rain, and prepared to hunt *en route*. While hunting, just after Jackechan and myself had killed an ostrich, the former perceived a single toldo, which he knew must be El Sourdo's, so we galloped towards it, accompanied by two other Indians, and were received with open arms by El Sourdo and his two wives,
574 Jackechan being a very old friend. We were made to sit
273 down, and the olla, or boiling-pot, was brought out by the two wives, who acted as Hebes by producing the rum, with which our host filled the pot, and dispensed the liquor in a pannikin. One of the wives then produced my letters, which proved to be from Mr. Clarke and Don Luiz P. B., the schooner having arrived on October 5, all safe. El Sourdo then gave me all the news verbatim—how a fight had taken

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place at the settlement between Gonzalez and Antonio, in 574
which the latter had been killed or mortally wounded, and 273
the former had escaped to the Pampas, but had subsequently been captured and taken as a prisoner in the schooner to Buenos Ayres; and other news of trivial importance. Meanwhile the grog was fast disappearing, and the pot had to be replenished. This in turn was about half-emptied by the time the other Indians and women arrived, and Jackechan, very inebriated, was vowing eternal friendship to me, while Tchang was howling in my other ear a lovely Tehuelche ditty. As I had drunk in moderation, I thought it about time to clear, so, on the plea of looking after my horse, retired and re-read my letters, which any one may imagine, although not coming from my relations, were of great interest. After my departure no more liquor was given away, El Sourdo selling two bottles for a young horse or a [437]
silver-sheathed knife, so that he soon found himself a rich man. By midnight all the liquor was exhausted and many drunk, but no disturbances occurred worthy of mention, all arms having previously been stowed away safely. I was roused from my first sleep by a lady from a neighbouring toldo, who wished to embrace me, and, with feminine curiosity wanted to know the contents of my letters. She was, I am sorry to say, in an advanced stage of intoxication, so after giving her a smoke, Orkeke, who had roused up and was dying of laughter, politely showed her the door. Most of the party went out hunting in the morning, the ride no doubt proving beneficial to those suffering from headache, though little game was killed; but the Sourdo, whom I had joined in a morning bowl of coffee, remained at home, as his horses were very much used up, one of his boys going on a friend's mount to procure meat. For four days after this 782
drinking bout we did nothing but slaughter and eat mares, somebody's child having been slightly hurt in some manner. Although I have read in various books that the Indians have a religious festival at which mares are slaughtered as a

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[522] and the information that she was as alive as ever, only her eyes were bad. I could cite many other similar instances of romancing on the part of the Indians. Old Orkeke I never caught out in a direct lie, and he always, when informing me about any subject, added, 'I do not lie.' In anything of importance, however, such as guaranteeing the safety of a person, they were very truthful, as long as faith was kept with them. After a time, when they ascertained that I invariably avoided deviating in any way from the truth, they left off lying to me even in minor matters. This will serve to show that they are not of the treacherous nature assigned to them by some ignorant writers. Nor are they habitually cruel, even to slaves or captives. The Chilian deserters were always well housed and fed, and lent horses to ride; and nothing but their incurably bad dispositions and constant plots brought on them a fate which, in truth, could hardly be thought ill-deserved, whereas the few good ones of the party rose into high favour.

273 For my own part, I felt far safer among the Tehuelches,
152 as long as they had no drink or no fights, than I subsequently did in the Rio Negro. Of course when they are drunk their passions become unbridled; they remember old feuds, and at times will fight for mere fighting's sake. It is not necessary, however, to go so far as Patagonia to observe this. The
593 finest trait, perhaps, in their character is their love for their
152 wives and children; matrimonial disputes are rare, and wife-beating unknown; and the intense grief with which the loss of a wife is mourned is certainly not 'civilised,' for the widower will destroy all his stock and burn all his possessions: thus Paliki, before the death of his wife, was a wealthy Indian; but when I knew him he was poor and reckless, having destroyed all his property, and taken to gambling and drinking in despair at his loss. Casimiro even declared that his son Sam —whom I certainly should not have suspected of disinterested affection for any human being—had ruined himself, and become careless of his life, after his wife's death.

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The children are indulged in every way, ride the best 155
horses, and are not corrected for any misbehaviour, I was 152
always astonished that the youths and young men did not grow up more headstrong and wilful, as a result of want of training. People who have no children of their own sometimes adopt a little dog, on which they lavish their affections, and bestow horses and other valuables, which are destroyed in case of the owner's death.

It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the 153
missionaries should have been so unsuccessful in their efforts to teach these children of nature to read and write, for they are naturally very intelligent (though of course there are exceptions). As a proof of their quickness in imitations, with very little trouble I taught Hinchel's son to write his father's name and those of two other Indians in a very short time. I also used to draw ships on a board with a piece of charcoal for the children's amusement, and they readily copied them. Hinchel himself, wishing to explain a part of the course of the Rio Negro, drew out a rough chart on the board, showing the bends of the river, which I afterwards found to be perfectly correct.

Whilst in their native wilds, I observed little immorality 273
amongst the Indians; in the settlements, however, when debased by intoxication, they are, no doubt, depraved and loose in their ideas. But it must be recorded that, on the entry of the Indians into the settlements of the Rio Negro, at a subsequent period, most of the young women and girls were left with the toldos in Valchita, outside the Travesia, to be out of the way of temptations. There are many Tehuelche youths now growing up who have the greatest abhorrence of liquor; and I hope that in time this abstinence will spread further among them, for they possess no intoxicants of their own, and the rum is an import from the Christians, the ill effects of which they are well able to discern.

One word of advice to the future traveller may conclude 554
this imperfect sketch. Never show distrust of the Indians;

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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our carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having A taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. 326 Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the T precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

574 On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of 273 horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him [352 and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter 534] playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and bowling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchal's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

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the public during the preparation of these pages for the press, 203
and to which reference will be made in the ensuing chapter.
Jackechan, after the return of his messenger, proceeded to 439
Margensho, in the vicinity of which he met the parties 273
under Teneforo, Patricio, Antonio, and other petty chiefs.
These all united, and, sending into Patagones, obtained
liquor and other stores, with which, as before mentioned
they had a drink for ten days, but no quarrels or fights took
place—a fact which redounds to the credit of the chiefs.
After waiting a month for our party, they, owing to the 621
scarcity of game, had come by easy stages to this place
(Trinita). Jackechan then explained that the first toldos
were those of the Pampa Indians, under Teneforo and Cham-
payo, the former being absent in Patagones, getting his
rations of animals; his Indians are pure Pampas, and are
often called Kerekinches,* or armadilloes, for some reason
unknown to me. Some of them are in the service of the
Argentine Government, and liable to be called upon by
Linares, chief of the tame Indians. The remaining toldos
were those belonging to the Indians under Antonio and
Patricio, who were composed of mixed Tehuelches and
Pampas. The two encampments were situated about half a 361
mile apart, separated by a winding stream, in some places
concealed by most unusually high reeds. The position was
entirely surrounded on the eastern, southern, and western
sides by high rocky eminences; but to the north the valley
apparently continued for some miles; its breadth was about
three miles, and everywhere in the vicinity of the stream,
which in some places had overflowed its banks and formed a
marsh, the most luxuriant pasture was growing.

On returning to Patricio's toldo, I formally asked for the 574
necessary horses to prosecute our journey, but was refused on
the grounds of his having none to spare; so we determined,
as our horses showed symptoms of fatigue and one was lame,
to give them one day's rest before proceeding. We passed

* Quirquincho.

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Everybody at once mounted and went to escort in the new arrivals, who proved to be Teneforo himself and two of his followers. They had brought a hundred head of horses and cattle as far as Valchita, two days' journey from Trinita, and had left them there, bringing on with them only some liquor and yerba, which were at once unloaded. After I had been presented to the newly-arrived chief, who hailed me as a brother, and honoured me by a place among the four caciques, who, pannikins in hand, walked round the lances in due performance of the ceremony of blessing the liquor, already described, the drinking commenced.

When the people arrived the sun had just risen, and by ten o'clock, most of the liquor, which consisted of some gin and caña, or white rum, had disappeared. Many of the Indians were intoxicated, but all after a merry, good-tempered fashion, which it had never been my luck to see before. After imbibing freely enough with my numerous friends—who, if it had been left to them, would have made me as drunk as themselves—I mounted my horse, and after a bathe amongst the tall reeds on the borders of the stream, returned to the toldo, where I found the aged Patricio singing to himself in a very maudlin state. By sundown all were sober again, and Patricio imparted to me that he intended himself to proceed with us, as well as some other friends, his wife, and two or three other women, but that we were to travel by the lower route, which, though longer, was easier and safer than the shorter and upper road, where the thorns grew higher and thicker: the latter is usually selected in summer, when water is scarce, of which at this season there was no danger.

The following morning, bidding adieu to Antonio, Champayo, and Jackechan—whose ration I had promised to procure—we started, eleven men and four women, taking plenty of horses, besides a troop of mares for an Indian called Hernandez, settled near the Guardia Chica, the mares being intended for the purpose of treading out his crop of corn.

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haps my shaggy hair and dress, not altogether of the neatest, may have been against me.

The Indians were soon in full enjoyment of some grog and biscuits, which they naturally asked me to share. After a bite and a sup, finding the proceedings slow, I left the room, and shortly after met Mr. Alexander Fraser and Mr. Grenfell, the owners of an estancia a few miles lower down the river; and after introducing myself, was most kindly received, and supplied with cash, a civilised medium of which I had not a sou to enable me to gratify the desire of treating my Indian friends to a bottle or two of wine and spirits and a few loaves of bread.

Mr. Fraser hospitably pressed me to come on to his establishment at once, but being desirous of handing the letters to the Commandante without delay, I returned across the river with the Indians.

A foretaste of Rio Negro manners was given us at the other side, as one of the horses, saddle, lazo and all, was missing—stolen by some of the civilised inhabitants. The horse belonged to El Ingles, and had been lent to Meña to go down from the encampment to the Guardia; the lazo belonged to me.

At the camp most of the people got more or less drunk, and Nacho received a richly-deserved thrashing for being pugnacious, after which he was lashed down, and left to cool in the frost for an hour.

In the morning I started for Patagones, accompanied by El Ingles and another Indian; but as our horses proved to be too tired to proceed into Patagones, we stopped for the night in a toldo at San Xaviel, the head-quarters of Linares and his tame Indians.

I took up my quarters at the toldo of one Chaloupe, and after supper, being desirous of communicating the political arrangements to the chief, proceeded on horseback behind another horseman, who proved to be a brother of Ronque Pinto, to the chief's residence, a long, low house.

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648 great. I saw myself 1,000 head of cattle pass on their way to Ronque, and Checoque was expecting 1,200. The cattle
648 were brought down from the Tandil by purveyors, whose
439 business must be as lucrative as that of the American army contractors; for the Indians are sometimes when sober, or oftener when intoxicated, induced to part with their newly-acquired possessions for a mere trifle, and the cattle, reverting to the dealer's hands, thus do duty over again as a ration perhaps to the same cacique. Thus the Indians benefit but little, while the Government pays a large amount, and the purveyors and other agents grow rich, Indians and Government being esteemed apparently as lawful and natural pigeons, to be plucked by any safe means.

273 The Commandante's reply had been duly forwarded to
579 Casimiro, together with some liquor and presents for my friends; and the morning following my return from the country I was awoke early by a knock at the door, and on opening it found five or six Tehuelches who had made their way over the river to my quarters. After giving them a mate, we all proceeded to the store, and I gave one or two some small presents. Among these first arrivals was my friend Jackechan, the cacique from the Chupat, who confided to me that he had been very drunk the night before. The Tehuelches had not, however, waited till they reached the settlements for an opportunity of abandoning themselves to the pernicious enjoyment of 'lum.' It soon came out that their delay at Valchita had been necessitated by a prolonged debauch on liquor procured from the Guardia. Casimiro had of course set the example, and the drink had, as usual, also led to quarrelling, which resulted in a general fight; several had been killed, including Cayuke, so often mentioned as a stanuch friend; and I was greatly grieved at being unable to get any accurate tidings of my Herculean comrade the good-natured Waki, who had, beyond doubt, been killed at the same time.

574 Such common occurrences were little regarded by my visitors, all of whom were caciquillos, and whom I presently

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them. 857

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knuckle-bones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point. 861 525 524 526

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the inciensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, yerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink. 262 252 262 [137] [263] 273 276 177

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.* own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately 852

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (FitzRoy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñons (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

Horses.—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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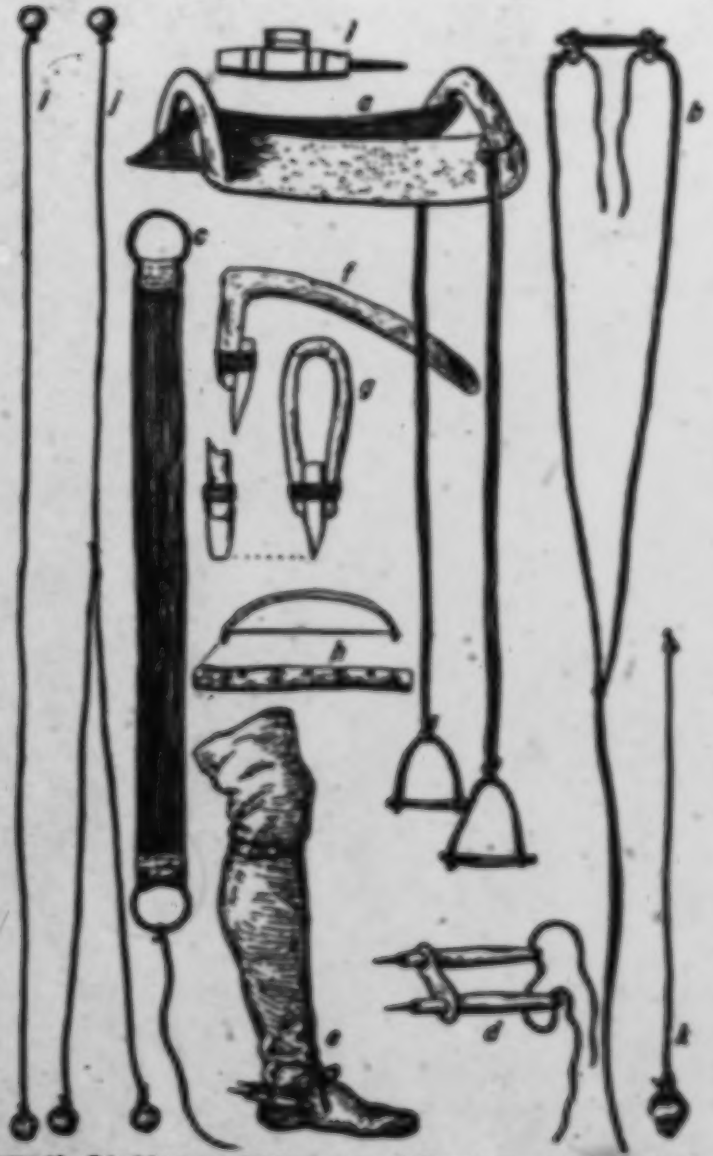

FIGURE 16.—Tehuelche arms and instruments. a, Saddle and stirrup; b, bridle; c, girth; d, spurs; e, basin with spurs; f, ado; g, scraper; h, musical bow; i, ostrich bolas; j, guanaco bolas; k, bola perdida; l, pipe. (After Musters, 1871, opposite p. 186.)

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hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 a, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1882, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1898, pp. 94-95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20-22).

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnes (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soyehn (*Tehuhet* and *Dhuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

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two leagues below the river divided into two branches, which [33
reunited beyond an island of some extent. Looking up river
in a north-westerly direction, the valley soon narrowed in,
the southern barranca sloping down to within a couple of
miles of our camp; and the view was closed by two remark-
able hills resembling fortresses, which seemed to stand on
guard on either side. I made a slight sketch of the outlines of
the view, which forms the background of the hunting scene.*
Having strolled back to the toldo, I was greeted by the [276]
women with the usual demand, 'Mun anwee'—Anglice,
'Lend us the pipe,' which was duly charged and handed
round. We then sat and watched the proceedings of Kenken, §37
Tankelow's pretty little daughter, just budding into woman-
hood, and a small boy to whom I gave the name of Captain
John, who were amusing themselves by catching and riding
some of the horses which were tamer than the others. The
urchins soon grew tired of their equestrian feats; and,
prompted by the spirit of mischief, which seems ever to
haunt children, and especially Indian boys, came and begged
a match of me. Not suspecting their purpose, I gave them
the coveted prize, with which they hurried off in high delight,
and in a very few minutes had set fire to the rank, withered
herbage, some distance off the toldo, but to the windward.
The conflagration was at first unnoticed by us; but at dusk,
when Tankelow returned from hunting, with a supply of
meat, it was palpably dangerous. So all hands had to set
to work, and by dint of tearing up the grass, with great
trouble we stopped its progress, which if aided by a breeze
in the night would very probably otherwise have consumed
the toldo and endangered the inmates. Of the culprits no
notice was taken, the occurrence being apparently regarded
as all in the day's work. After our supper off guanaco
meat, and a smoke, I turned in, and slept soundly on my [313]
Tehuelche bed of hides and bolsters which had been carefully
arranged by the tall hostess.

* Frontispiece.

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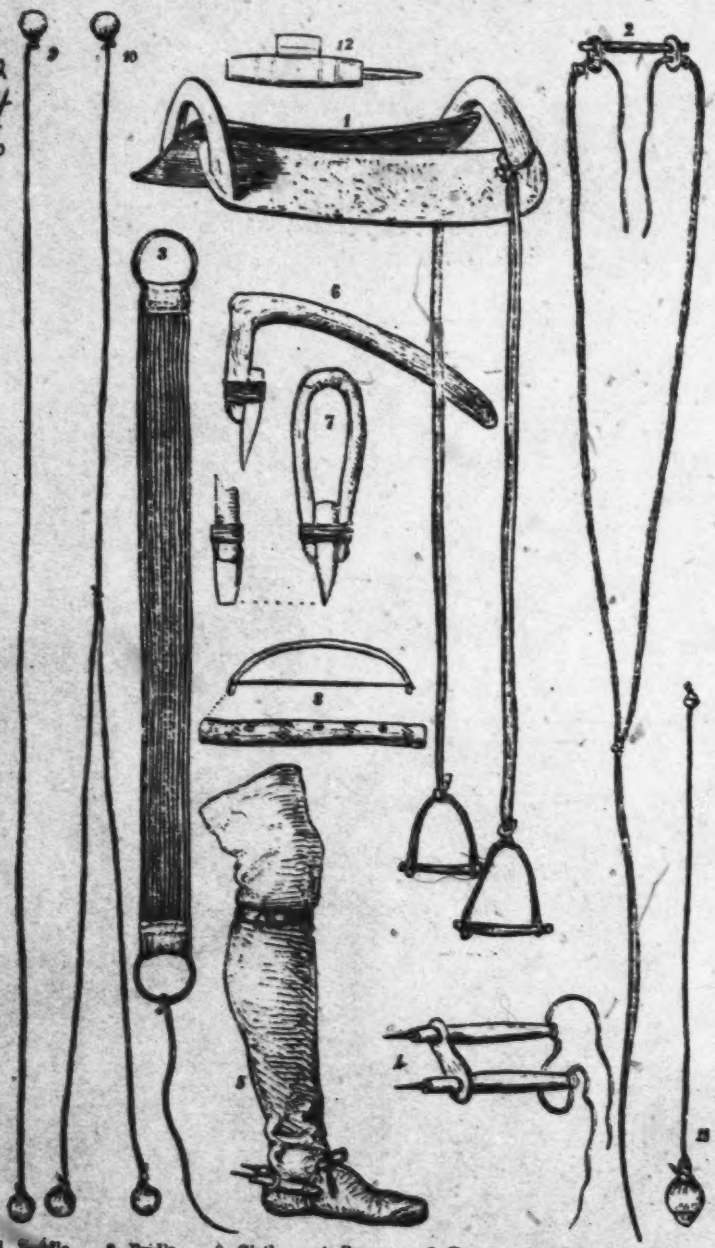

1. Saddle. 2. Bridle. 3. Girth. 4. Spurs. 5. Boot. 6. Adze. 7. Scraper
8. Musical instrument. 9. Ostrich bola. 10. Guanaco bola. 11. Bola perdida. 12. Pipe.

12

[facing p 176]

[No pg 177]

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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Headstalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'manèos,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoehorn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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He was a great smoker; and when-
ever I met him invariably said the few English words I had 276
taught him, 'Load and light the pipe—smoke.' The general manner of smoking is as follows. The smoker lights his pipe, and then lies prone on the ground, and after puffing a portion of smoke to each cardinal point and muttering a prayer, he swallows several mouthfuls of tobacco smoke, which produces intoxication and partial insensibility, lasting perhaps for the space of two minutes. During this time his companions carefully avoid disturbing him in any way. When it has passed off, he gets up, takes a drink of water, and resumes his conversation or occupation. I have sometimes observed this intoxication accompanied by convulsions, but only in rare cases. The tobacco used for smoking (for they never chew) is generally obtained from the settlements, but failing this a herb substitute is procured from the Araucanians. This is never smoked pure, being invariably mixed with either wood chopped up small or 'yerba' (Paraguay tea) stalks, if obtainable. The mixture with dung mentioned by M. Guinnard is unknown among the Tehuelches.

The women sometimes are smokers, but the custom is not universal, being generally confined to the old ladies. Most of the men smoke, but there are exceptions. I was very much astonished, however, by seeing El Sourdo on more than one occasion give his pipe to his boy—a precocious three-year-old—who whiffed his 'bacca' with apparently great satisfaction to himself and his fond father.

The chief amusements amongst the Indians (for hunting 525
is a matter of business and not pleasure) consist in horse-racing, card-playing, gambling with dice, made by themselves with mathematical exactness from bones, and thrown from the hand, or with small stones, and playing a game of ball. The horse-racing has been already described. The cards used are sometimes the Spanish pack, obtained in the settlements, but very frequently constructed by the Indians themselves of hide. These, like the ordinary Spanish cards, are marked with the Spanish numerals up to seven; but the

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the incensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, zerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; they are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, patting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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last argument was decisive, and she kept her huge mouth closed for the night. There was a silent pause for some minutes, and, without another word, we ranged ourselves for repose. I thought the old heathen's conscience troubled him through the night; his sleep was broken, and he appeared very restless. Early the next morning he went to the lodge of the newly-married pair, and had a long chat with them. They thought him rather severe upon them at first; but, after a good deal of diplomacy, a better understanding was brought about. The young people could hardly get over a sense of the indignities they had received; but in the course of the day they returned, bag and baggage, to the old chief's tent, and made it their permanent abode.

We now moved in a westerly direction, and on the way succeeded in capturing a good deal of game. Their mode of dealing with the carcass of the guanaco is enough to dissipate whatever appetizing qualities the meat — in itself very palatable — would otherwise possess. It was no uncommon circumstance, while the squaws were removing the hide, to see the dogs tugging at the other extremity, the women, meantime, crying out "Eh! Ah!" in a dissuasive, though not angry, tone. If the animals become too audacious, the ire of their mistresses is kindled, and they break out with "Cashuran cashahy!" a phrase equivalent to that which, in English, directs its object to a region unmentionable in ears polite.

The Indians have, strictly speaking, no profane expressions. I never could learn that they worshipped or had any idea of a Supreme Being. The only observance which bore any aspect of religion was associated with something we

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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should little think of as an object of adoration — the tobacco-pipe; — though, how far this is, in fact, an object of idolatry in Christian lands, it might not become me to speculate. The only occasions on which the Indians discovered any appearance of devotion were those of smoking. This may have been only a symptom of intoxication, but the reader may judge for himself.

A group of a dozen or more assemble, — sometimes in a wigwam, sometimes in the open air. A vessel made of a piece of hide bent into a saucer-shape while green and afterwards hardened, or sometimes an ox-horn, filled with water, is set on the ground. A stone pipe is filled with the scrapings of a wood resembling yellow ebony, mixed with finely-cut tobacco. The company then lay themselves in a circle flat on their faces, their mantles drawn up to the tops of their heads. The pipe is lighted. One takes it into his mouth and inhales as much smoke as he can swallow; the others take it in succession, till all have become satisfied. By the time the second smoker is fully charged, the first begins a series of groanings and gruntings, with a slight trembling of the head, the smoke slowly oozing out at the nostrils. The groaning soon becomes general, and waxes louder, till it swells into a hideous howling, enough to frighten man or beast. The noise gradually dies away. They remain a short time in profound silence, and each imbibes a draught of water. Then succeeds another interval of silence, observed with the most profound and devotional gravity. All at length arise, and slowly disperse. Now, this may or may not have been a form of worship; but the circumstances attending it, the numbers uniformly engaged in it, the formality with which it was invariably conducted

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the solemnity of visage, the reverential grimace, the prostration, the silence, the trembling, — these, and traits of expression which are more easily discerned and remembered than described, gave me a decided impression that the whole had a superstitious meaning. The natural operation of the tobacco, and of the substance mixed with it, might explain part of the symptoms,— the writhing and groaning, — but these appeared to be a good deal in excess, and there were other features of the case which appeared to require another solution.

I never asked any explanation. The mystery which savage tribes are so apt to throw around their religious rites, and their resentment at any unhallowed curiosity, I was not inclined to meddle with or provoke. If my conjectures were just as to the nature of this ceremony, inquiry might lead to unpleasant consequences. Ignorance appeared, on the whole, safer than knowledge of good or evil, gained at the risk of being caught trespassing on things forbidden. If any one thinks my precaution excessive, he is at liberty to take a different course whenever he finds himself in the jurisdiction of Parosilver, or any other Patagonian chief.

The inquiry may arise, especially in the mind of the religious reader, whether I attempted to impart to my captors any knowledge of God, his attributes and laws. The answer is quite ready, — No, and for a variety of reasons. The writer did not understand enough of either Spanish or Indian to communicate intelligible ideas on any matters beyond the range of the senses, and Patagonia is pretty barren of sensible phenomena, which made my stock of words more limited than it might have been under more favorable circumstances. There was no finding "tongues

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000 in trees," or "books in the running brooks;" the land possesses neither in numbers sufficient to be conversable. "Sermons in stones," even, must have been of very pebbly dimensions, and of no great weight. Had this difficulty been removed, I confess I had no great desire to surmount it. I was the object of suspicion and hostility. My [609] life was in constant danger. To diminish, as far as possible, the causes of dislike, to mitigate their ferocious hate, to elude occasions of mischief, to delay what I feared could not be very long prevented, was my continual study. If the reader is not satisfied with this account of my conduct, I am sorry for it, but cannot afford any words of contrition. It is vastly easier, I may hint to the objector, to prescribe another's duties than to judge of one's own, especially where the two parties are in circumstances so widely differing. The Patagonians need the gospel—and the law—as much as any people I could name from personal observation. There was no trace of instruction imparted at a previous period, and the reception Christianity would meet with among them is yet to be discovered.

276 324 325 Their pipes are made of a hard red stone, the bowl dug out with whatever iron or steel implement is at command to the dimensions of an ordinary clay pipe, the stem about an inch square, and three inches long, with a small perforation. A copper or brass tube, about two inches long, is fitted to the stem, and serves as a mouth-piece. This is made by bending or hammering a metallic plate about a small round stick, and soldering or cementing it with a glutinous substance thickened with earth.

325 The copper, brass and iron, seen among them, was probably procured from unfortunate vessels wrecked on their

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of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76).

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sañchez Labrador, 1936, p. 52), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 158; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 128) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives.

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906 1: 58; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 358), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it.

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story.

LORE AND LEARNING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183;

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along. Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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136 then bound off, and speedily distance him. Their means of defence consist chiefly in the savate, or use of the feet, more especially the fore ones, although they also bite at times, and with their two peculiar canine teeth could inflict a severe wound.* I have seen places where a puma and a guanaco have evidently had a severe struggle, always, however, resulting in the victory of the puma, as, on seeing these marks, we invariably searched for and found the body near, carefully covered over by the 'leon.' The flesh of the guanaco is excellent, something resembling mutton; the young guanaco being more like very tender veal. That their [439] wool might be turned to account for mercantile purposes is undoubted, as it is of very fine texture, and is at the present time of value in Chili, where it is woven into ponchos which are highly prized. Up to the present time few have been domesticated, but they become very tame, and might at a future date be found useful as beasts of burden, as they are similar in most respects to the lama. There is one very remarkable point about the guanaco; at certain times of the [278] year a sort of secretion, condensed into a hard substance like stone, is found in round pieces, varying from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, in the stomach. To these stones some of the Indians attribute medicinal virtues. The guanaco is of use to the Indians in every way. The skin 281 of the adult is used to make the coverings of the toldos, and that of the unborn or young ones to make mantles for clothes; the sinews of the back furnish them with thread; the skin of the neck, which is particularly tough and durable, with lazos or thongs for bolas, bridles, &c., &c. The skin of the hock supplies them with shoes or coverings for the bolas; [321] from the thigh bone they also cut out dice, or make a musical instrument. On attaining the age of about two months, the coat of the young guanaco begins to become woolly, and the skin is then useless for mantles, but makes sufficiently good saddle-cloths.

* The skull of a guanaco is well figured in Mr. Cunningham's work.

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met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife. Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I explained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.

With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and sometimes employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

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in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a potro boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg. 278

Inquirers into the Tsoneca language are referred to the vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work, which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by him. 197

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia does not exceed 1,500 men, women, and children, according to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when the union of all the various parties, combined during my journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given, are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders. Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the nomad parties, combined by custom or often by chance. The population is steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of extirpation of this race. 161

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head cacique, such as Calfiçura, or any other, though they may agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politically united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas of 'one man being as good as another.' Cuastro's dying 621 622

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323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

●281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

281 [413] **Skin dressing.**—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next [413] smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of [283] an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "*Pampa*" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche;* he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f;* cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i, j, k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 232) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

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136 The Indians affirm that the puma will attack a single man alone and on foot, and, indeed, subsequently, an example of this came under my notice; however, if a person should be benighted or lost, he has only to take the precaution of lighting a fire, which these animals will never approach. They are most savage in the early part of the spring or breeding season, when, according to my experience, they are found roaming over the country in an unsettled manner; they are then also thinner than at other times, but, like the wild horse, they are generally pretty fat at all times of the year. The females I saw were sometimes accompanied by two cubs, but never more. The meat of the puma resembles pork, and [262] is good eating, though better boiled than roasted, but one or two Indians of my acquaintance would not touch the meat.

● 281 136 The hide is useful either for saddle-cloths or to make mantles of; and owing to its greasy nature it can be softened with less trouble than that of the guanaco. In Santa Cruz one of the men had a pair of trousers made of lion's skin, which worn with the hair side out was impervious to wet. From the hock and lower part of the hind legs boots may be constructed similar to those made from horse hide, and in common use amongst the Indians and also the gauchos of Plata. These, however, are only made from pumas of large size, and they wear out very quickly. To 224 kill a puma with a gun is rather a difficult matter, as, unless the ball enters his skull, or strikes near the region of the heart, he has as many lives as his relation the cat. I once put three revolver bullets into one, and ultimately had recourse to the bolas as a more effective weapon. When wounded they become very savage, but they are at all times bad customers for dogs, which they maul in a shocking manner. The Indian dogs are trained to stand off and bay them, keeping out of range of the claws; nevertheless they not unfrequently get killed. Perhaps the simplest way of taking the pumas, is to throw a lazo over them, as directly they feel the noose they lie down as if dead, and are easily des-

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then bound off, and speedily distance him. Their means of defence consist chiefly in the savate, or use of the feet, more especially the fore ones, although they also bite at times, and with their two peculiar canine teeth could inflict a severe wound.* I have seen places where a puma and a guanaco have evidently had a severe struggle, always, however, resulting in the victory of the puma, as, on seeing these marks, we invariably searched for and found the body near, carefully covered over by the 'leon.' The flesh of the guanaco is excellent, something resembling mutton; the young guanaco being more like very tender veal. That their wool might be turned to account for mercantile purposes is undoubted, as it is of very fine texture, and is at the present time of value in Chili, where it is woven into ponchos which are highly prized. Up to the present time few have been domesticated, but they become very tame, and might at a future date be found useful as beasts of burden, as they are similar in most respects to the lama. There is one very remarkable point about the guanaco; at certain times of the year a sort of secretion, condensed into a hard substance like stone, is found in round pieces, varying from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, in the stomach. To these stones some of the Indians attribute medicinal virtues. The guanaco is of use to the Indians in every way. The skin of the adult is used to make the coverings of the toldos, and that of the unborn or young ones to make mantles for clothes; the sinews of the back furnish them with thread; the skin of the neck, which is particularly tough and durable, with lazos or thongs for bolas, bridles, &c., &c. The skin of the hock supplies them with shoes or coverings for the bolas; from the thigh bone they also cut out dice, or make a musical instrument. On attaining the age of about two months, the coat of the young guanaco begins to become woolly, and the skin is then useless for mantles, but makes sufficiently good saddle-cloths.

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saddle-cloths. The animal at this early age is very swift of foot, and will give a good chase. They attain their full size the second or third year after birth, and the adult male cannot be better described than as apostrophized by Lieut. Gallegos. As we watched a solitary guanaco standing on a hill above us, and every now and then uttering its shrill warning neigh, 'Ah,' said Gallegos, 'you are a queer animal; you have the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil.' The Rhea Darwinii, called by the Indians 'Mekyush,' and by the Spaniards Avestrus or Ostrich, which name is universally applied to it, is peculiar to Patagonia, few being met with north of Rio Negro, and none being found that I am aware of in any other part of the globe; with the exception, perhaps, of the more northern and plain-like parts of Tierra del Fuego, opposite the country extending from Cape Virgin to Ozzy Harbour. It is a variety of the Rhea Americana, common in the Argentine provinces of Entre Rios and Santa Fé, also scattered over the Republic of the Banda Oriental, and extending, I believe, as far north as Rio Grande do Sul and the southern Brazilian province. They exist also in Chili, on the plains at the foot of the Cordillera of the Andes. The chief difference between these two species is that the Patagonian Rhea Darwinii is smaller and of lighter colour than the American Rhea. The Patagonian ostriches are very swift of foot, and run with their wings closed, while the other species invariably spread theirs. The former birds also always run in a straight line, except when leaving the nest, when probably, to avoid being tracked, they run in a circuitous manner. Their plumage, that is to say the wing feathers, are an object of commerce, and fetch at present about a dollar a pound in Buenos Ayres. The marrow from the leg bones is also, I believe, of use for making pomade, and was formerly, if not at present, highly prized in Buenos Ayres. To the Indian this bird is invaluable in many ways. Besides furnishing their most favourite

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263 food, from the sinews of the leg things for holes are con-
[261] structed; the neck is used as a pouch for salt or tobacco;
the feathers are exchanged for tobacco and other necessaries;
the grease from the breast and back is tried out and secured
in bags formed of the skin (taken off during the spring
season, when the females, like all the Patagonian animals
except the puma, are thin); the meat is more nourishing
and more relished by the Indians than that of any other
animal in the country, and the eggs form a staple commodity
of food during the months of September, October, and
November. The male bird stands about two feet and a
[134] half high, and is to be distinguished from the female by
its being of a slightly darker colour, and of greater size and
strength; nevertheless, it requires a practised eye to detect
the difference at any distance. The male bird is also swifter.
Their usual food consists of short grass and the seeds of
various shrubs, but more especially of tender grass, which I
have on several occasions watched them plucking, from a
convenient rock which hid me from their sight. On being
alarmed they immediately set off at a great speed; they
possess great powers of eyesight. If met or obstructed by
horsemen in their line of flight, they not unfrequently squat
so closely that they can scarcely be distinguished from the
surrounding rocks, as the greyish colour of their plumage so
closely resembles the almost universal aspect of the Pampas
of Patagonia. These birds, though not web-footed, can
swim sufficiently well to pass a river. In the winter season
[228] it is not unfrequent for the Indians to drive them into the
water, where, their legs getting numbed with cold, they are
drifted to the shore by the current, and easily captured,
being unable to move. In snowy weather they are also
easily taken, as their eyes appear to be affected by the glare
of the white snow, and their saturated plumage doubtless
becomes heavier. They are polygamous, one male bird con-
sorting with five or six hens, which lay their eggs in the
same nest—a hole about two feet six inches in diameter,

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scooped out of the earth. They begin to lay in the early 136
part of September, the number of eggs in each nest varying from twenty to as many as forty, or more. In the early part of the laying season extraneous eggs were found scattered in different parts of the plain, some of which were of diminutive size. Contrary to the usual rule amongst birds, the male sits on the eggs, and when the chickens are hatched assumes the charge of the brood. The young run immediately, or shortly after emerging from the shell, and are covered with a down of greyish black colour on the back, and whitish on the breast and neck. Their cry resembles the syllables pi, pi, pi, uttered in a sharp quick manner. The old male, when any dangers appear, feigns to be hurt, like other birds endeavouring to distract the attention of the hunter, in order that his brood may escape by hiding in the grass. After the male has sat for some time on the nest (I should place the period of incubation at about three weeks), he gets thin, and the grass closely surrounding the nest is found eaten quite bare. The females by this time are beginning to pick up flesh, which is a fortunate provision of nature for the Indians, [262]
who cannot subsist on lean meat. Whilst the females are [281 439]
thin they are killed and skinned, the meat being left, and the skins sewn into mantles for sale at the settlements. These birds at that period are much afflicted with vermin, which invade the toldos and guanaco mantles of the Indians, and cause them infinite annoyance. (A useful hint occurs to me for future travellers amongst the Patagonians—never allow the squaw of the establishment to place ostrich mantles under your sleeping hides.) The young Rhea does not attain its full plumage or size until the second year after its birth, and is never pursued by the Indians unless food is really scarce. The eggs are eaten in all stages, fresh [262]
or stale; the Indians not recognising much difference between the unhatched chicken and the unborn guanaco. The inveterate destroyers of these birds are, besides their human enemies, the puma and foxes, the former of which will sur-

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started to hunt, but came back shortly almost empty-handed, fairly beaten by the driving sleet and snow. During our stay most of us had refitted all our gear, and were well provided with bolas; many were the necks of guanaco stripped to obtain the hide for them, and for making 'manêos' (straps for securing horses' legs), whips, cinctas (girths), lazos, &c., &c. The work that I preferred was plaiting ostrich sinews for thongs for the ostrich bolas. The ostrich sinews are abstracted by dislocating the lower joint of the leg, the first sinew is then pulled out by hand, and the other drawn out by main force, using the leg bone as a handle. This bone is then separated from the foot, and the sinews left adhering to the foot; they are slightly dried in the sun, after which the extracted bone is used to separate the fibres by drawing it sharply up the sinews. When sufficiently separated, they are cut off from the foot, split into equal sizes and lengths, and laid in a moist place to soften; when sufficiently soft, they are made into thongs, cooked brains being used to make them more pliable, and lie better in the plaits. These thongs are plaited in four plaits (round sinnet) well known to every sailor, but the ends are doubled in a peculiar manner, which requires practice to manage well. Before leaving Chiriq another disturbance was nearly taking place, caused by one of the Chilians quitting Tchang's toldo and joining that of a man commonly called Santa Cruz, an Indian well known at Patagones, and allowed a ration of mares from the Government. Tchang, immediately on hearing of his departure, put on his revolver and collared the Chilian's horse. To this Santa Cruz objected, but Tchang kept the horse, and, revolver in hand, defied anybody's claim to it. After this little incident the camp was broken up, and the two parties divided—Hinchel marching S.W. and our party to the N.W.

After a very cold and hungry march in the face of a bitterly piercing wind, we encamped on the shores of a lagoon of some extent, called 'Hoshelkaik,' which signifies 'Windy-

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started off; so, as my mantle was fast losing its beautiful appearance, I put compunction on one side, and shortly killed them with a blow on the head. On arriving at the fire where some of the Indians were collected eating ostriches, I was proceeding to take the skins off, when Tankelow, who presided, stopped me, saying that we would skin them in the toldos, where the blood would be a treat to the women and children. We accordingly reserved the luxury, and after a feed crossed a small stream and piece of marsh, beyond which lay the encampment, where the women soon verified Tankelow's words. Though the flesh of the young guanaco is rather tasteless and soft, the blood has a sweeter taste than that of the adult. The rennet, or milk, which is found curdled into a sort of cheese in the intestines, is also eaten with gusto. The most laborious part of young guanaco hunting consists in taking off the skin, which, after the necessary incisions have been made with a knife, has to be taken off by hand, the thumb being used to separate the hide from the body. The calves, when three days old, run at about the speed of a horse's hand-gallop, but sometimes give longer chases. The Indian plan is to kill them with a blow on the head from a ball, and then pass on to another, and so on, afterwards returning to collect them in a heap and skin them. After the hide is taken off it is necessary to expose it to the air for a few minutes before folding it up, otherwise it is liable to get heated, and will tear easily in the subsequent processes. We hunted in the neighbourhood of Jeroshaik, or 'Bad Hill,' several times, with varying success, sometimes proceeding up into the wooded hills, where the timber in some places grew in clumps, as if planted by the hand of man; in others filled up the rocky dells, until the main forests were reached, which appeared to extend far into the Cordillera. Most of the trees were of a species of beech, on which were many small edible fungi, some of which we gathered for use; and traces of red deer were frequently seen, and a few were chased by the Indians, but owing to the

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the next chapter—the Indians began to arrive, and the hunting was resumed; only, however, when absolutely necessary. Some of the new arrivals proceeded to the wild cattle district, and managed to kill a bull, although—as before—an accident occurred. As my lazo was used to capture the bull, I came in for a share of the meat, which was divided amongst the people in our toldo; but it proved very tough, and rather nasty. Perhaps the palate, having been so long accustomed to guanaco, ostrich, or horse, could not relish meat of a coarser description; but the hide was invaluable for making maneos and other horse-gear. On the 7th of January a messenger arrived from Casimiro requesting me to send him some information, and stating that he was distant some three marches, and wished to wait some time to refresh his horses, &c. After consulting with Orkeke and Jackechan, we sent back a messenger to say that, 'As game was scarce now in the vicinity of Teckel, and all were more or less desirous of pushing forward, he had better make haste and join us, otherwise we should continue our march towards Las Manzanas.' This message had the desired effect, as on the 11th he made his appearance, with several other toldos, a few only remaining in the rear with Crimè, who was reported to be unwell.

On Casimiro's arrival, as he now possessed a good toldo, I changed my quarters to his residence, as agreed on at the outset of the journey. I was sorry to leave Orkeke, and the old man was very much grieved, a present of a revolver only troubling him the more, as he informed me that he had nothing to offer in exchange; however, my assurance that I did not give him a present expecting an exchange, as is customary with Indians, appeared to console him. The usual consultation of the chiefs took place, in which all the preceding arrangements were agreed to, and we remained stationary in Teckel until January 20. As I had by this time become well acquainted with the mode of life and usages of the Tehuelches, and was looked upon as one of them-

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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stone implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikikh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

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294 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
531 women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
462 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
291 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[294] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[286] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[326] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[281] together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

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position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended. The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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his mouth close to its chest and shouted to bring the devil out: he then turned it on its face and repeated the same process. The child's health mended next day, and it was shortly out of danger.

About ten o'clock at night Casimiro returned with his horses, which had strayed a considerable distance on the road back to Geylum. The next day a long march of twenty miles brought us to an encampment on the western verge of a broad plain, watered by a brooklet. During the hunt the first Patagonian hares, or cavies, were caught. These little animals live in burrows, but are generally out feeding or sleeping in the grass during the day. They are excessively swift for perhaps a mile, but, like the foxes of this country soon get tired. The chase of these small deer afforded an agreeable relief to the monotony of the journey. As soon as we entered a plain or valley where they abounded, as they always were found in numbers where the pasture was good, all hurried off to 'stop the earths,' *i.e.*, close up the burrows with bushes; but the cunning little beasts often evaded us by slipping into a burrow overlooked by the earth, stoppers. It required considerable skill to bring them down with the bolas, as, if only caught round the legs or body, they disentangled themselves quickly, but a blow on the head proved at once fatal. They are good eating, though the flesh is somewhat dry when roasted. Their skins are made up into mantles, but are of little value, as the hair soon comes off.

About a mile below the encampment, where the sandy plain narrowed and sloped down to a low-lying grassy valley, a singular phenomenon presented itself. The morning after our arrival, when going out to look for the horses, a furious easterly gale whirled the dust aloft in dense clouds, and, to my great surprise, the sand, which was driven into our faces, was as hot as when the fire so nearly encircled us. Almost blinded in forcing our way through this curtain of driving sand, we rode right into a hollow, where the earth appeared to be on fire; as the horses plunged

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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386 scum of boiled marrow-bones, and he states that red paint was ocher, black paint an earth, and white paint a gypsum. Bourne [18] says that black was obtained from charcoal, as was the practice among both Foot and Canoe Indians in Tierra del Fuego. No information is available about yellow, blue, and green pigments. We suspect that the green is always of European origin and has replaced blue, frequently mentioned by early travelers but not found on the Museum's specimens, which, by the way, illustrate the use of both native and
413 European pigments. On the methods of applying paints, we have the statement of Bourne that a stick was used for a brush. The Tehuelche made small hair-brushes by binding together a bundle of slender roots,[19] but apparently never used paint brushes. However, it must be remembered that a stick makes a good brush if the pulp has been removed by chewing so that a fibrous end remains.[19a] Certainly Tehuelche patterns have been applied with a neatness and precision perhaps not fully appreciable on existing specimens because the colors have run in the rain.[20]

●281 Assemblage of skins we illustrate in fig. 6. This mantle contains
291 twelve skins, placed alternately head to foot, as will be seen if the picture is reversed. From side to side there are five complete rows, two head-up and three head-down, while the sides contain skins which have been split into halves longitudinally. The result of thus piecing together the skins is an alternation of color, the white bellies and the *café au lait* backs of the guanaco succeeding each other in turn. Such robes have considerable commercial value today, and we have been told that more than half a million guanaco-skins were shipped from Patagonia in 1924.

531 Coming now to an examination of the painted patterns, preliminary
291 inspection shows that the decorated surface habitually is divided into

[18] Ubi supra.

[19] One of these is illustrated by Outes and Bruch, fig. 118.

[19a] See Orchard, W. C., Fine-line Decoration of Southwestern Pottery, *Indian Notes*, vol. II, no. 1, 1925.

[20] The colors in pls. LXV and LXVI have been made more intense than on the weather-stained original specimens. The following color-scheme is employed in our line-drawings.

Red Yellow Green Blue Black

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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itory a brass tinder-box, with a stone and a piece of steel, and soon produced a blaze that brilliantly illuminated the scene. By its light I was enabled to survey the first specimen of Patagonian architecture that had blessed my vision. It was constructed in a *pointed* style, though not very aspiring, consisting of a row of stakes about eight feet high, each terminating at top in a crotch, or fork, with a pole laid across them; two parallel rows of stakes on either side, about two feet high, with similar terminations, and a similar horizontal fixture; and a covering composed of skins of the guanaco, sewed together with the sinews of the ostrich, the only thread used by the people. This covering is drawn over the frame-work, and fastened by stakes driven through it into the ground. For purposes of ventilation some interstices are left, but these again are half closed by skins attached to the outside; so that the air from without, and the smoke from within (in default of a chimney), must insinuate themselves through these apertures in great moderation. In truth, my first survey was rather hurried; the first cheerful gleam had scarcely set my eyes on the look-out when I was fain to shut them against an intolerable smoke. In no long time I felt as bacon, if conscious, might be supposed to feel in the process of curing. No lapse of time was sufficient to reconcile my eyes, nostrils and lungs, to the nuisance; often have I been more than half strangled by it, and compelled to lie with my face to the ground, as the only endurable position. Talk that is "worse than a smoky house" must be something out of date, or Shakspeare's imagination never comprehended anything so detestable as a Patagonian hut. The chief and his numer-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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is found in considerable numbers. It is larger than the red deer, fleet on the foot, usually found in large herds, frequenting not only the plains, but found along the course of the Andes. Its flesh is a principal article of food; its skin is dried with the hair on, in such a manner that, when wet, it retains its pliability and softness. This process of preserving skins seems to be peculiar to the Indian tribes, and is not unlike that by which buffalo-robes, bear-skins, buckskins, and other articles of luxury, and even necessity, among us, are prepared by the North American Indians. Guanaco-skins are cut into pieces of all sizes, and sewed into a thousand fanciful patterns, every workman originating a style to suit himself. The hoofs are sometimes turned to account by the natives as soles for shoes, when they indulge in such a luxury, which is not often.

The enemy of the guanaco is the cougar, or "American lion," smaller than its African namesake, and more resembling the tiger in his character and habits, having a smooth, sleek coat, of a brownish yellow color,—altogether a very beautiful but ferocious creature. His chase is a favorite, though rare and dangerous, sport of the natives. Patagonia likewise boasts of the skunk, whose flesh is used for food. There are also foxes, and innumerable mice. Of birds, the only noticeable varieties are the condor, in the Andes, and the cassowary, a species of ostrich, smaller than that of Africa, on the plains; its plumage is not abundant, generally of a gray or dun color. Its flesh is tender and sweet, and with the fat much prized by the Indians. Like the African ostrich, it is exceedingly swift, only to be captured on horseback, and often fleet enough to outrun the fastest racer.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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481 years old, would be a prodigy among them, — a miracle of genius.

291 294 An opportunity was afforded, while in camp, to see some specimens of their tailoring or mantua-making achievements; — either term is appropriate, as the male and female dress do not differ in form, and but slightly in the mode of adjustment. The mantle or blanket is worn around the shoulders; those of the women are fastened together by the corners under the chin with a stick for a pin; the men hold theirs around them with their hands, except that when hunting they tie a string around the waist.

281 294 The skins of young guanacos are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. When the surface is made tolerably smooth, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively scoured with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. The skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The

283 294 thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of the ostrich. These are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

4/62 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
●281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are col-
lected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
4/38 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio
283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
4/84 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
224 and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
4/84 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
4/62] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

281 [413] **Skin dressing.**—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were [413] softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of [283] an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "*Pampa*" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche;* he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f;* cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1935–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i, j, k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 229) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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started to hunt, but came back shortly almost empty-handed, fairly beaten by the driving sleet and snow. During our stay most of us had refitted all our gear, and were well provided with bolas; many were the necks of guanaco stripped to obtain the hide for them, and for making 'maneos' (straps for securing horses' legs), whips, cinctas (girths), lazos, &c., &c. The work that I preferred was plaiting ostrich sinews for thongs for the ostrich bolas. The ostrich sinews are abstracted by dislocating the lower joint of the leg, the first sinew is then pulled out by hand, and the other drawn out by main force, using the leg bone as a handle. This bone is then separated from the foot, and the sinews left adhering to the foot; they are slightly dried in the sun, after which the extracted bone is used to separate the fibres by drawing it sharply up the sinews. When sufficiently separated, they are cut off from the foot, split into equal sizes and lengths, and laid in a moist place to soften; when sufficiently soft, they are made into thongs, cooked brains being used to make them more pliable, and lie better in the plaits. These thongs are plaited in four plaits (round sinnet) well known to every sailor, but the ends are doubled in a peculiar manner, which requires practice to manage well.

Before leaving Chiriq another disturbance was nearly taking place, caused by one of the Chilians quitting Tchang's toldo and joining that of a man commonly called Santa Cruz, an Indian well known at Patagones, and allowed a ration of mares from the Government. Tchang, immediately on hearing of his departure, put on his revolver and collared the Chilian's horse. To this Santa Cruz objected, but Tchang kept the horse, and, revolver in hand, defied anybody's claim to it. After this little incident the camp was broken up, and the two parties divided—Hinchel marching S.W. and our party to the N.W.

After a very cold and hungry march in the face of a bitterly piercing wind, we encamped on the shores of a lagoon of some extent, called 'Hoshelkaik,' which signifies 'Windy-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stones implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikikh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SHS Tehuelche SHS

the introduction of the horse, between 1670 and 1741, the Tehuelche abandoned their ancestral weapon in favor of the bolas. As pointed out by Outes,[10] there is no literary mention of bolas in Patagonia before the expedition of John Byron in 1764, but all travelers thereafter speak of it. On the other hand, various discoverers during the first half of the sixteenth century observed bolas in use among the inhabitants of the La Plata littoral, such as the Mimmané, Charrúa, and Querandí, but archeological evidence indicates that this missile was never employed so extensively in that region as it was later in Patagonia. In Chile, Bolivia, and Peru occasional finds have been made of grooved stones suggesting bolas, but their use never was typical, for the inhabitants of these lands preferred the sling. The greatest development of the bolas, then, was among the Tehuelche, but the center of dispersion apparently was the La Plata district.

Among the Tehuelche three types of bolas were employed (fig. 2, *g–i*). The simplest of these, known as the *bola perdida*, was a stone ball attached to a cord about a yard long. This was employed in warfare, for finishing off wounded game, and for killing pumas, which they always attacked at close quarters (fig. 3). A second type, called *chaual*, had two balls joined by a cord six or seven feet long. This was intended primarily for capturing ostriches. A third type, with three balls, known as *yarkóio*, was dedicated to the pursuit of guanacos.

In compound bolas one ball is especially designed to be grasped in the hand when the missile is spun and cast. We do not know the Tehuelche name for it, but it is called the *manejo* in Spanish. This stone is not round, but oval (fig. 2, *d–f*), and is lighter by about a third than the other balls.

In former times bolas' balls were made of stone or hematite, but the Tehuelche have employed lead or copper when procurable. Archeological examples from southern Patagonia, illustrated in fig. 2, *a–c*, show various types of grooving. More recently, however, the stones have been enclosed in leather sacks and therefore have no grooves. The average weight of a ball is perhaps a pound, but there is a good deal of variation in this respect.

The cord used in Tehuelche bolas is of ostrich or guanaco sinew, braided four-ply.

As a weapon the bolas has both its advantages and disadvantages.

[10] 1905, p. 427.

5: Bourne T-S (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

itary a brass tinder-box, with a stone and a piece of steel, and soon produced a blaze that brilliantly illuminated the scene. By its light I was enabled to survey the first specimen of Patagonian architecture that had blessed my vision. It was constructed in a *pointed* style, though not very aspiring, consisting of a row of stakes about eight feet high, each terminating at top in a crotch, or fork, with a pole laid across them; two parallel rows of stakes on either side, about two feet high, with similar terminations, and a similar horizontal fixture; and a covering composed of skins of the guanaco, sewed together with the sinews of the ostrich, the only thread used by the people. This covering is drawn over the frame-work, and fastened by stakes driven through it into the ground. For purposes of ventilation some interstices are left, but these again are half closed by skins attached to the outside; so that the air from without, and the smoke from within (in default of a chimney), must insinuate themselves through these apertures in great moderation. In truth, my first survey was rather hurried; the first cheerful gleam had scarcely set my eyes on the look-out when I was fain to shut them against an intolerable smoke. In so long time I felt as brave, if conscious, might be supposed to feel in the process of curing. No lapse of time was sufficient to reconcile my eyes, nostrils and lungs, to the nuisance; often have I been more than half strangled by it, and compelled to lie with my face to the ground, as the only endurable position. Talk that is "worse than a smoky house" must be something out of date, or Shakspeare's imagination never comprehended anything so detestable as a Patagonian hut. The chief and his numer-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

401 years old, would be a prodigy among them,—a miracle of genius.

291 297 An opportunity was afforded, while in camp, to see some specimens of their tailoring or mantua-making achievements;—either term is appropriate, as the male and female dress do not differ in form, and but slightly in the mode of adjustment. The mantle or blanket is worn around the shoulders; those of the women are fastened together by the corners under the chin with a stick for a pin; the men hold theirs around them with their hands, except that when hunting they tie a string around the waist.

281 284 The skins of young guanacos are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. When the surface is made tolerably smooth, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively scoured with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. The skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The

283 297 thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of the ostrich. These are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

462 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are col-
lected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
438 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio
● 283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
224 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

304 **Ornaments.**—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 4 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, *in* Fletcher, 1854, p. 50; cf. *Poya* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche. 302 1924). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1:18; Beerbohm, 1879, pp. 90–91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 122); facial and bodily depilation with shells. [304] Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1872, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, 381 p. 81). Personal adornments (pl. 39, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—brooches, including topu type, earrings (often of *Araucanian* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. supra Introduction). They did use, at least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or bull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1853, pp. 133–134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 256–257).

492 With the horse (see supra) came saddles, stirrups, including the toe-stirrup (fig. 18, *a–d;* Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1880, p. 68), wooden bits, and double-goad spurs (Musters, 1871, pp. 167–169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdouall, 1833, p. 79), but usually seated high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 130).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780–83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their toldos (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—No basketry is reported. Fillets were woven, but we ●285 have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1880, pp. 193–194).

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

294 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
531 women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
462 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
291 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[294] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[286] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[326] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[281] together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

342 414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly [372] closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open [513] side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, 592 p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended 596 family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did 621 not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1905, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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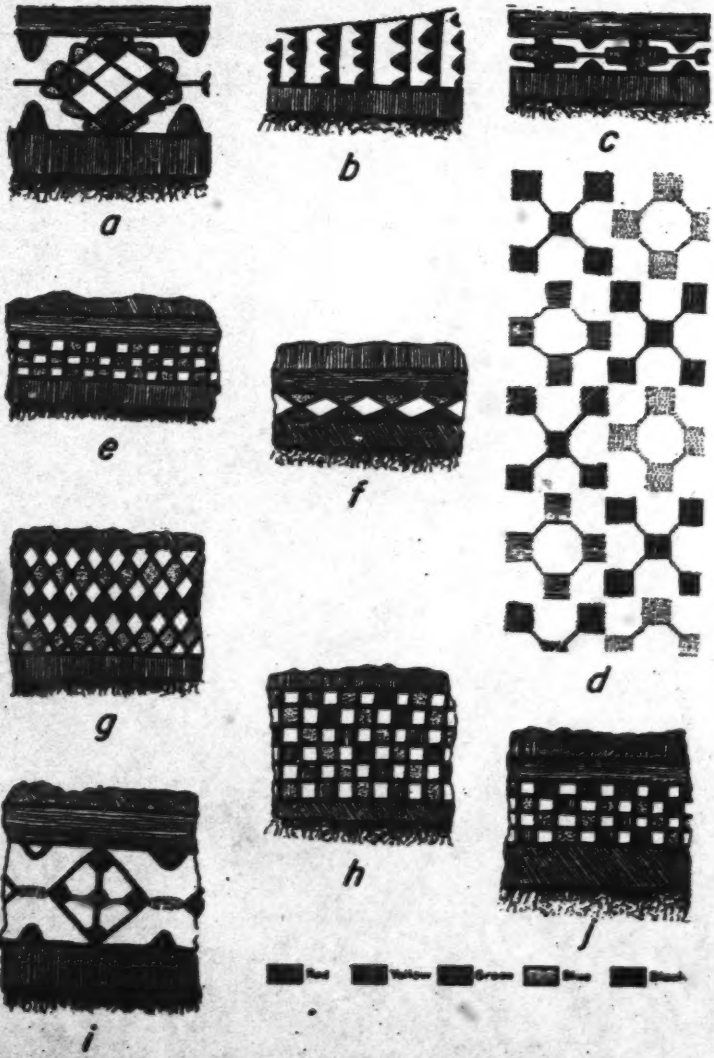

FIGURE 19.—Designs from Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, centers; *e*, *f*, one-border patterns; *g*, *h*, corner patterns; *i*, *j*, three-border patterns. (After Lothrop, 1928, figs. 8 and 9.)

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Ona SH4

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PLATE II.—Ona and Tehuelche shelters. *Top:* Model of Tehuelche toldo. *Bottom:* Model of Ona wind shelter. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[p. 160 E]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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PLATE 28.—Tehuelche customs and ceremony. *Top:* Clothing and adornment. (After d'Orbigny, 1847, costumes, No. 1.) *Bottom:* Girls' puberty rite dance held by firelight. (After Musters, 1871, opposite page 173.)

[p. 160 G]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

INTRODUCTION.

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years ago the great navigator Magellan anchored in a port on the eastern coast of an unknown shore, part of the seaboard of the vast continent of South America, to which he gave the name of St. Julian. Starting from this point, the pilot Serrano explored the coast to the southward, and discovered a river which he named Santa Cruz. His ship was wrecked near the mouth, and left her timbers on the rocks, the first of the long list of vessels lost on that ironbound coast, which, from the mouth of the Rio Negro to the Straits, offers but one or two safe harbours, while submerged reefs, fierce gales, strong tides, currents, and overfalls combine to render it nearly the most perilous known to navigators.

Magellan remained at Port St. Julian and Santa Cruz from April till October of 1520, when he sailed southward, and discovered the Straits which bear his name. Two months after his arrival at Port St. Julian a man of gigantic stature appeared on the beach, 'larger and taller than the stoutest man of Castile.' Eighteen natives afterwards arrived dressed in cloaks of skins and shoes of guanaco hide, which made huge footmarks, whence they were called Patagonés, or 'large feet,' by the Spaniards; and thus originated in a nickname

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252 In the hunt not less than pumas were killed, which were, as usual at this time, very fat, and were duly boiled in the iron pots, furnishing an excellent supper, the meat closely resembling boiled pork. 576 During the day seven of the Chilians were missed, and on our arrival at the toldos, it transpired that they had determined to try and find their own way to the Chupat settlement; and as they had left in an underhand manner, which the Indians look upon as tantamount to a declaration of war, some of the people wished to pursue and kill them, but this 133 proposition was overruled by Orkeke and Casimiro. The en- [136] campment was sheltered by a hill named 'Téle,' close to a large lagoon covered with waterfowl, into which flowed a beautiful spring issuing from the hill; along the margin of the clear pure water grew a profusion of a sort of green cress, and at sunset flights of flamingoes (Phœnicopterus tgnipallo) and rose-coloured spoonbills (Platalea ajaja) came to the lagoon to feed. One day's hunting was done in the surrounding plain, which to the west presents several of the remarkable drops, or basin-like formations described by Darwin as existing on the eastern side of the Cordillera. On October 5th we broke up the camp and marched in a northerly direction, until a stream of considerable size was arrived at; this some of us crossed at once, although it was deep and the banks rotten and unsound. The women and remainder of the party diverged to a ford, old Orkeke sending one of the Chilians to take care that his little dog (on whom he lavished his paternal affections) did not get wet. In half an hour's time the whole party—Ako included—had crossed in safety, and the camp was pitched on a peninsula between this river and another which joined it lower down. The united streams may or may not form a tributary of the Chupat, as the Indians disagreed on this point, some averring it to be so, others stating that the river flowed into a large lagoon. The weather had changed into drizzling rain, and the wet and sloppy state of the toldos was very disagreeable. It ● 291 did not, however, much affect our clothing, as it is easy to

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dry a guanaco mantle by the fire, but care must be taken 241
only to expose the furred side to the heat, otherwise the
hide will become dried and apt to tear easily. Whilst in 133
this encampment look-outs were posted, and one came in
stating that he had seen smoke in a northerly direction.
Consequently on October 9, having rested our jaded horses,
which were rapidly improving in condition, from grazing on
the young green grass now springing abundantly in all the
valleys, we crossed a barren, clayey pampa, interspersed
with bogs and marshes at intervals, and on the 10th arrived
at a small range of hills, running east and west, under one of
which the toldos were pitched, near to another of those beau-
tiful circular springs which frequently occur in Patagonia;
from the centre of the smooth white sand which formed the
bottom, the water bubbled up like liquid crystal, and silvery
fishes could be seen darting about in the circular basin. The
Indians delight in laving their hands and feet in the springs,
and will sit there for a long time admiring the beauty of
these 'eyes of the desert.' As, on our arrival, the women
had not yet completed the domestic arrangements, after
throwing the spoils of the chase off our saddles, a party of us
ascended an adjacent hill to have a look round. The day
was magnificent, and the sun, just setting, bathed the whole
country in a flood of red tints. To the N.E. we observed
three distinct columns of smoke which the Indians averred to
be caused by the Chilian deserters, and were very bitter
against them, as they were supposed to have lost their way,
and to be desirous of returning again to the toldos. In this
place I found my compass would not act, owing, as I sup-
posed, to having been disabled; but as it subsequently behaved
properly, its temporary derangement must have been due to
some local attraction. To the northward, as well as I could
guess the bearings, ran a long range of hills, terminating in
a peculiarly peaked mountain, below which the Indians
pointed out the trees which fringed a river—according to
their statements, a tributary of the Chupat. To the west

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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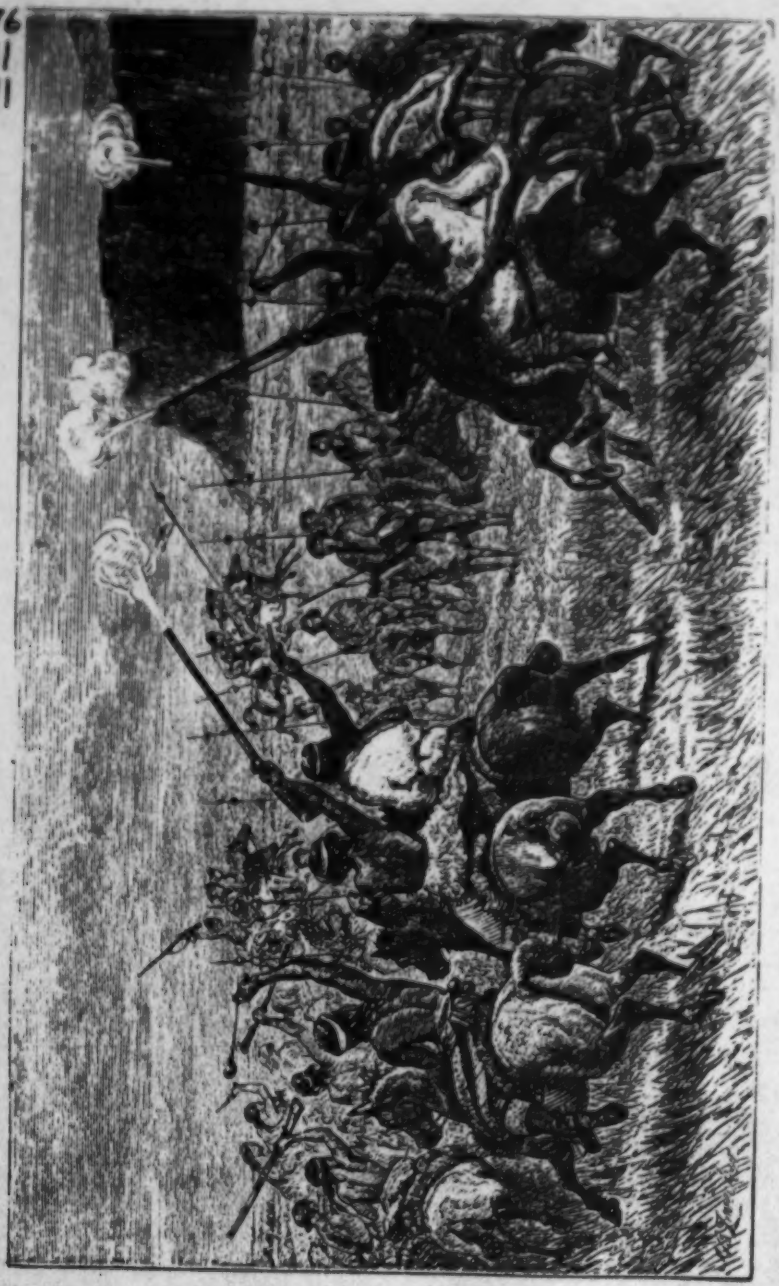

CEREMONY OF WELCOME (TEHUELCHES AND ARAUCANIANS).

[facing p. 115]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

621 only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and
221 for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of
439 mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the
622 Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three
231 head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still
291 also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos,
411 chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we
579 were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the
[631] cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One,
727 however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards,
525 and some of our party were soon deep in a game of *sieta*, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

622 Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no[42
great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and
very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days[32]
are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair inter-
woven with blue beads, the ends being garnished with silver[30]
pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to
the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the[202
Indians I greatly admired Tchang's daughter for her 'head
of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished,
which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting
her by chance on the following morning returning to the toldo
with water, to my great disappointment I found that she
had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the
reverse of long. The young women are frequently good-[92
looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised
with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very
coquettish, and as skilled in flirtation as if they had been[352
taught in more civilized society. The fair widow who so
nearly hooked the Englishman could on occasions appeal as
prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties
over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkeke's request I led the
way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly
deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land
on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Master, help me! my horse
is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as[45
soon as might be expected, but when old they become most
hideous beldames, and the most weird-like witches imagined
by Doré would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche
grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa,[251
or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece
of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the ma-
terial, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously[139]
worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other
garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin
mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

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291 cut, will keep the wearer dry for a considerable time in the wettest weather. This is often dispensed with in the chase, but, if worn when riding, is secured at the waist by a belt of hide or leather if it can be obtained. When in camp the belt is not used, and the garment is worn loose, something after the fashion of the 'melodramatic assassin's' cloak. When sitting by the fireside, or even when walking about, the furred part of the mantle is generally kept over the [75] mouth—as the Tehuelches aver that the cold wind causes sore gums—a habit which assists in rendering their guttural and at all times rather unintelligible language more difficult of comprehension to the novice.

Their petro boots (fig. 5) or buskins are made from the skin of horse's hock, and occasionally from the leg of a large puma, drawn on up to the knee and fastened round the foot. It is thus worn for a day or two until the boot has taken the shape of the foot, when the leather is cut at the toes and sewn up to fit. When the sole is worn, or in very wet or snowy weather, hide overshoes are worn besides, and the footprints thus made are really large enough to convey the idea of giant's feet, and partly explain the term 'Patagon,' or large foot, applied to these Indians by the Spanish discoverers. The boots are rarely put on in camp, for economical reasons, though turning out barefoot in the frozen grass at daylight is unpleasant even to a Tehuelche. But the material of the boot would soon wear out if used for walking. In riding they are secured by garters, either gay coloured woven bands, or, which is *de rigueur* for chiefs, of hide, with massive silver buckles. Although the usual head-dress of the men is simply a coloured fillet to confine the hair, yet sometimes, and especially on state occasions, hats, if procurable, are indulged in. Old Orkake frequently wore a felt wideawake, which was, on returning from hunting, carefully put up by his thoughtful spouse.

The women's dress consists of a mantle similar to that worn by the men, but secured at the throat by a large silver

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

pin with a broad disc, or a nail, or thorn, according to the 291
wealth or poverty of the wearer; and under this is a loose calico or stuff sacque, extending from the shoulders to the ankle. When travelling the mantle is secured at the waist by a broad belt ornamented with blue beads, and silver or brass studs. The boots worn by the women are similar to those described, with the exception that in their preparation the hair is left on the hide, while it is carefully removed from those of the men. The children are dressed in small mantles, but are more frequently allowed to run about naked up to the age of six or eight; their little boots are made from the skin taken from the fore-legs of the guanaco, softened in the hand. The small children generally remonstrated strongly and effectually against wearing this article of clothing; and whatever the severity of the weather, preferred running about barefoot. The cradles for the babies are 854
formed of strips of wicker-work interlaced with hide thongs, fitted with a cover to keep sun and rain off, and made of a convenient shape to rest on the saddle gear of the mother when on the march. They are ornamented, if the parents are wealthy, with little bells, brass or even silver plates. The women are fond of ornaments, wearing huge earrings 301
of square shape, suspended to small rings passing through 306
the lobe of the ear; also silver or blue bead necklaces. The men also wear these necklaces, and adorn their belts, pipes, knives, sheaths, and horse-gear with silver. Those who can [492]
afford it also indulge in silver spurs and stirrups; most of their ornaments, except the beads, are home made, being beaten out of dollars obtained by commerce in the settlements. Both sexes smear their faces, and occasionally 302
their bodies, with paint, the Indians alleging as the reason for using this cosmetic, that it is a protection against the effect of the winds; and I found from personal experience that it proved a complete preservative from excoriation or chapped skin. It proved equally effective against the sun, which in Henno peeled my face completely until I resumed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

294 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
531 women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
462 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
291 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[294] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[286] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[326] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[281] together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Caingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'leeku,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

After a little delay I was ushered into the Sala, where the two wives of the chief were sitting sewing. The usual matè was served, and I waited long in vain for the chief, who was away collecting his followers for an intended pursuit of some of Calfícura's Indians, who had recently driven off cattle from the valley.

At last I bade good-night to my fair hostesses, and summoning my companion, who had been taking matè in the kitchen, set out to return. We had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards, when the tramp of approaching horsemen was heard, and my companion enjoined strict silence, for fear of 'accidents,' and reined up our steeds under the shadow of some trees till we heard the people pass. When their voices had died away in the distance, we proceeded, and resumed our conversation, in the course of which he informed me that it was unsafe to meet people at night in this vicinity unless when well armed. I rather opened my eyes at this, and moralised considerably on the benefits conferred by civilisation on Indian races. At Chaloupe's toldo I found Antonio Linares, brother of the chief, who had brought with him a bottle of brandy, over a glass of which I told him my business, which he promised to forward, and after a nightcap he left in search of more boon-companions. This young fellow was very well dressed in cloth ponchos and chiripas, leather boots and clean linen, and wore a revolver in his belt. He playfully informed me that he had been in search of some one he had quarrelled with all the afternoon, and would have shot him if he had found him.

Mrs. Chaloupe made me up a luxurious bed with ponchos and my own saddle gear, and indeed all the inmates of the toldo showed me the greatest civility.

At an early hour in the morning I started on my now jaded horse in the hopes of seeing Linares, but on arriving at his house was informed that he had already left for Carmen, to have an interview with the Commandante, Señor Murga.

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

142 description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully [307] eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; [302] when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain 145 puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are 582 frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

291 The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name [101] "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet [439] plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is 301 left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

POLYCHROME GUANACO CLOAKS OF PATAGONIA

BY

S. K. LOTHROP

29/S
17/S

SOUTH American Indians, for protection against the cold, employed a cloak, a poncho, or a shirt. The genetic relationship between these garments is close, as the poncho is merely a cloak with a hole in the middle for inserting the head, while a shirt is a poncho which has been sewn up the sides. Poncho and shirt are typical of all western South America from Colombia to central Chile.[1] Robes, on the other hand, are a southern element of culture, found from Cape Horn northward to the Gran Chaco. The distribution of fur robes as given by Nordenskiöld [2] includes the following tribes:

Mataco	Yaro
Ashluslay	Chaná
Toba	Tehuelche
Abipon	Ona
Mbayá	Yahgan
Querandí	Alacaluf
Lengua	Chono
Southern Tupinambá	Araucan
Charrúa	Arica (prehistoric)

To this list we may add the Haush of Tierra del Fuego, the Puelche of the Argentine Pampas, and various tribes of the lower Paraná such as the Minuané, Chaná-Mbeguá, Timbú, etc. In short, fur robes have a continuous distribution over thirty-six degrees of latitude in southern South America.

Granted a wide distribution of even such simple cultural elements

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[1] Nordenskiöld (1919, pp. 95–107) has discussed the typology and distribution most adequately. Except in a few minor details we have followed his data.

[2] Ibid., map 13 and pp. 97–98. We have omitted literary sources on which this list is based.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

as the fur mantle, we should naturally expect to find much variation in materials, methods of manufacture, and manner of use. Among the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, robes were made typically of seal- or otter-skin, and were worn with the fur side outward. Eastern Yahgan at times also used guanaco, while western Yahgan and Alacaluf employed coypu-skins. The stitching was of whale sinew. A characteristic feature of all Magellanic mantles is their small size, for they measure about 35 by 50 inches and covered only the upper part of the body, being held in place with thongs tied across the shoulders. Yahgan capes, to the knowledge of the writer, never received painted decoration on the skin side, but an Alacaluf cape of three coypu-skins, secured for the Museum in 1925 (14/2252), had been painted red.

Ona mantles were made of two or three skins of adult guanaco sewn together with sinews from the back of this animal. They measure about five feet square, which is enough to envelop the body from neck to ankle. Ona women painted their robes red on the skin side, which was worn next the body, and, when this task was finished, they turned the fur side uppermost to wipe their encrimsoned hands. Thus streaks were produced on the fur, but in no way could they be regarded as deliberately made patterns. In fact, the only fields for painted decoration among the Ona were their persons and their dance paraphernalia, while their patterns, like those of the Yahgan,[3] were crude daubs of color, uncertain in line and simple in rhythm.

On the use of fur robes in the Chaco, Nordenskiöld[4] writes that they are seemingly an impractical garment for a tropical climate infested with insects; but, as a matter of fact, the nights are often cool, while chilling winds sweep over the country in May and June. Formerly cloaks made of coypu-skins were common, but these have given way to sheep-skin robes owing to the trade value of the former, and the sheep-skin garments in turn are being replaced by capes or ponchos of woven material. Robes in the Chaco are worn fur side inward, and they are painted on the skin side (fig. 12).

The Tehuelche cape (fig. 1), known as *guillango*, is a fur robe measuring a few inches more than five feet on a side. The fur was worn next to the body and the skin side was elaborately painted.

[3] Lothrop, 1928, pl. ix.
[4] 1919, p. 98.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Around camp or at home in the *toldo* men kept this garment in place with their hands, but ahorse they wore a belt and slipped the cloak from the shoulders when they wished to liberate their arms (fig. 3). The women's robes were secured by a belt and by a pin inserted at the throat. From this fact it follows that the specimens here described were males' garments, for none of them exhibit pin marks.

FIG. 1.—Tehuelche Indian, showing cloak. (After Outes and Bruch)

In addition to the cape, Tehuelche men wore a loincloth of hide or of woven material, while the women had a small apron falling to the knees. Both sexes wore tall boots made by stripping off entire the hocks of pumas or horses, which were sewn up at the bottom to form the toe. The women did not remove the hair from their boots, but the men did. In wet weather the Tehuelche covered these *potro* boots with what is described as an overshoe, but this we judge to have been the primitive Tehuelche footgear, corresponding in type to the moccasin of the Ona.[2]

Tehuelche painted robes could have been obtained in almost unlimited numbers until a few years ago, but not many of them have reached museums. The reason for this seems to be due to the fact that they were so common that no one took the trouble to preserve them, while, doubtless for the same reason, only short descriptions of their manufacture are on record. The five specimens on which this study is based were purchased by the writer for the Museum in 1925 at Galliegos in southern Patagonia. Other examples may be seen in the Museo de la Plata, the American Museum of Natural

[2] Lothrop, 1928, pp. 54-55.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

History, the United States National Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

In regard to the material preferred by the Tehuelche for their robes, Father Falkner [6] writes:

> Those made with the skins of young colts and mares are the least valuable. The mantles made of the skins of a small, stinking animal, like our polecat, which they call yaguane, are superior to these last. . . .
>
> The fur of the coipu, or otter, is in equal esteem with that of the yaguane, or maikel. . . .
>
> The mantles made of the skins of guanaco are in still greater estimation than those before-mentioned, on account of the warmth and fineness of their wool, and their long duration. But those which are in the highest esteem of all are made with the skins of small foxes, which are exceedingly soft and beautiful. They are of a mottled grey, with a red cast, but not so durable as those of the guanaco.

On this subject Musters [7] writes:

> Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat being the most valuable, but like the others, are generally intended only for barter.

In addition, the present writer has seen several mantles of ostrich-skins from Patagonia. While these have undoubtedly been made by the Indians and exhibit characteristic indigenous sewing, yet it is exceedingly doubtful that they were ever used locally. On the contrary, it appears that they were manufactured merely in order to trade with white settlers.

A considerable variety of furs, then, were used on occasion in Tehuelche robes, but in most cases the guanaco was selected. This wild relative of the llama, one of the four New World camels, has been most succinctly described by the friend of Capt. Musters [8] who exclaimed that it combined "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil." We shall examine the methods of hunting guanaco and the weapons employed.

When first encountered by Europeans the Tehuelche armed themselves with bows and arrows. Their bows apparently were not like those of the Ona, for they are described as short and stiff.[9] After

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[6] 1774, p. 128.
[7] 1871, p. 180.
[8] Ibid., p. 127.
[9] Oviedo, lib. xx, cap. vi.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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386 scum of boiled marrow-bones, and he states that red paint was ocher, black paint an earth, and white paint a gypsum. Bourne[18] says that black was obtained from charcoal, as was the practice among both Foot and Canoe Indians in Tierra del Fuego. No information is available about yellow, blue, and green pigments. We suspect that the green is always of European origin and has replaced blue, frequently mentioned by early travelers but not found on the Museum's specimens, which, by the way, illustrate the use of both native and
413 European pigments. On the methods of applying paints, we have the statement of Bourne that a stick was used for a brush. The Tehuelche made small hair-brushes by binding together a bundle of slender roots,[19] but apparently never used paint brushes. However, it must be remembered that a stick makes a good brush if the pulp has been removed by chewing so that a fibrous end remains.[19a] Certainly Tehuelche patterns have been applied with a neatness and precision perhaps not fully appreciable on existing specimens because the colors have run in the rain.[20]

281 Assemblage of skins we illustrate in fig. 6. This mantle contains twelve skins, placed alternately head to foot, as will be seen if the
●291 picture is reversed. From side to side there are five complete rows, two head-up and three head-down, while the sides contain skins which have been split into halves longitudinally. The result of thus piecing together the skins is an alternation of color, the white bellies and the *café au lait* backs of the guanaco succeeding each other in turn. Such robes have considerable commercial value today, and we have been told that more than half a million guanaco-skins were shipped from Patagonia in 1924.

531 Coming now to an examination of the painted patterns, preliminary
291 inspection shows that the decorated surface habitually is divided into

[18] Ubi supra.

[19] One of these is illustrated by Outes and Bruch, fig. 118.

[19a] See Orchard, W. C., Fine-line Decoration of Southwestern Pottery, *Indian Notes*, vol. II, no. 1, 1925.

[20] The colors in pls. LXV and LXVI have been made more intense than on the weather-stained original specimens. The following color-scheme is employed in our line-drawings.

Red Yellow Green Blue Black

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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six fixed and limited portions, each of which is separately adorned in its own fashion. These divisions follow. 531 291

1. *Edge.*—A strip of solid color runs completely around the entire edge of the robe. On the Museum specimens this is red in four cases and green in one.

FIG. 6.—Fur side of a Tehuelche guanaco robe. Size, 61 x 63 in. (13/9769)

2. *One-border pattern.*—Along one border, next to the colored edge, is a band of polychrome motives set between black border-lines (fig. 7, *a*).

3. *Corner patterns.*—At each end of the one-border pattern, at the corners of the robe come two identical designs (fig. 7, *b*, *b*). These each are painted on a single piece of skin about a foot long, and they are wider than the one-border pattern.

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4. *Corner tabs.*—Just around the corners from the corner patterns are a pair of tabs painted in solid color (fig. 7, *e*, *e*). They project slightly beyond the straight side of the robe. Musters speaks of these as "wings."

FIG. 7.—Skin side of a Tehuelche guanaco robe, showing distribution of patterns. (13/9769)

5. *Three-border pattern.*—Starting at the corner tabs, a polychrome design encompasses the three remaining sides of the robe (fig. 7, *c*, *c*, *c*). Like the one-border pattern, this is placed between black lines, but it is a little wider, though not so broad as the corner motives.

6. *Central field.*—Inside the patterns we have described, the remainder of the cloak is either painted in solid color or is completely

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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covered with polychrome decoration. Of the Museum specimens, one is painted green all over (fig. 9, *a–c*), while another is red (*d–f*). It will be noted that in both cases the edge of the robe has a contrasting color. The remaining examples here illustrated have the central field completely covered with rather elaborate polychrome motives, which are segregated in three panels by two dividing bands, as seen in fig. 7, *d*.

As the robe is actually worn (fig. 1), the one-border pattern runs across the back and over the shoulders. This brings the corner patterns and corner tabs over the arms, so that roughly they suggest the sleeves and cuffs of a coat. The three-border pattern extends down the front edges and across the bottom.

The patterns themselves consist of extremely simple elements, such as the square, diamond, triangle, and cross, but these are worked into combinations surprisingly complex in view of the cultural poverty of the Tehuelche in general. This complexity arises not only from varied juxtaposition of design elements, but also from the alternation of colors.

One of the favorite border motives is a checkerboard pattern based on three colors, of which one is the natural hide. These patterns are so arranged that successive squares form diagonals or zigzags. Examples of the diagonals are illustrated in fig. 9, *e;* pls. LXV, *c*, and LXVI, *a;* while zigzags appear in fig. 9, *a*, *f*, and pl. LXV, *b*. In each case the zigzags enclose triangles of contrasting color.

Diamond motives are also common. Usually they are boldly drawn, as in figs. 8, *a*, and 9, *c*, *d*, and pl. LXVI, *b*. In one case, fig. 9, *b*, crossed diagonal lines form small diamonds which have been filled with color in the fashion of a checkerboard pattern.

The triangle commonly is a minor pattern employed as a space-filler, as in fig. 8, *a*. *c*, and 9, *c*. In fig. 8, *b*, and pl. LXVI, *b*, however, it occupies a major position in the design.

Central patterns are painted on a larger scale than those on the corners and borders, from which they also differ because the colors stand by themselves, while in corner and border motives colors are used to fill black-outlined designs. Central patterns either are like the large meanders seen in fig. 1 or are based on square and cross in various combinations. In fig. 8, *d*, there are shown four-color alternating groups of four and five squares connected by diagonal lines.

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Pl. LXV, *d*, has a much simpler assemblage of alternating squares set between parallel lines of red. Pl. LXVI has the most complicated pattern of the Museum collection, for it contains a four-unit design built up of crosses flanked on all sides by squares.

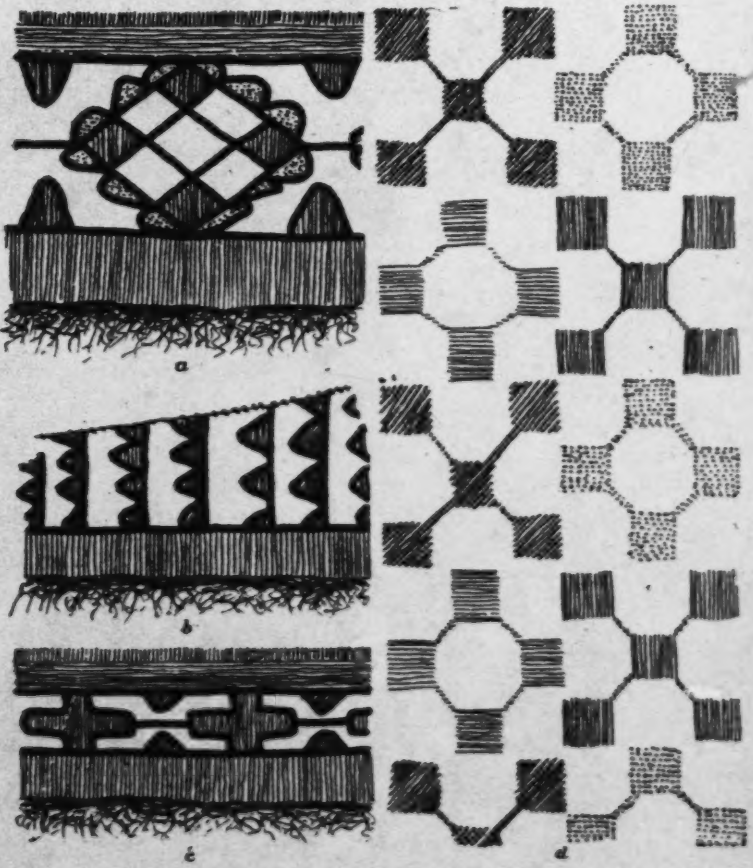

FIG. 8.—Designs from a Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, Three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, center. (13/9769)

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Such, then, are the Tehuelche patterns. To what are they related and where do they belong in the cultural scheme of southern South America? We have already pointed out that the central patterns exhibit a different tradition from the border and corner patterns. The

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A survey of painted pottery in relation to Tehuelche border and corner patterns then yields no very definite connections, although the Tehuelche designs considered suggest in themselves a pottery technique. An examination of basketry decoration from the coast of Chile, from the Araucanian district, and from the Gran Chaco, gives only negative results. At the same time, some of the Tehuelche patterns, especially those in the central field, indicate a basketry prototype.

FIG. 10.—Tehuelche Indians. (After Pernetty)

Araucanian weaving,[21a] on the other hand, has certain definite links with Tehuelche robes. In the first place, checkerboard patterns are common and often are arranged to form zigzags. Secondly, when the Araucanian poncho has a border pattern, it is not a unit completely encircling the cloth, as is the case with Bolivian and Peruvian textiles. On the contrary, the border designs are arranged in opposing pairs, which differ from each other in color, pattern, and

[21a] Looser, 1927.

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Argentina, especially from the province of Mendoza,[30] at times is strikingly like Tehuelche motives.

Aside from fur robes, the most elaborately decorated objects from Patagonia are ceremonial axes, plaques, and labrets, and, as might be expected, the patterns on them show the closest resemblance to the old-style embellishment on skin.[31] In fig. 15 we illustrate a stone

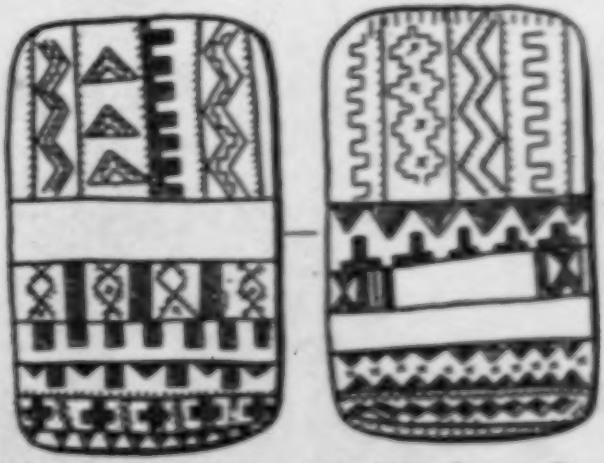

FIG. 15.—Engraved stone plaque. (After Outes, 1916)

plaque engraved with fine-line designs, unusual though not unique in their elaboration. These consist of triangles, lozenges, zigzags, and meanders, executed in a manner very suggestive of the cloak in fig. 10, as well as some of the recent border patterns. The purpose of the engraved axes and plaques has been the subject of controversy, but there can be little doubt that they have an antiquity of several centuries.

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Our survey of Tehuelche robes has shown that this kind of garment once was in general use throughout southern South America.

[30] For example, the Chaquiago incised ware, published by Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

[31] Axes and plaques have been illustrated by Ambrosetti (1901, 1902, 1904), Giglioli (1903), Holmes (1912), Lehmann-Nitsche (1909, 1910a, 1910), Outes (1905, 1908, 1910, 1916a), Verneau (1903), and Verneau and Vaulx (1902). Lehmann-Nitsche (1924) has described labrets.

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Painted decorations on specimens collected in recent years, though based on simple elements, exhibit a complexity of rhythm scarcely to be expected among people of such general cultural poverty. A study of the designs has shown that they can be divided into two major groups. The more recent of these shows apparent connection with textile patterns of the Araucanians, although the relationship is too vague and the available material too scanty for exact demonstration. The Araucanians, it will be recalled, in the sixteenth century occupied only a few small valleys east of the Andes, but in the eighteenth century they overran most of the Pampas, thus coming into contact with the Tehuelche.

We also have given reasons for believing that the Tehuelche formerly adorned their robes with designs of a different type, related to the art of other nomadic tribes, such as the Charrúa, and until recently found in the Chaco. This school of decoration we believe is basic over a large area in South America, for it is typical of archeological remains not only from Patagonia but as well from the Pampas, from the Calchaquí region, the lower Paraná, and from the Gran Chaco.

The absence of such decorative motives among the Ona and Haush of Tierra del Fuego implies that they had been separated from their mainland kinsmen for many centuries, and it raises the question whether the Tehuelche carried this type of design with them when they populated Patagonia or whether it reached them by infiltration at a later date.

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BRUCH, Carlos. *See* OUTES *and* BRUCH.

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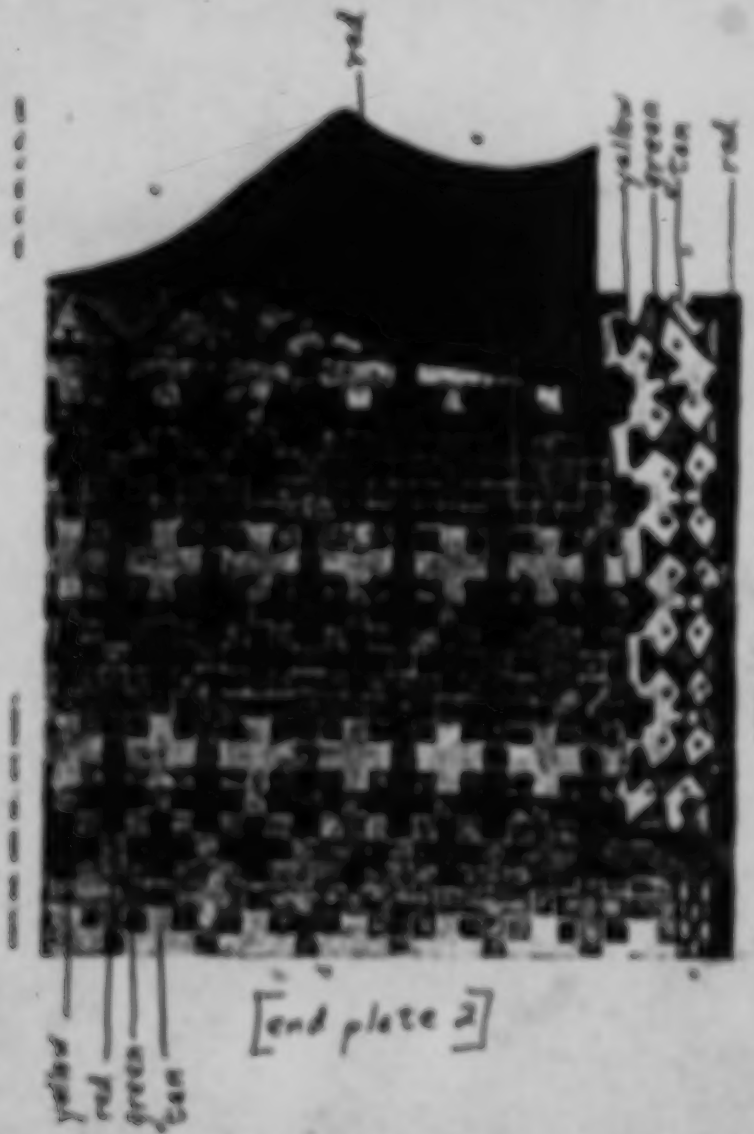

[end plate 2]

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5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

609 with my whole available force and weight; but the disparity between human strength and horse power, stimulated to its utmost by the spur, was too great. I begged the men in the boats to come again the next morning, and on no account to leave me, which they solemnly promised.

592 I was now hurried back into the country five or six miles, and at last reached an Indian village, and was set down by the old chief at his wigwam. He gave me in charge to one of his squaws, who ordered me into the hut and bade me sit down on the ground. While sitting there, and casting an inquisitive glance around the rude habitation, my attention was suddenly attracted to what appeared to be several pairs of eyes in a dark corner, shining with a strange brilliancy. I speculated silently on the sight, much doubting whether they belonged to human beings or to wild beasts; but, on carefully reconnoitring, I discovered that they belonged to three huge women. Further investigations disclosed a number of dark-skinned boys and girls, of divers ages and sizes, playing and [291] capering about the premises, in a state of perfect nudity. It took a considerable time to make out these, or any other objects, distinctly, owing to the darkness of the hut. Presently the chief, the patriarch of the tribe, entered [595] his habitation, and began a conversation, in his peculiar dialect, with his wives. He spoke in a low, guttural tone, in words the purport of which I could not gather. I was in no mood for conversation, but would have been much gratified by learning his version of the day's "stroke of business."

372 And now a few dry sticks and a bunch of dry grass were brought, mine host drew from a convenient repos-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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The climate is severe. The Rio Negro forms the northern boundary, and nearly the whole country is south of the parallel of 40° south latitude. At the time of my capture, which was in the month of May, the weather corresponded to that of November in the New England States. Its chilliness, however, was greatly increased by the bleak winds of that exposed locality. Along the Straits of Magellan the weather is also exceedingly changeable. Sudden and severe squalls, often amounting almost to a hurricane, vex the navigation of the straits, and sweep over the coast with fearful fury.

The habits of the Patagonians, or at least of the tribe among whom I was cast, are migratory, wandering over the country in quest of game, or as their caprice may prompt them. They subsist altogether on the flesh of animals and birds. The guanaco furnishes most of their food, and all their clothing. A mantle of skins, sewed with the sinews of the ostrich, fitting closely about the neck and extending below the knee, is their only article of dress, except in the coldest weather, when a kind of shoe, made of the hind hoof and a portion of the skin above it, serves to protect their inferior extremities.

In person they are large; on first sight, they appear absolutely gigantic. They are taller than any other race I have seen, though it is impossible to give any accurate description. The only standard of measurement I had was my own height, which is about five feet ten inches. I could stand very easily under the arms of many of them, and all the men were at least a head taller than myself. Their average height, I should think, is nearly six and a half feet, and there were specimens that could have been

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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coast. I was informed by Captain Morton, of whom the persevering reader will know more hereafter, that he had touched at Sea Bear Bay for a harbor, and saw there great quantities of iron pumps, ships' hanging knees, and other gear, from wrecks of vessels of all sizes. As he was bound for the land of gold, he thought it scarcely worth his while to collect the baser metals. Had he been homeward bound, he might have obtained a valuable cargo.

As ornaments, bits of brass and copper, of silver and German silver, have a high value among the Indians, and when the metals are plenty such adornment is very common. The children's shoes have small oval pieces sewed on in front, and they appear on other parts of their dress. When scarce, they are more seldom seen. Blacksmithing in Patagonia is something of the rudest. Two hard flat stones do duty, the one as anvil, and the other as hammer. Of the effect of heat in making the metals malleable, and of the art of tempering, the people have no knowledge. To make a knife, they take a piece of iron hoop, or iron in any practicable shape, and hammer away upon it at a provokingly slow rate. Their blows are not heavy enough to do much execution; but they keep up a constant tap, tap, tap, hour by hour, till the iron is flattened to the required shape and dimensions. It is then rubbed on a smooth stone till it is worn down to an edge, and finally inserted into a wooden handle. Sometimes melted lead is poured into the handle, but lead appeared to be a scarce commodity. All mechanic arts, if they deserve the name, are in an equally rude and primitive stage. The simplicity of these people's ideas is indeed extraordinary. In invention or constructiveness they are babes. A Yankee boy, six

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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401 years old, would be a prodigy among them, — a miracle of genius.

291 294 An opportunity was afforded, while in camp, to see some specimens of their tailoring or mantua-making achievements; — either term is appropriate, as the male and female dress do not differ in form, and but slightly in the mode of adjustment. The mantle or blanket is worn around the shoulders; those of the women are fastened together by the corners under the chin with a stick for a pin; the men hold theirs around them with their hands, except that when hunting they tie a string around the waist.

281 294 The skins of young guanacos are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. When the surface is made tolerably smooth, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively scoured with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. The skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of the ostrich. These are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

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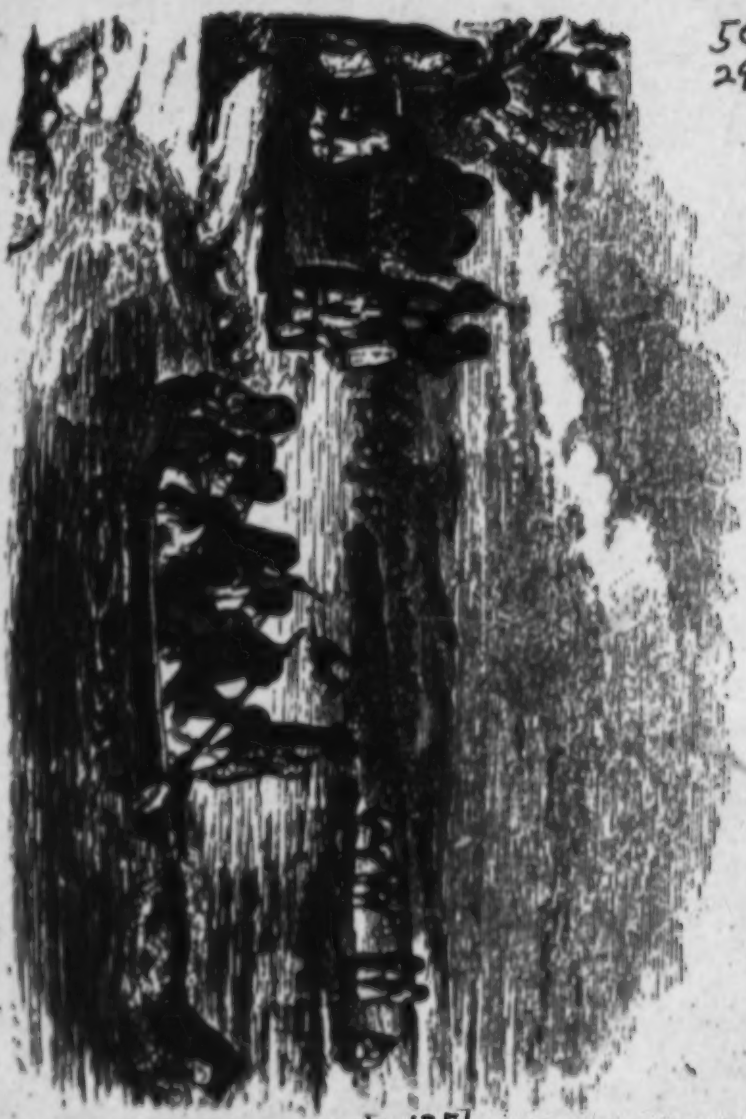

Ferrying the Straits Cross. Page 134.

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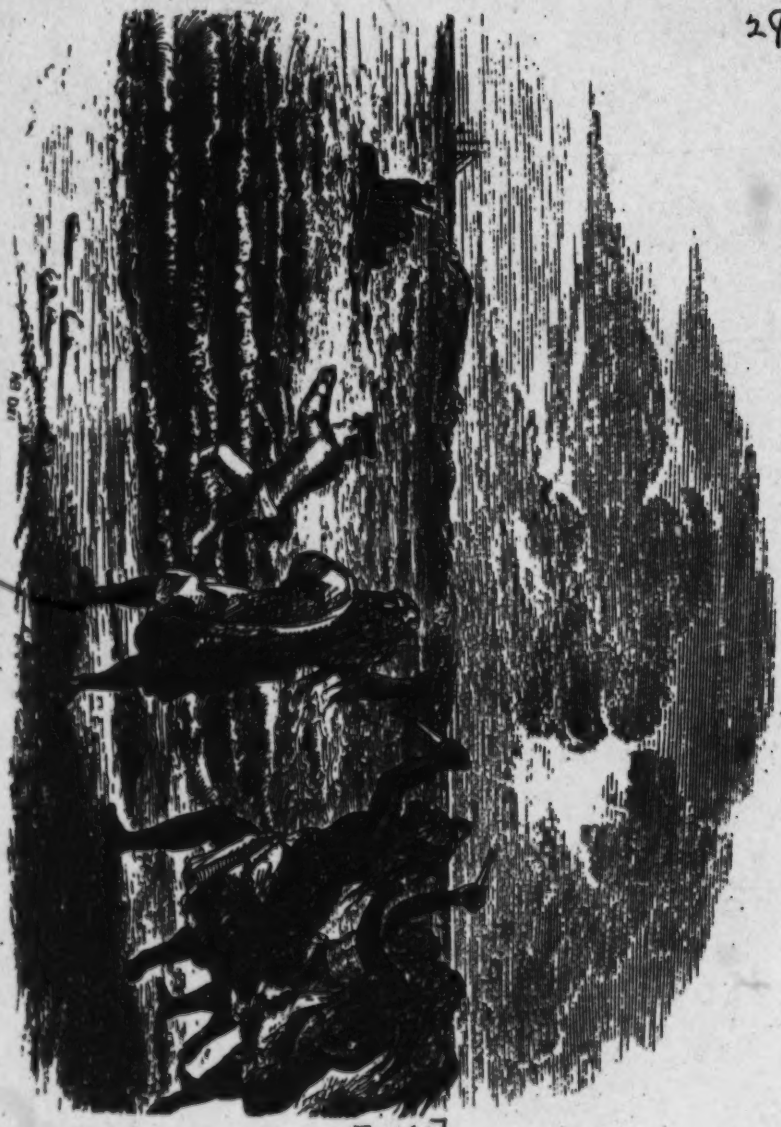

The Escape. Page 161.

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136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[139] 142 The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall, their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[194] 195 537 Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not interrupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others [542] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

34 838 The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet wide when open.--Analyst]

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their foreheads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird. These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and being thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur. Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood, are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end; it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for anything else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circumstance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide, a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel, woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but

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is found in considerable numbers. It is larger than the red deer, fleet on the foot, usually found in large herds, frequenting not only the plains, but found along the course of the Andes. Its flesh is a principal article of food; its skin is dried with the hair on, in such a manner that, when wet, it retains its pliability and softness. This process of preserving skins seems to be peculiar to the Indian tribes, and is not unlike that by which buffalo-robes, bear-skins, buckskins, and other articles of luxury, and even necessity, among us, are prepared by the North American Indians. Guanaco-skins are cut into pieces of all sizes, and sewed into a thousand fanciful patterns, every workman originating a style to suit himself. The hoofs are sometimes turned to account by the natives as soles for shoes, when they indulge in such a luxury, which is not often.

The enemy of the guanaco is the cougar, or "American lion," smaller than its African namesake, and more resembling the tiger in his character and habits, having a smooth, sleek coat, of a brownish yellow color,—altogether a very beautiful but ferocious creature. His chase is a favorite, though rare and dangerous, sport of the natives. Patagonia likewise boasts of the skunk, whose flesh is used for food. There are also foxes, and innumerable mice. Of birds, the only noticeable varieties are the condor, in the Andes, and the cassowary, a species of ostrich, smaller than that of Africa, on the plains; its plumage is not abundant, generally of a gray or dun color. Its flesh is tender and sweet, and with the fat much prized by the Indians. Like the African ostrich, it is exceedingly swift, only to be captured on horseback, and often fleet enough to outrun the fastest racer.

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

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As I saw no reason to believe this story, I declined to comply with the proposal of Casimiro, who, having consoled himself by begging a little coffee, took his departure, and the encampment was reduced to the toldo, of which I was to consider myself an inmate, and another, belonging to the only Indians who remained—Tankelow, Orkeke's brother, and his son, a youth of about eighteen. Besides these, there were three of the Chilian deserters who as narrated had escaped from Punta Arena; one was attached to the household of Tankelow, and the other two to that of Orkeke. One of these was Arica, already mentioned, who being a very clever worker in hide, had employed himself in adorning saddles and bridles for the Indians, by which he had acquired a pretty good stock of gear. The condition of all three was, however, not enviable. They had lowered themselves at first by volunteering to discharge the drudgery of fetching wood and water, and by this time were little better than slaves, obliged to perform the menial offices, which before had been the task of the women. These fair creatures, headed by Mrs. Orkeke—a young woman almost six feet in height, and displaying a corresponding breadth across the shoulders—employed themselves in cutting out and sewing guanaco mantles, weaving fillets for the head, and chattering. Tankelow and his son presently started for a hunt; but as I was not offered a mount, and deemed it more reasonable to give my only charger a good rest and feed, I could only accompany them to the river, the frozen surface of which they crossed, and disappeared up a cañon that led up the barranca, on the northern limit of the valley, to the Upper Pampa. Having wistfully watched them, I reconnoitred the valley of the Rio Chico. Behind me, to the south-east, the river wound through plains covered with withered coarse grass, some eighteen inches high, extending on either bank for several miles till terminated by the rising barranca. Snow lay here and there in patches on some of the higher ground, and increased the dreariness of the prospect. Almost

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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stones implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikkh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a [illegible] handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

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294 531 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work, 462 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case, [437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco 291 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made 437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter. 462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the [244] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as [286] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of [326] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins [281] together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

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401 years old, would be a prodigy among them, — a miracle of genius.

291 An opportunity was afforded, while in camp, to see some specimens of their tailoring or mantua-making achievements; — either term is appropriate, as the male and female dress do not differ in form, and but slightly in the mode of adjustment. The mantle or blanket is worn around the shoulders; those of the women are fastened together by the corners under the chin with a stick for a pin; the men hold theirs around them with their hands, except that when hunting they tie a string around the wrist.

281 The skins of young guanaco are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. When the surface is made tolerably smooth, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively scoured with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. The skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of the ostrich. These are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

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Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which if intended to shadow forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garment is now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native tastes require. There is no trial of patience in smoothing obstinate wrinkles. A "genteel fit" is the easiest thing in the world; wherein Patagonian tailors have decidedly the advantage of their fellow-craftsmen in civilised lands.

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Ornaments.—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 4 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, in Fletcher, 1854, p. 30; cf. *Pampa* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche, 1906). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1: 19; Beerbohm, 1879, pp. 90-91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Onion and Brush, 1910, p. 128); facial and bodily depilation with shells. Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1872, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 496). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 61). Personal adornments (pl. 20, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—breastpin, including tupu type, earrings (often of *Aviculidae* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

Textiles

The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. *supra* Introduction). They did use, or least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or hull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1913, pp. 133-134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 206-207).

With the horse (see *supra*) came saddles, stirrups, including the tree-stirrup (fig. 16, *a-d*; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1880, p. 69), wooden bits, and double-guard spurs (Musters, 1871, pp. 167-169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdonall, 1853, p. 79), but usually carried high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 130).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780-83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their tolderia (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 60)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

Basketry

Weaving.—No basketry is reported. Fillets were worn, but we have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1880, pp. 193-194).

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304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were so bandaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73–74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

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[551]

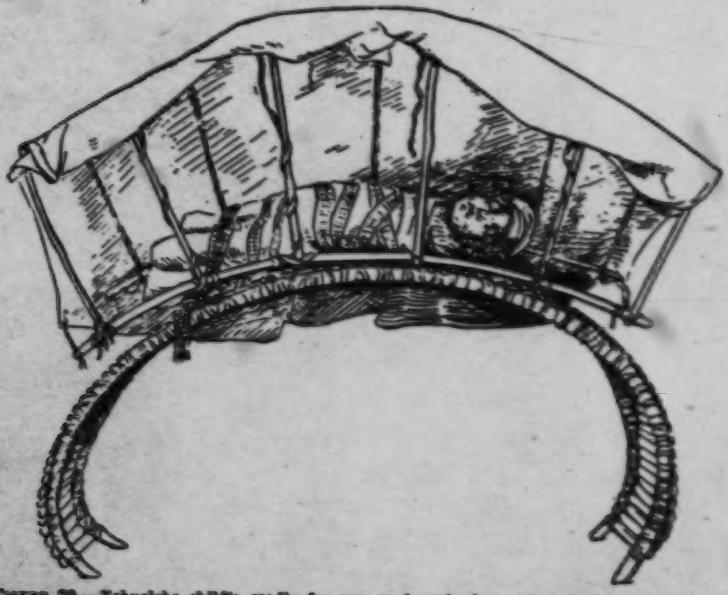

FIGURE 20.—*Tehuelche* child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Vaulx, 1902, p. 168.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199–200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202).

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PLATE [illegible].—Tehuelche costume and ceremony. Top: Clothing and adornment. (After d'Orbigny, [illegible], costume, No. 1.) Bottom: Girls' puberty rite dance held by firelight. (After [illegible], opposite page [illegible].)

[p. 160 G]

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881 wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some
252 of the blood mixed with grease. When the mess was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagists—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat.
881 On this occasion everybody ate where they liked, in their
535 own toldos. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The
[534] orchestra consisted of a drum made by stretching a piece of hide over a bowl, also a sort of wind instrument formed of the thigh-bone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is placed to the mouth and played, or with a short bow having a horsehair string. When all was ready, some of the old
[533] hags all the time singing in their melodious way, the band struck up, and four Indians, muffled up in blankets, so that
[301] their eyes only were visible, and their heads adorned with ostrich plumes, marched into the ring, and commenced pacing slowly round the fire, keeping time to the music. After two or three promenades, the time gradually quickened, until they went at a sort of trot; and about the fifth round, dancing fast to the music, they threw away their mantles, and
[302] exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from
[301] the shoulder to the hip, which jingled in tune to their steps. The first four consisted of the chiefs Casimiro, Orkeke, Crime, and Camillo, who, after dancing with great action (just avoiding stepping into the fire), and bowing their plumed

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being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair interwoven with blue beads, the ends being garnished with silver pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the Indians I greatly admired Tchang's daughter for her 'head of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished, which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting her by chance on the following morning returning to the toldo with water, to my great disappointment I found that she had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the reverse of long. The young women are frequently good-looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very coquettish, and as skilled in flirtation as if they had been taught in more civilised society. The fair widow who so nearly hooked the Englishman could on occasions appeal as prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkeke's request I led the way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Muster, help me! my horse is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as soon as might be expected, but when old they become most hideous beldames, and the most weird-like witches imagined by Doré would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa, or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

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pin with a broad disc, or a nail, or thorn, according to the 291
wealth or poverty of the wearer; and under this is a loose
calico or stuff sacque, extending from the shoulders to the
ankle. When travelling the mantle is secured at the waist
by a broad belt ornamented with blue beads, and silver or
brass studs. The boots worn by the women are similar to
those described, with the exception that in their preparation
the hair is left on the hide, while it is carefully removed
from those of the men. The children are dressed in small
mantles, but are more frequently allowed to run about naked
up to the age of six or eight; their little boots are made
from the skin taken from the fore-legs of the guanaco, soft-
ened in the hand. The small children generally remon-
strated strongly and effectually against wearing this article of
clothing; and whatever the severity of the weather, preferred
running about barefoot. The cradles for the babies are 354
formed of stripe of wicker-work interlaced with hide thongs,
fitted with a cover to keep sun and rain off, and made of a
convenient shape to rest on the saddle gear of the mother
when on the march. They are ornamented, if the parents
are wealthy, with little bells, brass or even silver plates.
The women are fond of ornaments, wearing huge earrings 301
of square shape, suspended to small rings passing through 306
the lobe of the ear; also silver or blue bead necklaces. The
men also wear these necklaces, and adorn their belts, pipes,
knives, sheaths, and horse-gear with silver. Those who can [442]
afford it also indulge in silver spurs and stirrups; most of
their ornaments, except the beads, are home made, being
beaten out of dollars obtained by commerce in the settle-
ments. Both sexes smear their faces, and occasionally 302
their bodies, with paint, the Indians alleging as the reason
for using this cosmetic, that it is a protection against the
effect of the winds; and I found from personal experience
that it proved a complete preservative from excoriation or
chapped skin. It proved equally effective against the sun,
which in Hermo peeled my face completely until I resumed

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description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old manfle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty,—the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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coast. I was informed by Captain Morton, of whom the persevering reader will know more hereafter, that he had touched at Sea Bear Bay for a harbor, and saw there great quantities of iron pumps, ships' hanging knees, and other gear, from wrecks of vessels of all sizes. As he was bound for the land of gold, he thought it scarcely worth his while to collect the baser metals. Had he been homeward bound, he might have obtained a valuable cargo.

As ornaments, bits of brass and copper, of silver and German silver, have a high value among the Indians, and when the metals are plenty such adornment is very common. The children's shoes have small oval pieces sewed on in front, and they appear on other parts of their dress. When scarce, they are more seldom seen. Blacksmithing in Patagonia is something of the rudest. Two hard flat stones do duty, the one as anvil, and the other as hammer. Of the effect of heat in making the metals malleable, and of the art of tempering, the people have no knowledge. To make a knife, they take a piece of iron hoop, or iron in any practicable shape, and hammer away upon it at a provokingly slow rate. Their blows are not heavy enough to do much execution; but they keep up a constant tap, tap, tap, hour by hour, till the iron is flattened to the required shape and dimensions. It is then rubbed on a smooth stone till it is worn down to an edge, and finally inserted into a wooden handle. Sometimes melted lead is poured into the handle, but lead appeared to be a scarce commodity. All mechanic arts, if they deserve the name, are in an equally rude and primitive stage. The simplicity of these people's ideas is indeed extraordinary. In invention or constructiveness they are babes. A Yankee boy, six

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then kindled, and matters began to assume a more cheerful appearance.

The weather, quite cool on my first landing, had grown gradually colder, and was becoming inclement. I was scantily prepared to endure the severity of winter. My under-garments, as before related, were desperately expended in trying to signal passing vessels. Cravat and pocket-handkerchief were appropriated to the adornment of the women in our household, to the no small envy of less favored ones. My sole article of linen was in shreds, and of a color that would afford matter for speculation to a jury of washerwomen. Stockings and shoes were sadly dilapidated; coat and trousers were glazed with dirt and grease till they shone like a glass bottle. The contents of my pockets were all confiscated, — purse, keys, knife, &c. — and a pair of pistols, of the use of which my captors knew nothing, were taken to pieces, and the brass mountings suspended about the necks of the chief's wives. In short, my outer man was nigh unto perishing, and I had no visible resources to arrest or repair the process of time, while I was not sufficiently inured to the climate to adopt the native dress without serious risk to health. But none of these things were allowed to trouble me. I took no thought for the morrow, but, according to the scriptural injunction, suffered the morrow to take care for the things of itself, esteeming sufficient unto each day the evil thereof.

At an early period of my captivity, the chief and some other Indians had cast a longing eye on my clothes, and tried to seduce me into parting with them. They offered no compulsion in the matter, but resorted to all manner of

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to fighting, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

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Ornaments.—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 4 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, in Fletcher, 1854, p. 50; cf. *Pepa* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1:18; Beerbohm, 1879, pp. 90-91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 129); facial and bodily depilation with shells. Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1872, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 496). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 61). Personal adornments (pl. 20, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—brooches, including tupu type, earrings (often of *Armadillo* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. supra Introduction). They did use, at least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or hull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1853, pp. 133–134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 206–207).

With the horse (see supra) came saddles, stirrups, including the toe-stirrup (fig. 15, *a–d*; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1890, p. 68), wooden bits, and double-gued quirt (Musters, 1871, pp. 167–169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdonall, 1853, p. 79), but usually seated high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 180).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780–83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their toldos (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

MANUFACTURES

Weaving.—No basketry is reported. Fillets were woven, but we have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1890, pp. 193–194).

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[175] the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta [342] with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were [302] very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate [412] their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking [229] the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth."' They never cut their [302] hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they [418] carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are [339] fond of dancing with rattles round their wrists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

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wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some of the blood mixed with grease. When the meat was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagists—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat. On this occasion everybody ate where they liked, in their own tolderia. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The orchestra consisted of a drum made by stretching a piece of hide over a bowl, also a sort of wind instrument formed of the thigh-bone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is placed to the mouth and played, or with a short bow having a horsehair string. When all was ready, some of the old hags all the time singing in their melodious way, the band struck up, and four Indians, muffled up in blankets, so that their eyes only were visible, and their heads adorned with ostrich plumes, marched into the ring, and commenced pacing slowly round the fire, keeping time to the music. After two or three promenades, the time gradually quickened, until they went at a sort of trot; and about the fifth round, dancing fast to the music, they threw away their mantles, and exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from the shoulder to the hip, which jingled in time to their steps. The first four consisted of the chiefs Casimiro, Orkeke, Crimo, and Camilio, who, after dancing with great action (just avoiding stepping into the fire), and bowing their plumed

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would inevitably starve without a knowledge of the route or its guides.

During our stay here I nearly fell a victim to a matrimonial entanglement. A fair young Indian, whose hair cut across the forehead denoted widowhood, moreover having several mares and considerable possessions, to whom I had perhaps paid some slight attention, proposed that I should set up tolde with her. This was quite out of my programme of the journey, but inasmuch as the alliance might prove useful, as well as agreeable, and feeling lonely in the absence of my particular friend, I half agreed; so a go-between was despatched to arrange the dowry, and it was settled that I should give a revolver in exchange for two horses to be provided by the fair one's friends. However, the evening before the happy day on which we were to have been united, the alarm came, and as she belonged to the Southern Indians, I thought better of giving up my arms; so I assigned as a reason for withdrawing from my bargain, that I did not wish to leave my friend Orkaiko's tolde. I have no doubt that her people, desiring the help of my firearms, had suggested the match to secure me to support their side. The lady at first was rather disgusted, but soon got over it, and we remained on our former friendly terms.

In this encampment two disagreements occurred between the Indians and their wives, which were the only matrimonial squabbles that came under my notice during my wanderings in their company. One occurred between Tankelow and his spouse in our tolde. It began by Tankelow's striking his daughter, which his wife angrily resented; from words they came to blows, and the squaw was getting rather the best of it, when Mrs. Orkaiko interposed with a strong arm, and forcibly put a stop to the disturbance.

The following day Tankelow drove his horses off separately, but towards evening a reconciliation was effected. On the 3rd of October we left Guigel-aik and marched west in the face of a bitterly cold wind. In the least set low thin scrub

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S24 S15 B42 such, and not, as Monsieur Guinnard* says, because their greediness is so great that they must chew something. Their eyes are bright and intelligent, and their noses—though, of course, presenting different types—are as a rule aquiline and well-formed, and devoid of the breadth of nostril proper to the ordinary ideal of savage tribes. The peculiar prominence over the eyebrows has been noticed by all observers, and retreating foreheads, though observable, are exceptional. The thick masses of hair, and the obvious risk, which would deter the most zealous craniologist from endeavouring to measure their heads, must be deemed sufficient excuse for my not being able to state whether they are dolichokephalic or brachykephalic; a point, however, which I confess did not particularly attract my observation; but, for the partial comfort of anthropologists, be it noted that both Chilians and myself interchanged hats with some Tehuelches, especially Orkeke and Hinchal, without finding misfits. The complexion of the men is reddish brown, that is to say when cleansed from paint, and, like an old picture, restored to their pristine tint, which is not quite so deep as to warrant Fitzroy's comparison of it to the colour of a Devon cow.

[302] The scanty natural growth of beard, moustaches, and even eyebrows, is carefully eradicated by means of a pair of silver tweezers, and I was often urged to part with my beard, and undergo this painful operation, but I naturally objected to comply with the request. The men's heads are covered with thick, flowing masses of long hair, of which they take great care, making their wives, or other female relatives, brush it out carefully at least once a day. Very few appeared to have grey hair; though there were a few exceptions, one very old man's hair being of a snowy whiteness, which contrasted strangely with his tawny face. The women have, as far as I could judge, an average height of about five feet six inches: they are very strong in the arms, but seldom walk beyond fetching the supplies of wood and water, all their journeys

* 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 280.

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being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no 142
great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and
very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days [301]
are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair inter-
woven with blue beads, the ends being garnished with silver [301]
pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to
the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the 302
Indians I greatly admired Tokang's daughter for her 'head
of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished,
which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting
her by chance on the following morning returning to the toldo
with water, to my great disappointment I found that she
had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the
reverse of long. The young women are frequently good- 142
looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised
with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very
coquettish, and as skilled in flirtation as if they had been 352
taught in more civilised society. The fair widow who so
nearly hooked the Englishman could on occasions appeal as
prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties
over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkoke's request I led the
way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly
deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land
on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Master, help me! my horse
is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as 145
soon as might be expected, but when old they become most
hideous beldames, and the most weird-like witches imagined
by Doré would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche
grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa, 291
or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece
of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the ma-
terial, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously [836]
worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other
garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin
mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

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pin with a broad disc, or a nail, or thorn, according to the wealth or poverty of the wearer; and under this is a loose calico or stiff sacque, extending from the shoulders to the ankle. When travelling the mantle is secured at the waist by a broad belt ornamented with blue beads, and silver or brass studs. The boots worn by the women are similar to those described, with the exception that in their preparation the hair is left on the hide, while it is carefully removed from those of the men. The children are dressed in small mantles, but are more frequently allowed to run about naked up to the age of six or eight; their little boots are made from the skin taken from the fore-legs of the guanaco, softened in the hand. The small children generally remonstrated strongly and effectually against wearing this article of clothing; and whatever the severity of the weather, preferred running about barefoot. The cradles for the babies are formed of strips of wicker-work interlaced with hide thongs, fitted with a cover to keep sun and rain off, and made of a convenient shape to rest on the saddle gear of the mother when on the march. They are ornamented, if the parents are wealthy, with little bells, brass or even silver plates. The women are fond of ornaments, wearing large earrings of square shape, suspended to small rings passing through the lobe of the ear; also silver or blue bead necklaces. The men also wear these necklaces, and adorn their belts, pipes, knives, shoulder, and horse-gear with silver. Those who can afford it also indulge in silver spurs and stirrups; most of their ornaments, except the beads, are home made, being beaten out of dollars obtained by commerce in the settlements. Both sexes smear their faces, and occasionally their bodies, with paint, the Indians alleging as the reason for using this cosmetic, that it is a protection against the effect of the winds; and I found from personal experience that it proved a complete preservative from excoriation or chapped skin. It proved equally effective against the sun, which in Hermo peeled my face completely until I resumed

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paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a white savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is composed of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gristles being carefully skimmed off and reserved. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their heads, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair amateur, and confess that the process was rather painful.

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description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon ox. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, cavy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Petro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad bolas ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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little less than seven feet high. They have broad shoulders full and well-developed chests, frames muscular and finely proportioned, the whole figure and air making an impression like that which the first view of the sons of Anak is recorded to have made on the children of Israel. They exhibit enormous strength, whenever they are sufficiently aroused to shake off their constitutional laziness and exert it. They have large heads, high cheek-bones, like the North American Indians, whom they also resemble in their complexion, though it is a shade or two darker. Their foreheads are broad, but low, the hair covering them nearly to the eyes; eyes full, generally black, or of a dark brown, and brilliant, though expressive of but little intelligence. Thick, coarse, and stiff hair protects the head, its abundance making any artificial covering superfluous. It is worn long, generally divided at the neck, so as to hang in two folds over the shoulders and back, but is sometimes bound above the temples, by a fillet, over which it flows in ample luxuriance. Like more civilized people, the Patagonians take great pride in the proper disposition and effective display of their hair. Their teeth are really beautiful, sound and white, — about the only attractive and enviable feature of their persons. Feet and hands are large, but not disproportionate to their total bulk. They have deep, heavy voices, and speak in guttural tones, — the worst guttural I ever heard, — with a muttering, indistinct articulation, much as if their mouths were filled with hot pudding. Their countenances are generally stupid, but, on closer inspection, there is a gleam of low cunning that flashes through this dull mask, and is increasingly discernible on acquaintance with them; when excited, or engaged in any

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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up,—my only alternative to starvation. Famine has no scruples of delicacy; if the reader is disgusted, he is in a state of sympathy with the writer.

Early the next day we (literally) pulled up stakes, and were on the move; and, after journeying all day, encamped in a situation very like the one we left in the morning. The Indians spent their time, as usual, in gambling and in combing each other's hair, with a brush made of stiff dry roots, tied up together. The operator received as a fee the *game* captured in the process. The reader will excuse a more explicit statement of what, though less abominable than cannibalism, is hardly less repulsive.

One evening our family circle were seated round a fire, which sent up volumes of smoke sufficiently dense to suit a savage of the most exacting taste, and which drove me, as usual, to the back part of the hut, where I lay flat on my face. One of the chief's wives was inveighing against me, as was her wont, and a second occasionally joined in the strain, by way of chorus. A third was cracking the bones of a guanaco, that her son Cohanaco might eat the marrow. The fourth and last of the women was attending to a piece of meat for our supper, fixed on a forked stick, in the smoke. Two sons were engaged, as usual, in doing nothing, except occasionally begging a little of the marrow, and scraping their dirty legs with a sheath-knife, by way of diversion; sundry by-plays, and little pieces of mischief, served to fill up the spare minutes. The old chief, who had been silently regarding the scene, now commenced talking, in a low, mumbling, guttural tone, to one of his wives. She was busily eying the toasting-fork, and studying the process of cooking; but, at her husband's instance,

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a warning to myself, to make haste and get well enough to move at the first signal.

Away again, — this time facing about, and passing down the river. I needed rest; but, at whatever expense of suffering, needs must when a certain old gentleman drives. At the next-stopping-place my services were called into requisition in a new department. One forenoon, as I sauntered towards our wigwam, after a stroll among the smutty huts, to kill time and divert painful thoughts, I was hailed from within by the chief, "Arka, Bonsy!" On entering, he appeared to be conversing, in low, gurgling sounds, with his lately-married daughter, who was running her hands through the shaggy hair of her young hope, as she talked. Something was plainly wrong in the youngster's top-knot, and some unpleasant task in relation thereto was as plainly about to be imposed upon me. The chief resolved my doubts, by ordering me to cut off a portion of the shag; I objected a want of the proper implements, but the mother silenced me by producing an old pair of scissors, in no condition to cut anything. Calling for a file, the rusty edges were brought into a tolerable state, and I approached the task. Such a sight! If the hair now would have obeyed a mesmeric pass, without the need of manual contact, — if the job could be performed with closed eyes, and insensible nostrils, and absent mind! Fangh! I hurried through the penance, hiding disgust, and assuming the appearance of good will, and made good my escape into the fresh air. And so I must turn barber, and, in all likelihood, have the dirty heads of half the tribe put under my nose! What would come next?

Our next move took us across the river Gallegos, in

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their foreheads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird. These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and being thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur. Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood, are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end; it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for anything else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circumstance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide, a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel, woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 542
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

304 **Ornaments.**—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 6 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, de Fletcher, 1894, p. 50; cf. *Pepa* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche, 1904). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1:18; Beerbohm, 1879, pp. 90-91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 120); facial and bodily depilation with shells. [304] Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1873, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81). Personal adornments (pl. 39, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—brooches, including topu type, earrings (often of *Araucanian* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. supra Introduction). They did use, at least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or bull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1853, pp. 133-134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 256-257).

492 With the horse (see supra) came saddles, stirrups, including the toe-stirrup (fig. 18, *a-d*; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1880, p. 69), wooden bits, and double-goad spurs (Musters, 1871, pp. 167-169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdonald, 1828, p. 79), but usually seated high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 130).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780-83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their toldos (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—No basketry is reported. Fillets were woven, but we
285 have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1880, pp. 193-194).

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304 Prichard (1902, 1912) states that children's heads were so handaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1939 a, pp. 73–74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

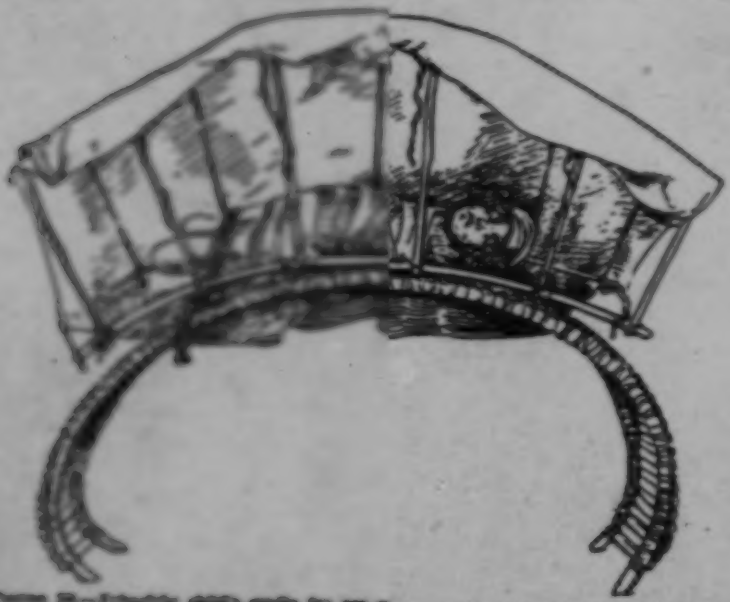

FIGURE 20.—Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Vaulx, 1901, p. 180.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199–200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202).

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Bonarelli, 1894, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1894, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Mullin, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco humors were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucaniana*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Flores de Léon (1698), Gerónimo Pietas (1646), Miguel de Olivares (1674), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (in Funck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latcham, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Flores de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1674, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (in Funck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1782 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Flores de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1698, p. 956)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1674, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1674, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a noble savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is composed of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gelatine being carefully skimmed off and secured. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair enslaver, and confess that the process was rather painful.

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow-bones of the guanaco killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearms by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a knife, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "koo", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and showy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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pin with a broad disc, or a nail, or thorn, according to the wealth or poverty of the wearer; and under this is a loose calico or stuff sacque, extending from the shoulders to the ankle. When travelling the mantle is secured at the waist by a broad belt ornamented with blue beads, and silver or brass studs. The boots worn by the women are similar to those described, with the exception that in their preparation the hair is left on the hide, while it is carefully removed from those of the men. The children are dressed in small mantles, but are more frequently allowed to run about naked up to the age of six or eight; their little boots are made from the skin taken from the fore-legs of the guanaco, softened in the hand. The small children generally remonstrated strongly and effectually against wearing this article of clothing; and whatever the severity of the weather, preferred running about barefoot. The cradles for the babies are formed of strips of wicker-work interlaced with hide thongs, fitted with a cover to keep sun and rain off, and made of a convenient shape to rest on the saddle gear of the mother when on the march. They are ornamented, if the parents are wealthy, with little bells, brass or even silver plates. The women are fond of ornaments, wearing huge earrings of square shape, suspended to small rings passing through the lobe of the ear; also silver or blue bead necklaces. The men also wear these necklaces, and adorn their belts, pipes, knives, sheaths, and horse-gear with silver. Those who can afford it also indulge in silver spurs and stirrups; most of their ornaments, except the beads, are home made, being beaten out of dollars obtained by commerce in the settlements. Both sexes smear their faces, and occasionally their bodies, with paint, the Indians alleging as the reason for using this cosmetic, that it is a protection against the effect of the winds; and I found from personal experience that it proved a complete preservative from excoriation or chapped skin. It proved equally effective against the sun, which in Henno peeled my face completely until I resumed

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In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-kaik or Rocky Hills, Crimè's illness caused us to remain encamped until March 21, during the greater part of which time I and several others were suffering from neuralgia and ulcerations in the mouth, caused I think, by the bad water we had to drink, perhaps also by the want of salt, which had become a very scarce commodity.

Friendly rivalry was kept up between the tribes in play, hunting, and other sports, in which fortune varied from one side to the other. Every other day I visited poor Crimè, whose groans might be heard at night accompanied by the chant of some old hag. The sick man always asked me how long he would live. I at first tried to persuade him that he would get well, but after a time, as he was really fast sinking, gave him to understand that he might live a month if he was lucky. I offered to open his leg and endeavour to cure him, but this he would not allow, stating that if he died under the operation it would go hard with the doctor, which was indeed true, so I gave up my intentions of performing a surgical operation.

Before we broke up the camp, a Valdivian and other Indians arrived from Cheoeque's, but brought little news, stating that the Manzaneros were still dispersed amongst the valleys of the Cordillera engaged in gathering the yearly harvest of apples and piñones: of these we had already received plenty from Foyel's people, who kept up a constant communication with their relations near the Rio Limay.

On the 21st all left the valley and travelled a few leagues through a diversified country. On the line of march cliffs, which stood out in the glens in irregular, picturesque manner, were of yellow and red sandstone, but to the westward black basaltic heights could be seen abutting on the plains, while in hunting over the higher ground masses of ironstone and igneous rock were met with scattered over the surface. We remained for the night in a valley called Changi, and, proceeding next day, arrived about noon at a large plain shut in by sandstone cliffs on the eastern side, at the northern

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through the heated surface the hair was burnt off their fetlocks, and they were nearly maddened with fright, so that it was a difficult feat for the riders without saddles or stirrups to keep their seats. Once I was somewhere near my horse's ears, but, more by good luck than good management, just escaped being thrown as it were into the fire. After the gale had partially moderated, I proceeded to inspect this place, and found that, although not, as I at first thought, absolutely on fire, the ground was smoking as if from internal combustion. The surface presented a crust of baked yellow clay, which yielding to the horses' feet, disclosed a black subsoil; there was no flame, but a thin white vapour issued from the ground. When I incautiously ventured a step on the treacherous crust, it gave way, but I managed to extricate myself with no further damage than burning my potro boots. The Indians stated that the fire had been originally caused some years previously by their having kindled the pasture higher up the valley, and that the ground had been burning ever since. It was impossible to discover whether there was any subjacent bed of combustible matter which might thus have been ignited; but as there are hot-wells and springs in the same range not many miles distant to the south-east, it seems more probably due to volcanic agency. The principal hot spring was described as a circular basin of about six feet in diameter, the water, of a temperature not so hot as to scald the hand, bubbling up through numerous holes in a clay bottom. In many of the surrounding hills there are lava and pumice of not extremely ancient formation; some of the hills have also an appearance of having been at a recent period the outlets of eruptive forces, which have scattered large shattered masses of rock over the sides of the extinct craters.

In this encampment I had a serious misunderstanding with our chief, which all but ended in a downright quarrel; but after consideration we agreed to make it up, as although on two occasions of danger he had left me to my fate, I thought

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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312 Patricio during this day's journey pointed out to me a dry lagoon near which efforts had been made to sink a well for obtaining a permanent supply of water, but, although the shaft was of some depth, none had been reached, and the work had been given up in despair. It is a mystery even to the Indians where the guanacos, wild horses, puma, and other game that exist in this desert, find water, as these lagoons, depending entirely on the rainfall for a supply of water, must inevitably, in this country where little rain falls, be dry for many months in the year. No doubt springs exist in hitherto undiscovered places.

133 Before leaving the travesia, a few remarks, which cannot claim to be called a description, may be interesting.

This desert consists of a plateau about three hundred feet above the level of the valley of the Rio Negro, stretching to the southward more than thirty leagues to Valchita. Of its extent westward I have no precise information; but it narrows considerably in the interior, forming an irregular triangle, with its base on the coast, and its apex near the junction of the Rio Limay and the northern streams.

The soil is either clay or sand and gravel, with small stones strewn thickly over the surface; while the only vegetation met with consists of the bushes already mentioned, and scanty tufts of coarse grass.

It is much dreaded by travellers, and, after traversing it, I can well believe the stories current of people having perished on the passage; the track once lost would be very difficult to regain; while the want of water in the summer, and the danger of horses straying and leaving the traveller helpless, are both probable risks. With all our watchfulness, two horses strayed away and were lost. In the winter there is no fear of want of water; but the fatigue of travelling is at all times great, and the horses are almost worn out by the time that the desert is passed. It serves, therefore, as a barrier, protecting Patagones from all dangers of attack by the Indians from the south, who in their forays must descend

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

through which I passed were viewed with a calmness that had been before unattainable, and which is now scarcely credible, on recollection. So true is it that our strength is unknown to ourselves till it is thoroughly tested.

The hope of immediate release, however, was at an end; my savage captors, it seemed, must be looked upon as for an indefinite period my masters and companions; and I had nothing at present to do but to divert myself by a study of their manners and habits; to consult my safety by a close study of their character, and of the ways and means by which so to adapt my deportment to it as to win their confidence, to disarm hostility, and to seize opportunities.

PATAGONIA, as it offered itself to my observation, more than answered the descriptions of geographers, — bleak, barren, desolate, beyond description or conception, — only to be appreciated by being seen. Viewed from the Straits of Magellan, it rises in gentle undulations or terraces. Far as the eye can reach, in a westerly direction, it assumes a more broken and hilly appearance, and long ranges of mountains, extending from north to south, divide the eastern from the western shore. The soil is of a light, sandy character, and bears nothing worthy the name of a tree. Low bushes, or underwood, are tolerably abundant, and in the valleys a coarse, wiry grass grows luxuriantly. Streams of water are rare. The natives draw their supplies principally from springs or pools in the valleys, the water of which is generally brackish and disagreeable.

The variety of animal is nearly as limited as that of vegetable productions. The guanaco, a quadruped allied to the lama, and with some resemblance to the camelopard,

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and
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only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by
[312] a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some
four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small
[137 313] springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which
there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian
[22] chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up
to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward
toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but
the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast.
136 Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good
to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating,
[415] have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh
which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like [illegible] roasted breast of
a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many
[568] ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat,
which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food.
Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete
and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

133 The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south.
It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bot-
tom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and
rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water.
The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of
[134] Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile
[625] than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called
136 Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but
[220] the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them
and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called
Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian
and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already men-
[313] tioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot
of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same
133 latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to
cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been ex-
plored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

133 many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the [136 other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is [312] not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf 313] continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the [487] region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The [622] Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enis.

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The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21′ of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest [312] source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which [313 also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost en- 137] tirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

133 entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals
to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow
[484] most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This find-
ing made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect
that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other
places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there
flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the
second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the
Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the
last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de
Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at
622 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which
comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz
[sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the
chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-
law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz
lakes.

133 Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream,
fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the
Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos
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At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits
of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very
Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the
[312] other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams,
[313] an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite
136 number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs
137 these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest fol-
[622] lowing, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings
492 being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses,
484 which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian.
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vaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it
has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but
no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors
224 under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there
136 are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory.
In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also
live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater
east since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more
136 southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

be ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts

313

313 LUMBERING--kinds of timber exploited; gathering of firewood; logging operations (e.g., felling, trimming, hauling); techniques and apparatus used; sawmills and pulp mills; economic importance of lumbering; organization of labor and production; forestry science, practices, and policy; etc. See also:

Forest resources 137
Conservation policies 185
Silviculture 245
Paper manufacture 280
Woodworking 322
Building supplies industries 330
Industrial structures 348
Fuel 372
Lumbering machinery 402
Tools 412
Moving of heavy weights 482
State and national forests 888

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

During our stay the women went to the woods to cut fresh poles for the toldos, and the men brought back from the wooded country a description of fungus, which, when dried, forms an excellent tinder, of considerable value amongst the Indians, as there are only a few spots where it is to be obtained. After some days spent in this pleasant neighbourhood, as the supply of guanaco was failing, we marched over the barren range of hills, and passing a lagoon of considerable extent below the hills, encamped on the other side of them, by the side of a smaller one, in a place called 'Gogomenykaik.'

During the hunt I had singled out a guanaco, and was in full chase across the upper pampa, which was covered with stunted bushes and tufts of grass, when the quarry suddenly disappeared, as if the earth had swallowed him. The next moment my horse halted in mid-gallop, with its fore-feet on the edge of a precipitous descent which shelved away without any warning. Below was a long beautiful glen, with a pool of water glistening among the trees which filled it, but did not rear their topmost boughs above the level of the pampa. Here the guanaco had taken refuge, and as the descent was impracticable for a horse, I could only gaze longingly down into the fairy-like scene, and turn away to join the circle, remembering that it was only too easy to lose oneself by delay. Of this an instance occurred the same day, for one of the Chilians did not appear at the fireside when the hunting was completed. At first no heed was bestowed on him, as it was natural to suppose that he had chased a herd of guanaco to some distance, and was detained taking off the skins; but when at sunset he was still missing, some dry grass was fired, for the purpose of directing him to our camp. The following morning he had not appeared when we started to hunt, myself going as pointsman with Orkeke. We galloped for some distance over the plain, and halted in a hollow, where we came on six young skunks outside their parental burrow, into which they quickly vanished on our

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

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136 southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

462 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, those usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are col-
lected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
438 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio
283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
224 and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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then bound off, and speedily distance him. Their means of defence consist chiefly in the savate, or use of the feet, more especially the fore ones, although they also bite at times, and with their two peculiar canine teeth could inflict a severe wound.* I have seen places where a puma and a guanaco have evidently had a severe struggle, always, however, resulting in the victory of the puma, as, on seeing these marks, we invariably searched for and found the body near, carefully covered over by the 'leon.' The flesh of the guanaco is excellent, something resembling mutton; the young guanaco being more like very tender veal. That their wool might be turned to account for mercantile purposes is undoubted, as it is of very fine texture, and is at the present time of value in Chili, where it is woven into ponchos which are highly prized. Up to the present time few have been domesticated, but they become very tame, and might at a future date be found useful as beasts of burden, as they are similar in most respects to the lama. There is one very remarkable point about the guanaco; at certain times of the year a sort of secretion, condensed into a hard substance like stone, is found in round pieces, varying from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, in the stomach. To these stones some of the Indians attribute medicinal virtues. The guanaco is of use to the Indians in every way. The skin of the adult is used to make the coverings of the toldos, and that of the unborn or young ones to make mantles for clothes; the sinews of the back furnish them with thread; the skin of the neck, which is particularly tough and durable, with laces or thongs for bolas, bridles, &c., &c. The skin of the hock supplies them with shoes or coverings for the bolas; from the thigh bone they also cut out dice, or make a musical instrument. On attaining the age of about two months, the coat of the young guanaco begins to become woolly, and the skin is then useless for mantles, but makes sufficiently good saddle-cloths.

* The skull of a guanaco is well figured in Mr. Cunningham's work.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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[19] The sketch of our life at Paben would be very incomplete without asking the reader to accompany us on a hunting excursion; so I will describe one which took place after El Sourdo had arrived on the island. Game had become very scarce in our immediate vicinity, and our only farinaceous food was black beans varied by maize, which was too troublesome in the preparation to be much used. The meat went wonderfully quickly, so we determined to extend the sphere of the hunting a little more afield. Accordingly, one fine frosty morning at daylight, the horses were brought up, caught, and saddled, mantles and spurs donned, and eight of us, including the two Indians, Casimiro and El Sourdo, set off to make a circle, *i.e.*, enclose and drive an area of land on the southern shore of the river, finishing at the Missionaries'

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The obsidian and flint articles were confined to scrapers used by the women for cleansing skins, and flints for obtaining fire. There were no traditions regarding the migrations of tribes extant amongst the Indians. It was impossible to obtain information of their forefathers from the Indians. The disposition of the Tehuelches was, when not excited by drink or warfare, cheerful and good-humoured. They treated Lieut. Musters with great kindness. They were particularly fond of their children. During the author's visit and travels in the country, all the tribes were mustered for political purposes: being on the staff of the head chief, he took notes of the numbers of each tribe: from these data he made his calculations, allowing four women and children to each able-bodied man. The numbers are probably slightly under than over the mark.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above: viz., Mr. J. J. Monteiro, Col. Lane Fox, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Wade, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Wake, Mr. H. Howorth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

324 ●
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4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929

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the introduction of the horse, between 1670 and 1741, the Tehuelche abandoned their ancestral weapon in favor of the bolas. As pointed out by Outes,[10] there is no literary mention of bolas in Patagonia before the expedition of John Byron in 1764, but all travelers thereafter speak of it. On the other hand, various discoverers during the first half of the sixteenth century observed bolas in use among the inhabitants of the La Plata littoral, such as the Minuané, Charrúa, and Querandí, but archeological evidence indicates that this missile was never employed so extensively in that region as it was later in Patagonia. In Chile, Bolivia, and Peru occasional finds have been made of grooved stones suggesting bolas, but their use never was typical, for the inhabitants of these lands preferred the sling. The greatest development of the bolas, then, was among the Tehuelche, but the center of dispersion apparently was the La Plata district.

Among the Tehuelche three types of bolas were employed (fig. 2, *g–i*). The simplest of these, known as the *bola perdida*, was a stone ball attached to a cord about a yard long. This was employed in warfare, for finishing off wounded game, and for killing puma, which they always attacked at close quarters (fig. 3). A second type, called *chumé*, had two balls joined by a cord six or seven feet long. This was intended primarily for capturing ostriches. A third type, with three balls, known as *yachiko*, was dedicated to the pursuit of guanaco.

In compound bolas one ball is especially designed to be grasped in the hand when the missile is spun and cast. We do not know the Tehuelche name for it, but it is called the *mancjo* in Spanish. This stone is not round, but oval (fig. 2, *d–f*), and is lighter by about a third than the other balls.

In former times bolas' balls were made of stone or hematite, but the Tehuelche have employed lead or copper when procurable. Archeological examples from southern Patagonia, illustrated in fig. 2, *a–c*, show various types of grooving. More recently, however, the stones have been enclosed in leather sacks and therefore have no grooves. The average weight of a ball is perhaps a pound, but there is a good deal of variation in this respect.

The cord used in Tehuelche bolas is of ostrich or guanaco sinew, braided four-ply.

As a weapon the bolas has both its advantages and disadvantages.

[10] 1905, p. 427.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

000 in trees," or "books in the running brooks;" the land possesses neither in numbers sufficient to be conversable. "Sermons in stones," even, must have been of very pebbly dimensions, and of no great weight. Had this difficulty been removed, I confess I had no great desire to surmount it. I was the object of suspicion and hostility. My [609] life was in constant danger. To diminish, as far as possible, the causes of dislike, to mitigate their ferocious hate, to elude occasions of mischief, to delay what I feared could not be very long prevented, was my continual study. If the reader is not satisfied with this account of my conduct, I am sorry for it, but cannot afford any words of contrition. It is vastly easier, I may hint to the objector, to prescribe another's duties than to judge of one's own, especially where the two parties are in circumstances so widely differing. The Patagonians need the gospel—and the law—as much as any people I could name from personal observation. There was no trace of instruction imparted at a previous period, and the reception Christianity would meet with among them is yet to be discovered.

276 Their pipes are made of a hard red stone, the bowl dug
• 324 out with whatever iron or steel implement is at command
325 to the dimensions of an ordinary clay pipe, the stem about an inch square, and three inches long, with a small perforation. A copper or brass tube, about two inches long, is fitted to the stem, and serves as a mouth-piece. This is made by bending or hammering a metallic plate about a small round stick, and soldering or cementing it with a glutinous substance thickened with earth.

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanliness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called 'chumè,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachiko,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are generally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are employed, procured in the settlements, which require no covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact

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5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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000 in trees," or "books in the running brooks;" the land possesses neither in numbers sufficient to be conversable. "Sermons in stones," even, must have been of very pebbly dimensions, and of no great weight. Had this difficulty been removed, I confess I had no great desire to surmount it. I was the object of suspicion and hostility. My [609] life was in constant danger. To diminish, as far as possible, the causes of dislike, to mitigate their ferocious hate, to elude occasions of mischief, to delay what I feared could not be very long prevented, was my continual study. If the reader is not satisfied with this account of my conduct, I am sorry for it, but cannot afford any words of contrition. It is vastly easier, I may hint to the objector, to prescribe another's duties than to judge of one's own, especially where the two parties are in circumstances so widely differing. The Patagonians need the gospel—and the law—as much as any people I could name from personal observation. There was no trace of instruction imparted at a previous period, and the reception Christianity would meet with among them is yet to be discovered.

276 Their pipes are made of a hard red stone, the bowl dug
324 out with whatever iron or steel implement is at command
● 325 to the dimensions of an ordinary clay pipe, the stem about an inch square, and three inches long, with a small perforation. A copper or brass tube, about two inches long, is fitted to the stem, and serves as a mouth-piece. This is made by bending or hammering a metallic plate about a small round stick, and soldering or cementing it with a glutinous substance thickened with earth.

325 The copper, brass and iron, seen among them, was probably procured from unfortunate vessels wrecked on their

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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coast. I was informed by Captain Morton, of whom the persevering reader will know more hereafter, that he had touched at Sea Bear Bay for a harbor, and saw there great quantities of iron pumps, ships' hanging knees, and other gear, from wrecks of vessels of all sizes. As he was bound for the land of gold, he thought it scarcely worth his while to collect the baser metals. Had he been homeward bound, he might have obtained a valuable cargo.

As ornaments, bits of brass and copper, of silver and German silver, have a high value among the Indians, and when the metals are plenty such adornment is very common. The children's shoes have small oval pieces sewed on in front, and they appear on other parts of their dress. When scarce, they are more seldom seen. Blacksmithing in Patagonia is something of the rudest. Two hard flat stones do duty, the one as anvil, and the other as hammer. Of the effect of heat in making the metals malleable, and of the art of tempering, the people have no knowledge. To make a knife, they take a piece of iron hoop, or iron in any practicable shape, and hammer away upon it at a provokingly slow rate. Their blows are not heavy enough to do much execution; but they keep up a constant tap, tap, tap, hour by hour, till the iron is flattened to the required shape and dimensions. It is then rubbed on a smooth stone till it is worn down to an edge, and finally inserted into a wooden handle. Sometimes melted lead is poured into the handle, but lead appeared to be a scarce commodity. All mechanic arts, if they deserve the name, are in an equally rude and primitive stage. The simplicity of these people's ideas is indeed extraordinary. In invention or constructiveness they are babes. A Yankee boy, six

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 441
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [437]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Head-stalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'maniea,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoe-horn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The awls and hammers for working silver are generally stone implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of a file, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikkh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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209 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
531 woman working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
442 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, if owners manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
241 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, ovey, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
442 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[205] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[206] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[224] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[221] together for the coverings of the tolderia, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2:100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:59; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41, and ham. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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342 414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly [372] closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open [513] side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, 592 p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended 596 family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did 621 not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1905, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

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Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them!]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Ona SH4

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PLATE II.—Ona and Tehuelche shelters. *Top:* Model of Tehuelche toldo. *Bottom:* Model of Ona wind shelter. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[p. 160 E]

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Ona SH 4

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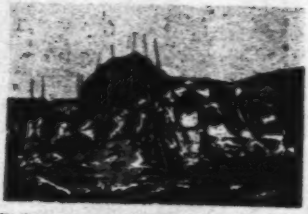

PLATE 38.—Ona and Tehuelche culture. *Top (left)*: One man. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 132.) *Top (right)*: One man, painted for Kowánic dance, an all-day recreative interlude during Klóksten rite. No masks are worn in this dance and women take part. (After Gusinde, 1925 a, fig. 2.) *Bottom (left)*: One cradle, length 30 in., or 76.5 cm. (After Lothrop, 1928, fig. 13.) *Bottom (right)*: Tehuelche toldo, Province of Santa Cruz. (After Outes and Bruch, 1910, fig. 114.)

[p. 160 F]

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PLATE [illegible].—Tehuelche costume and ceremony. *Top:* Clothing and adornment. (After d'Orbigny, 1847, costumes, No. 1.) *Bottom:* Girls' puberty rite dance held by firelight. (After Musters, 1871, opposite page 173.)

[p. 160 G]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth." They never cut their hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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to be good friends. The whole were housed in five toldos—by which Spanish name the Indian kau, or tents, strongly resembling those of our own gipsies, are known. They were pitched in a sheltered hollow, with their fronts facing the east, to avoid the bitter violence of the prevalent westerly winds.

Fitzroy has given an excellent description of the toldo; but to those readers who are unacquainted with it a brief sketch will not be unacceptable. A row of forked posts about three feet high is driven into the ground in a slightly slanting position, and a ridge pole laid across them; in front of these, at a distance of about seven feet, a second row, six feet high, with a ridge pole; and at the same distance from them a third row, eight feet high, each slanting a little, but not at the same angle. A covering made of from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins, smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and the great drag of the heavy covering straightens the poles; it is then secured by thongs to the front poles, while hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping-places, and the baggage piled round the sides of the tent excludes the cold blast which penetrates under the edge of the covering. The fire is kindled in the fore part, or 'mouth of the tent.' In very bad weather, or when encamped for the winter, an additional covering is secured to the front poles and brought down over an extra row of short posts, making all snug. It is a common arrangement for relatives or friends to combine their toldos, when, instead of bringing down the coverings to the ground at the side, they are made to overlap, and thus one tent roof will cover two or three distinct domestic interiors.

The furniture of the toldos consists of one or two bolsters and a horse hide or two to each sleeping compartment, one to act as a curtain and the other for bedding. The bolsters are made of old ponchos, or lechus, otherwise called mandils, woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, who are

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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haps my shaggy hair and dress, not altogether of the neatest, may have been against me.

The Indians were soon in full enjoyment of some grog and biscuits, which they naturally asked me to share. After a bite and a sup, finding the proceedings slow, I left the room, and shortly after met Mr. Alexander Fraser and Mr. Grenfell, the owners of an estancia a few miles lower down the river; and after introducing myself, was most kindly received, and supplied with cash, a civilised medium of which I had not a sou to enable me to gratify the desire of treating my Indian friends to a bottle or two of wine and spirits and a few loaves of bread.

Mr. Fraser hospitably pressed me to come on to his establishment at once, but being desirous of handing the letters to the Commandante without delay, I returned across the river with the Indians.

A foretaste of Rio Negro manners was given us at the other side, as one of the horses, saddle, lazo and all, was missing—stolen by some of the civilised inhabitants. The horse belonged to El Ingles, and had been lent to Meña to go down from the encampment to the Guardia; the lazo belonged to me.

At the camp most of the people got more or less drunk, and Nacho received a richly-deserved thrashing for being pugnacious, after which he was lashed down, and left to cool in the frost for an hour.

In the morning I started for Patagones, accompanied by El Ingles and another Indian; but as our horses proved to be too tired to proceed into Patagones, we stopped for the night in a toldo at San Xaviel, the head-quarters of Linares and his tame Indians.

I took up my quarters at the toldo of one Chaloupe, and after supper, being desirous of communicating the political arrangements to the chief, proceeded on horseback behind another horseman, who proved to be a brother of Rouque Pinto, to the chief's residence, a long, low house.

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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itory a brass tinder-box, with a stone and a piece of steel, and soon produced a blaze that brilliantly illuminated the scene. By its light I was enabled to survey the first specimen of Patagonian architecture that had blessed my vision. It was constructed in a *pointed* style, though not very aspiring, consisting of a row of stakes about eight feet high, each terminating at top in a crotch, or fork, with a pole laid across them; two parallel rows of stakes on either side, about two feet high, with similar terminations, and a similar horizontal fixture; and a covering composed of skins of the guanaco, sewed together with the sinews of the ostrich, the only thread used by the people. This covering is drawn over the frame-work, and fastened by stakes driven through it into the ground. For purposes of ventilation some interstices are left, but these again are half closed by skins attached to the outside; so that the air from without, and the smoke from within (in default of a chimney), must insinuate themselves through these apertures in great moderation. In truth, my first survey was rather hurried; the first cheerful gleam had scarcely set my eyes on the look-out when I was fain to shut them against an intolerable smoke. In no long time I felt as bacon, if conscious, might be supposed to feel in the process of curing. No lapse of time was sufficient to reconcile my eyes, nostrils and lungs, to the nuisance; often have I been more than half strangled by it, and compelled to lie with my face to the ground, as the only endurable position. Talk that is "worse than a smoky house" must be something out of date, or Shakspeare's imagination never comprehended anything so detestable as a Patagonian hut. The chief and his numer-

462 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
438 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio
283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
224 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164 842]
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them.

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 592
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

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262 which the root, or rather lower stem, is eaten by the Indians, and is succulent and juicy, with a pleasant taste. The boys and girls soon brought a large supply into the toldos. The
881 day after our arrival in this place, the attainment of the age of puberty of one of the girls was celebrated according to custom. Early in the morning the father of the child informed the cacique of the event, the cacique thereupon officially communicated the intelligence to the acting doctor or medicine-man, and a considerable shouting was set up, while the doctor adorned himself with white paint and was bled in
881 the forehead and arms with a sharp bodkin. The women
346 immediately set to work to sew a number of 'mandils' together. When the patchwork was finished, it was taken with pomp and ceremony by a band of young men, who marched round the poles—already fixed to form a temporary toldo—singing, whilst the women joined in with the most dismal incantations and howlings. After marching round several times, the covering was drawn over the poles, and lances were stuck in front, adorned with bells, streamers, and brass plates that shook and rattled in the breeze, the whole thing when erected presenting a very gay appearance (its Indian name literally meaning 'The pretty house'). The
881 girl was then placed in an inner part of the tent, where nobody was admitted. After this everybody mounted, and some were selected to bring up the horses, out of which certain mares and fillies were chosen, and brought up in front of the showy toldo, where they were knocked on the head by a ball—thus saving the blood (which was secured in
[262] pots) to be cooked, being considered a great delicacy. It is a rule amongst the Indians that any one assisting to take off the hide of a slaughtered mare is entitled to a piece of meat, but the flesh was on this occasion distributed pretty equally all round. Whilst the meat was cooking, Casimiro, who was
881 ruler of the feast, sent a message for me to come to Crimé's
252 toldo, where I found him busy working at a saddle, in the construction of which he was, by the way, an adept. His

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881
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THE "PRETTY HOUSE" AND DANCE.

[facing p. 81]

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to be good friends. The whole were housed in five toldos— 621
by which Spanish name the Indian hut, or tents, strongly [342]
resembling those of our own gipsies, are known. They were pitched in a sheltered hollow, with their fronts facing the east, to avoid the bitter violence of the prevalent westerly winds.

Fitzroy has given an excellent description of the toldo; 342
but to those readers who are unacquainted with it a brief sketch will not be unacceptable. A row of forked posts about three feet high is driven into the ground in a slightly slanting position, and a ridge pole laid across them; in front of these, at a distance of about seven feet, a second row, six feet high, with a ridge pole; and at the same distance from them a third row, eight feet high, each slanting a little, but not at the same angle. A covering made of from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins, smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and the great drag of the heavy covering straightens the poles; it is then secured by thongs to the front poles, while hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping-places, and the baggage piled round the sides of the tent excludes the cold blast which penetrates under the edge of the covering. The fire is kindled in the fore part, or 'mouth of the tent.' In very bad weather, or when encamped for the winter, an additional covering is secured to the front poles and brought down over an extra row of short posts, making all snug. It is a common arrangement for relatives or friends to combine their toldos, when, instead of bringing down the coverings to the ground at the side, they are made to overlap, and thus one tent roof will cover two or three distinct domestic interiors.

The furniture of the toldos consists of one or two bolsters 352
and a horse hide or two to each sleeping compartment, one to act as a curtain and the other for bedding. The bolsters are made of old ponchos, or lechus, otherwise called mandils, woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, who are [409]

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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mantilla for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally beheaded is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women. The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of grass for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

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carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

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3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

The band.—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sown up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women. The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2:100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:52; Mori, [1535], 1889, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1860, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1928 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 359). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 119; Bourne, 1853, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND SHELTERS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:41, and lam. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 499, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

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this period, thus escaping a long *détour* round the inlet. But our crossing was not effected without trouble; the flood-tide rushing up like a mill-race, and proving almost too much for the steadiness of one of the baggage-horses. After clearing the channel, in our farther progress we passed several small streams with swampy ground, all of which probably discharge themselves into Oazy Harbour, and arrived towards evening at an old Indian encampment situated under a range of hills, running more or less north and south, forming one barrier of a broad and well-watered valley, bounded on the eastern side by the well-known 'Barrancas' of San Gregorio.

Our station was just within the opening of the valley, which, being sheltered from the wind, is the favourite winter quarters of the Southern Tehuelches, whose encampment is usually pitched near Oazy Harbour, called by them 'Oazy Saba.'

Westward the low flats which bordered the shores of the Cabecera del Mar terminated in irregular hills, beyond which higher peaks rose, and they in their turn were overlooked by distant snow-clad summits on the horizon. Among the blue hills of the middle distance floated wreaths of light haze so much resembling smoke that Gallegos, ever on the alert for signs of the deserters, proposed to deviate from our route to investigate, and only my strongly pronounced opinion in favour of haze *versus* smoke induced him to give up the idea. The Argentine Government formerly planned a settlement in this valley, which was not carried out, and the missionaries also proposed to fix a station hereabouts, with Oazy Harbour as a depôt, but the Chilians of Punto Arena set up their claims and compelled the missionaries to desist.

After camp was arranged, the weather, which since our start had been bright with cold winds and moderate frosts at night, changed to rain, and Gallegos proposed to me that, in the event of its continuing bad, we should remain under the shelter of the tent. However, though the night was

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tolerably good order, to receive the present. There were undoubtedly some very tall men amongst them, but what struck me particularly was their splendid development of chest and arms. Although the wind was very sharp, many of them had their mantles thrown back in a careless way, leaving their naked chests exposed in the air, and appeared not the least incommoded. They readily recognised me for an Englishman, coming and examining me closely, and asking for tobacco with a broad grin on their faces, exposing a wonderfully clean and regular set of teeth. My gratifying their importunate requests for tobacco made Sam very jealous, and for some time he bothered me with remarks such as 'Me very cold, no got poncho,' 'Me no got knife, me no got "pellon"' (saddle-cloth), until, finding it useless to beg, he relapsed into sullen silence. A smoke of the pipe, however, brought him back to his usual cheerful temper, and as we galloped along he chanted an Indian song, which consisted of the words 'Ah ge lay loo, Ah ge lay loo,' expressed in various keys.

After a ride of some leagues in a rather more open but still undulating country, a break in the Pampas was reached. Hills of irregular and picturesque outlines, with labyrinthine valleys or ravines, not running in parallel order, but communicating with each other, occupied an extensive district, and though travelling was considerably more difficult, yet the change in the aspect of nature was grateful after the barren monotony of the plains.

We halted in an Indian encampment, situated in a valley underneath a peaked hill called 'Otiti,' where there were pools of fresh and salt water in close proximity. Amongst the incense and thorn bushes, which grow at intervals in these regions, we passed to-day another description of shrub with a thick rough bark, which is readily detached, and leaves a long rattail-like sort of twig. From the Rio Gallegos the soil had become generally of a yellower colour than on the south side of that river, although in the valleys and hollows

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The effect of the river ice piled up on the shore by the tides was very striking. Huge floes had accumulated to the height of fifteen feet and upwards, and besides rendering the passage difficult, had buried the carefully-stacked wood-pile under a small mountain of ice. This was in the comparatively sheltered valley. On the Pampas, when the fierce south wind blew, as it almost invariably did, it seemed impossible to face it and live. One attempt made nearly resulted in Gonzalez being overcome by the sleep which is the forerunner of death, and the horses of all the party absolutely could not advance. The snow lay eighteen inches deep, and we had flattered ourselves that the guanaco and ostrich would prove an easy prey. *They* could not run—but *we* could not chase, and were thankful to make our way, slowly and laboriously, down from the desolate and storm-swept Pampas.

The Indians from the Rio Chico occasionally visited us, and Orkeke's objection to my company was gradually giving way. He had probably feared that an English Señor would require a considerable amount of attention, and give constant trouble; but during our intercourse he found that the stranger could (and did) groom his own horse, and wait on himself generally, as well as take his part in whatever was being done, even to sleeping out with no shelter but the ample guanaco mantle. Casimiro also, according to promise, visited the camp, and argued in my favour, finally obtaining from the chief a somewhat reluctant permission for me to join his party. Towards the end of July some of his Indians had come to the settlement to inform us that the scarcity of game in their vicinity had compelled them to shift their quarters to a place higher up the Kio Chico. They anxiously inquired if the schooner had arrived; we were as eagerly looking for her, but day after day passed, and the looked-for boat did not appear.

On the 24th of July everybody had gone hunting, except Juan Chileno (who was cook for the week), and myself, whom a hurt received in my foot had compelled to remain

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CHAPTER III.

THE RIO CHICO.

Breaking up of the Camp—An Idle Day—A Rash Start—A Dilemma—Alone on the Pampa—Reunion—The Kau or Toldo—The Domestic Interior—The Indian Tribes—Three Races—Order of the March—The Hunt—Indian Game Law—Tehuelche Cookery—Basaltic Hills—An Indian Festival—My First Tehuelche Ball—Mrs. Orkeke's Spill—Fording Rio Chico—A Battle—Death of Cuastro—Dangerous Times—Chilian Conspiracy—Obsidian Plain and Pass—First Ostrich Eggs—Amakaken—Lifting the Boulder—The Devil's Country—God's Hill—Condors and Dinner—Sunrise on the Cordillera—The Plague Herald—Gelgel Aik—Escape from Matrimony—Téle—Eyes of the Desert—Preparations for War—Another Fight—Water Tigers—Indian Bravoes—Iron Ores—Ship Rock—Perch Fishing—Appleykaik—Casimiro's Escape—Arrival at Henno.

THE morning after we had rejoined the Indian camp was marked by the general breaking up of the party. Camillo and some others had already left, and by this time were several marches in advance; Orkeke and Isidoro started off to Santa Cruz, in search of the lost horse, and charged with some little commissions for me. Finally, Casimiro and all the rest broke up their encampment and started, intending to overtake Camillo. Before leaving, Casimiro came to me, and affecting great interest in my welfare, confidentially urged me to accompany himself and live as an inmate of his (or rather Crimè's) toldo, adding that he had been informed that Orkeke had no real intention of marching northward, but designed to keep me in his toldo until, by some means or other, he could possess himself of my arms and ammunition.

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As I saw no reason to believe this story, I declined to comply with the proposal of Casimiro, who, having consoled himself by begging a little coffee, took his departure, and the encampment was reduced to the toldo, of which I was to consider myself an inmate, and another, belonging to the only Indians who remained—Tankelow, Orkeke's brother, and his son, a youth of about eighteen. Besides these, there were three of the Chilian deserters who as narrated had escaped from Punta Arena; one was attached to the household of Tankelow, and the other two to that of Orkeke. One of these was Arica, already mentioned, who being a very clever worker in hide, had employed himself in adorning saddles and bridles for the Indians, by which he had acquired a pretty good stock of gear. The condition of all three was, however, not enviable. They had lowered themselves at first by volunteering to discharge the drudgery of fetching wood and water, and by this time were little better than slaves, obliged to perform the menial offices, which before had been the task of the women. These fair creatures, headed by Mrs. Orkeke—a young woman almost six feet in height, and displaying a corresponding breadth across the shoulders—employed themselves in cutting out and sewing guanaco mantles, weaving fillets for the head, and chattering. Tankelow and his son presently started for a hunt; but as I was not offered a mount, and deemed it more reasonable to give my only charger a good rest and feed, I could only accompany them to the river, the frozen surface of which they crossed, and disappeared up a cañon that led up the barranca, on the northern limit of the valley, to the Upper Pampa. Having wistfully watched them, I reconnoitred the valley of the Rio Chico. Behind me, to the south-east, the river wound through plains covered with withered coarse grass, some eighteen inches high, extending on either bank for several miles till terminated by the rising barranca. Snow lay here and there in patches on some of the higher ground, and increased the dreariness of the prospect. About

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574 strange to say, it never moved from the spot where it was
164 unsaddled, and the Indian during the time he remained in the toldo neither ate nor drank. At the end of three days he mounted his mule, which appeared as fresh as when he arrived, and rode away to the northward. On the following day, whilst hunting, a sickness struck the Indians—some falling dead from their horses, while others, though able to return home, only survived a short time. As is usual when
● [361 disease breaks out, the toldos were removed to some distance
751] from each other, to escape infection, but many men, women, and children died.' Of the fact that a plague or sickness did cause the death of many Indians within a few days at some encampment in these plains, I received further and reliable confirmation, my informant, who was in the party, stating that the Pampa tribe was decimated.

133 In the cliffs above the river on the eastern side of our encampment I observed many balls of sandstone of various sizes. On breaking one in two, a piece of what seemed to be ironstone formed a nucleus, around which layers of sand appeared to have been aggregated. By what process these balls could have been formed was to me a mystery; but they proved very handy for bolas, only requiring to be slightly reduced in size. Hunting to the westward from the encampment, we came across several muddy, or rather clayey bogs, into one of which, when in full pursuit of an ostrich, I rode, and my horse sank deep, throwing his rider a complete summersault; and with much ado I first picked up myself, and then with greater difficulty extricated my horse from the tenacious morass.

000 After Arica's return, the Chilians manifested a restless spirit, and frequently asked me the direction of the Chupat settlement. I replied that it lay about 150 leagues to the E.N.E. from this point, as far as I could judge; but that it would be better for them to remain with the Indians, and do the women's work of providing wood and water, &c., than to start off into a wild and dreary pampa, where they

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the N.W. and N. the hills—which almost merited the name of mountains—were peculiarly rugged, more especially towards their summits. About N.N.E. by compass from our camp, there was a pass formed by a dip or break in the range leading north, and through the mouth of the pass we could see the smoke of the hunting parties of the Araucanian Indians, who were, however, many leagues distant. Throughout Patagonia smoke is always visible at a great distance, and the practised eyes of the Indians can distinguish it from the clouds, when ordinary persons would be unable to discern it unless pointed out to them. On the southern and eastern sides of the valley lay a range of hills, the rugged summits of which rose from lower slopes of more regular swell, and presenting more even and down-like surfaces than those on the western and northern sides. Immediately above our encampment the hill of Henno, from which the valley is named, rose from the plain. Near the summit of this hill Orkeke and myself, who for amusement had ridden up to it, one day came across the bleached skeleton of a man, perhaps one of two young Argentines who, as I was subsequently informed, had travelled thus far in company with the Indians, and had been for some—or no—reason killed by them near this spot. In the surrounding hills red porphyry frequently cropped out, and also veins of a red agate, unlike the flint agate so common in all the plains of Patagonia. The rocks near the summit of the hills were generally of igneous formation, and on the slopes of these hills frequent springs gushed out, easily discoverable from a distance by the vivid green of the grass growing round them. As we gazed down from the height of Henno, the valley lay before us like a picture; our few toldos were situated in a group to the east, on the south side of the stream; about a quarter of a mile to the north the thirty or forty toldos of the Northern Indians were pitched, and opposite to them, on the north side of the stream, those of the party commanded by Jackechan or Juan. The scene was animated but peaceful: here might

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which we dried ourselves and cooked our dinner. A more romantic-looking spot than this I was never in. On the other side of the stream was a mass of grey rocks, half hid by shrubs, from amongst which here and there a dead tree stood up. On one side the grass was beautifully green, and the trees were growing in scattered round clumps a few yards apart; doves were cooing in their branches, and young ostriches were running about. These, I am sorry to say, were caught by the horsemen, who jumped down and secured them: hunger had no scruples, and two furnished a good meal for each wet and starving traveller. Despite our ducking, we were soon all in high spirits, and some of us, before going back to the toldos, proceeded to search for wild potatoes, a few of which we brought back. The following morning the sun rose bright, with a clear sky, so we continued our march in a westerly direction, arriving about midday at a gorge amongst the wooded hills, where I hoped that we were going to encamp; the women, however, diverged to the northward, and proceeded up a ravine or cañon in the barranca of the high pampa, pitched the toldos in a gloomy prison-like spot. Melancholy as it seemed to me, it afforded abundant pasture for the horses, which between the hills was scarce, so that they were inclined to wander into the woods and be hard to find when wanted, which undoubtedly was the reason of our taking the cañon in preference to the wooded valley. This cañon, a little beyond our camp, divided into two, in one of which was a laguna frequented by avocets. The stream, which in spring poured down the glen, presented only an occasional pool and a dry bed, in which were numbers of rounded white stones of chalky substance, supplying capital materials for bolas, easily reduced to the suitable form: it also occurred to me that the chips pounded to powder might have the curative effects of chalk mixture, as diarrhœa had affected some of the party, and the result of the medicinal experiment was satisfactory, though it was impossible to prevail on the Indians to try the

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Christmas time of my life: to parody the 'Ancient Mariner,' it was 'Cattle, cattle everywhere, and never a bit of beef.' The following day was spent in the toldos, and some of the Indians were desirous, or pretended to be, of going once more in search of cattle. Orkeke would not hear of it, so on the 28th we marched, following the course of the river in a more or less north-east direction. The weather was beautiful, and after leaving the plain we rode along the winding valley, now and then starting a herd of guanaco or a solitary ostrich. Towards evening we encamped on the banks of the river, and the women, after pitching the toldos, employed themselves in grubbing up potatoes. This day we saw smoke to the north, caused by the hunting-parties of the other Indians, and also some at a greater distance, which Orkeke said was that of the Araucanian Indians, whom it was expected that we should shortly meet with.

On the 29th we were preparing to march, and while the women were engaged in lading the horses some of us were picking the berries of the 'Calafate,' or barberry (Berberis buccifolia), or looking for strawberries, when a boy, from a party of other Indians occupying the toldos near at hand, rode up as if despatched as a chasqui, and stated that his party had communicated with the Araucanians, amongst whom there had been a row in a drinking bout, resulting in the death of the cacique. This story was fully believed, and Orkeke was rather perplexed, as perhaps the new cacique might not be friendly disposed towards the Tehuelches. Without hunting, we rode quietly down to the next encampment, where the two strange toldos had already arrived. On our near approach one of the Indians came to meet us, and whilst discussing a pipe, after the observance of the usual ceremonial prescribed by etiquette (as we had not seen the man before), we asked him about the row amongst the Araucanos, which turned out to be all a hoax on the part of the promising youth who had visited us. After a while we

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36 adjourned to the toldos, situated on the bend of the river near a ford or pass. We had now arrived at the camp agreed on as a general rendezvous at Henno, previous to the dispersion of the Indians. This valley is called Teckel, and is a favourite resting-place after the young guanaco season, both for the purpose of refreshing the horses and manufacturing the young guanaco skins into mantles, previous to proceeding to trade either at the Rio Negro or with the Indians of Las Manzanas. The encampment is usually situated on the ground occupied at this time, viz., on the west side of the river, about a mile from a large barren hill which shuts out the view of the Cordilleras. On the east side the valley extends some three miles, and continues open to the north for perhaps six miles. It is all fertile, but the best grazing ground is at the north-east end. The banks of the river, which are destitute of trees, are in many places high, and formed under the surface earth of various stratified clays—blue, white, and red. In the bottom of the stream, which is singularly free from stones, thick beds of clay are of frequent occurrence, almost approaching to the tuth found in the Parana and other confluents of La Plata, and in some spots there are beds of black sand, probably auriferous; fish are procurable in any eddy or pool, and crayfish abound and form the most tempting bait for the others. Out of some of the finest clay I was enabled to manufacture a pipe by the simple process of shaping it in the hand and then baking it in the ashes, but it did not last long. Shortly after our arrival one of the small children, whilst playing with bolas formed out of the foot and sinews of an ostrich, hurt himself, and in consequence a slaughter of mares took place, which opportunely enabled us to dispense with hunting and spare our horses, which by this time stood in sore need of some bye days, though, as there was a good resource, we frequently indulged in a race just to keep the horses in exercise. After we had been about a week settled here, the women being all hard at work making up mantles—which will be described in

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A
189 stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much
197 farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the pilones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

A
231 In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although
423 there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into
A good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately
[417] behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid
T giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round
A this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe,
361 and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and
A even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses.
362 Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

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the public during the preparation of these pages for the press, 203
and to which reference will be made in the ensuing chapter.
Jackschan, after the return of his messenger, proceeded to 439
Margenshe, in the vicinity of which he met the parties 273
under Tenoforo, Patricio, Antonio, and other petty chiefs.
These all united, and, sending into Patagones, obtained
liquor and other stores, with which, as before mentioned
they had a drink for ten days, but no quarrels or fights took
place—a fact which redounds to the credit of the chiefs.
After waiting a month for our party, they, owing to the 621
scarcity of game, had come by easy stages to this place
(Trinita). Jackschan then explained that the first toldos
were those of the Pampa Indians, under Tenoforo and Cham-
payo, the former being absent in Patagones, getting his
rations of animals; his Indians are pure Pampas, and are
often called Kerekinches,* or armadilloes, for some reason
unknown to me. Some of them are in the service of the
Argentine Government, and liable to be called upon by
Linares, chief of the tame Indians. The remaining toldos
were those belonging to the Indians under Antonio and
Patricio, who were composed of mixed Tehuelches and
Pampas. The two encampments were situated about half a 361
mile apart, separated by a winding stream, in some places
concealed by most unusually high reeds. The position was
entirely surrounded on the eastern, southern, and western
sides by high rocky eminences; but to the north the valley
apparently continued for some miles; its breadth was about
three miles, and everywhere in the vicinity of the stream,
which in some places had overflowed its banks and formed a
marsh, the most luxuriant pasture was growing.

On returning to Patricio's toldo, I formally asked for the 574
necessary horses to prosecute our journey, but was refused on
the grounds of his having none to spare; so we determined,
as our horses showed symptoms of fatigue and one was lame,
to give them one day's rest before proceeding. We passed

* Quirquincho.

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haps my shaggy hair and dress, not altogether of the neatest, may have been against me.

The Indians were soon in full enjoyment of some grog and biscuits, which they naturally asked me to share. After a bite and a sup, finding the proceedings slow, I left the room, and shortly after met Mr. Alexander Fraser and Mr. Grenfell, the owners of an estancia a few miles lower down the river; and after introducing myself, was most kindly received, and supplied with cash, a civilised medium of which I had not a sou to enable me to gratify the desire of treating my Indian friends to a bottle or two of wine and spirits and a few loaves of bread.

Mr. Fraser hospitably pressed me to come on to his establishment at once, but being desirous of handing the letters to the Commandante without delay, I returned across the river with the Indians.

A foretaste of Rio Negro manners was given us at the other side, as one of the horses, saddle, lazo and all, was missing—stolen by some of the civilised inhabitants. The horse belonged to El Ingles, and had been lent to Meña to go down from the encampment to the Guardia; the lazo belonged to me.

At the camp most of the people got more or less drunk, and Nacho received a richly-deserved thrashing for being pugnacious, after which he was lashed down, and left to cool in the frost for an hour.

In the morning I started for Patagones, accompanied by El Ingles and another Indian; but as our horses proved to be too tired to proceed into Patagones, we stopped for the night in a toldo at San Xaviel, the head-quarters of Linares and his tame Indians.

I took up my quarters at the toldo of one Chaloupe, and after supper, being desirous of communicating the political arrangements to the chief, proceeded on horseback behind another horseman, who proved to be a brother of Rouque Pinto, to the chief's residence, a long, low house.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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was frozen, and a large iron bolt, doubtless from some wreck, served as a crowbar to dig holes for the stakes. The encampment was on a hill-side, near a low swamp, which furnished abundance of water, such as it was.

We had scarcely settled down, and I was dreading the stagnant monotony of camp life, when dulness was dispelled in a most unwelcome manner. Knots of Indians could be seen in murmuring conversation, whose glances betrayed the bent of their passions. They were again getting impatient of my life, and caresses and flattery were of no avail to stem the rising tide. On the evening of the third day, I was summoned out of the lodge by the chief, and followed him in silence, with a trembling presentiment of evil. He led me to a spot where twenty or thirty leading spirits in the tribe sat ranged in a circle, — the fatal ring was once more set to ensnare me! Once I had escaped. Was it possible to effect a second escape? Everything said no. The chances seemed a hundred to one against it What had I left unsaid, to tempt their cupidity, to excite alarm, to make them value my safety or dread the effects of harming me? I could think of nothing, and the dismal prospect benumbed every faculty of my soul. But, as I entered the ominous circle, an access of fresh strength, the courage of desperation, enabled me to bear up with energy against perplexity and fear; to resolve that I would meet them with a steadfast eye and an inflexible mind, — a force which, though springing out of weakness, should prove stronger than their utmost malice.

Having seated myself near the chief, the consultation began and proceeded much as before, but with increased vehemence. Their demonstrations were alarming, but, to

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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CHAPTER VII.

A new torture — Bloody gossip — An explosion nearly fatal — Plea of insanity — Reconciliation — River Santa Cruz — Naval architecture — Original mode of ferrying — Accident — Ominous demonstrations thereupon — Perilous superstition — Plans of escape — The chief fighting his battles over again — Prospects brighten — A blind hint to naturalists.

From this point we moved again in a north-westerly direction, finding game more plenty, and among other animals captured a species of fox, the first I had seen in the country. The camping-ground selected was a waste more desolate than had yet greeted my sight, even in Patagonia, — a low marsh, surrounded by sand-hills destitute of even the semblance or vestige of vegetation, past or present. The horses were let loose to solve the problem of existence as they could, while my landladies, with their canine assistants, served up a skunk and two ostrich-legs for supper. I thought myself fortunate at getting so ample a meal, having been on short allowance the preceding day.

Here a new torture was inflicted. There had been abundance of voluble hatred against me, as I had too good reason to know, but it was around and behind me. Now, presuming, doubtless, on my ignorance of their language, they came to utter their bloodthirsty thoughts in my presence. At night, before retiring, the women began to

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

342 414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, p. 280) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

[372] [573] 592 596 621

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1908, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1923). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Mufiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

281 [413] **Skin dressing.**—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were [413] softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of [283] an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "Pampa" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche*; he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f*; cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i*, *j*, *k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 232) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 296) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

During our stay the women went to the woods to cut fresh poles for the toldos, and the men brought back from the wooded country a description of fungus, which, when dried, forms an excellent tinder, of considerable value amongst the Indians, as there are only a few spots where it is to be obtained. After some days spent in this pleasant neighbourhood, as the supply of guanaco was failing, we marched over the barren range of hills, and passing a lagoon of considerable extent below the hills, encamped on the other side of them, by the side of a smaller one, in a place called 'Gogomenykaik.'

During the hunt I had singled out a guanaco, and was in full chase across the upper pampa, which was covered with stunted bushes and tufts of grass, when the quarry suddenly disappeared, as if the earth had swallowed him. The next moment my horse halted in mid-gallop, with its fore feet on the edge of a precipitous descent which shelved away without any warning. Below was a long beautiful glen, with a pool of water glistening among the trees which filled it, but did not rear their topmost boughs above the level of the pampa. Here the guanaco had taken refuge, and as the descent was impracticable for a horse, I could only gaze longingly down into the fairy-like scene, and turn away to join the circle, remembering that it was only too easy to lose oneself by delay. Of this an instance occurred the same day, for one of the Chilians did not appear at the fireside when the hunting was completed. At first no heed was bestowed on him, as it was natural to suppose that he had chased a herd of guanaco to some distance, and was detained taking off the skins; but when at sunset he was still missing, some dry grass was fired, for the purpose of directing him to our camp. The following morning he had not appeared when we started to hunt, myself going as pointsman with Orkeke. We galloped for some distance over the plain, and halted in a hollow, where we came on six young skunks outside their parental burrow, into which they quickly vanished on our

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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133 which, invisible to our eyes, lay our destination, viz., the toldos of Cheoeque. For weeks Las Manzanas and Cheoeque had been almost the sole topic of conversation, and the general excitement, which had been intense at starting, now cul-
782 minated at the sight of our distant bourne. As we halted the Indians all raised their hands to their foreheads, saluting the distant river, and inviting the Spirit of the locality to be propitious to our undertaking, as to the issue of which there was great uncertainty. The night before Casimiro had
787 pointed out the redness of the setting sun, and declared it to be an omen of war; but without paying attention to the omen, which indeed was not perceptible to my eyes, the unprecedented visit of 250 Tehuelches ostensibly for peace might very possibly be otherwise understood by Cheoeque: indeed, it afterwards appeared that he, in reality, was by no means assured of our pacific intentions.

122 When all were collected and prepared to descend the mountain, it transpired that Casimiro, who had been missing since the hunt commenced, had, in company with several other Tehuelches and Foyel's Indians, returned to drink. This was very annoying, and all present united in abusing him for setting such an example when about to enter a part of the country whither we were going on sufferance, amongst a not remarkably friendly-disposed set of people. We halted
● 372 after nightfall in a valley at the side of a small rapid stream, the banks of which, for a short distance, were covered with high tussocks of broad-leaved pampa grass, amidst the shelter of which we bivouacked, although the night was cold and frosty. Firewood was plentiful, supplied by drift-wood brought down by winter or spring floods, so with blazing fires and under the lee of the pampa grass we slept warmly enough. It was necessary, however, to keep a sharp look-out on the horses, as pasturage was scanty. Before daylight, after a
133 slight consultation, Guenalto was given chief command, and we again started; after following a winding valley for a short distance and scrambling up a steep slope, we continued

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

609 with my whole available force and weight; but the disparity between human strength and horse power, stimulated to its utmost by the spur, was too great. I begged the men in the boats to come again the next morning, and on no account to leave me, which they solemnly promised.

592 I was now hurried back into the country five or six miles, and at last reached an Indian village, and was set down by the old chief at his wigwam. He gave me in charge to one of his squaws, who ordered me into the hut and bade me sit down on the ground. While sitting there, and casting an inquisitive glance around the rude habitation, my attention was suddenly attracted to what appeared to be several pairs of eyes in a dark corner, shining with a strange brilliancy. I speculated silently on the sight, much doubting whether they belonged to human beings or to wild beasts; but, on carefully reconnoitring, I discovered that they belonged to three huge women. Further investigations disclosed a number of dark-skinned boys and girls, of divers ages and sizes, playing and [291] capering about the premises, in a state of perfect nudity. It took a considerable time to make out these, or any other objects, distinctly, owing to the darkness of the hut. Presently the chief, the patriarch of the tribe, entered [595] his habitation, and began a conversation, in his peculiar dialect, with his wives. He spoke in a low, guttural tone, in words the purport of which I could not gather. I was in no mood for conversation, but would have been much gratified by learning his version of the day's "stroke of business."

372 And now a few dry sticks and a bunch of dry grass were brought, mine host drew from a convenient repos-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

itory a brass tinder-box, with a stone and a piece of steel, and soon produced a blaze that brilliantly illuminated the scene. By its light I was enabled to survey the first specimen of Patagonian architecture that had blessed my vision. It was constructed in a *pointed* style, though not very aspiring, consisting of a row of stakes about eight feet high, each terminating at top in a crotch, or fork, with a pole laid across them; two parallel rows of stakes on either side, about two feet high, with similar terminations, and a similar horizontal fixture; and a covering composed of skins of the guanaco, sewed together with the sinews of the ostrich, the only thread used by the people. This covering is drawn over the frame-work, and fastened by stakes driven through it into the ground. For purposes of ventilation some interstices are left, but these again are half closed by skins attached to the outside; so that the air from without, and the smoke from within (in default of a chimney), must insinuate themselves through these apertures in great moderation. In truth, my first survey was rather hurried; the first cheerful gleam had scarcely set my eyes on the look-out when I was fain to shut them against an intolerable smoke. In no long time I felt as bacon, if conscious, might be supposed to feel in the process of curing. No lapse of time was sufficient to reconcile my eyes, nostrils and lungs, to the nuisance; often have I been more than half strangled by it, and compelled to lie with my face to the ground, as the only endurable position. Talk that is "worse than a smoky house" must be something out of date, or Shakspeare's imagination never comprehended anything so detestable as a Patagonian hut. The chief and his numer-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

the rest of our party. We saw nothing except one ostrich vanishing at great speed towards the valley at another point, and a pair of doves, which I remarked with interest; so we returned to the track, and as night was closing in, pushed on, wishing to cross the ford of the river and encamp on the other side. At seven o'clock, having reached a nice spring flowing from the barranca, where there was firewood in profusion, Gallegos ordered a halt, although Sam wished to proceed, observing that the moon was so bright it was 'all the same as day.' We accordingly encamped for the night, after making a good supper off guanaco meat, which was a pleasant change after our previous charqui. The valley of the Cuheyli slightly indicates the bench formation, though it does not present so distinctly marked terraces as those which border the Gallegos River; but the lowest or river plain, which is nearly two leagues wide in the neighbourhood of the ford, is of a more fertile character, the pasture being luxuriant and good. One or two of the springs—notably the one the water of which, contrary to our guide's advice and example, we drank—had a strong taste of iron, which caused all the party to suffer from internal derangement; and Sam stated that near our encampment there was a deposit of the black earth with which the Indians paint their bodies. Starting early, after a night of severe frost, we soon struck the ford. Our guide had vanished; but while rearranging the packs, we saw a volume of black smoke rising to the east, caused by Sam, who, having thus signalled his countrymen, rejoined us on the march across the slightly ascending plain. We then observed numerous Indians galloping in our direction, and crossing the stream at various parts, as J'aria remarked, quite regardless of fords. We halted, and were soon surrounded by about forty or more, most of them riding useful-looking horses barebacked. As they appeared very friendly, Gallegos gave them some biscuit and charqui; their chiefs—the head cacique being a nephew of Casimiro—forming them into a semicircle, in tolerably good order, to receive the present.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a noble savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is composed of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gelatine being carefully skimmed off and secured. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair enslaver, and confess that the process was rather painful.

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow-bones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bolkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kow", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

has been worked all over; *c* is a lanceolate blade, again worked all over. While not rare, none of these forms is common. An apparently unique knife is seen in *d*—a form probably derived from some European prototype. The great majority of blades (fig. 5,

FIG. 5.—Tehuelche knife-blades. *a–d*, Rio Galliegos basin (Hamilton collection); *e*, Gulf of San Jorge; *f*, Sierras Coloradas (after Outes)

e, *f*) are of somewhat irregular shape, sometimes one- and sometimes two-edged, in type merging imperceptibly into the scraper class. On the Tehuelche manner of hafting stone knife-blades we have no information.

Bourne's account of preparing skins describes the scouring of hides with a coarse-grained stone. In the John Hamilton collection at Galliegos, which we had the privilege of inspecting, were a number of accurately cut rectangular blocks of porous lava about six inches long by two to three inches wide and thick, which might well have been used for this purpose. Outes [16] describes and illustrates stone discs about three inches in diameter and an inch in thickness which may have been similarly employed.

Tehuelche "needles," used in the sewing, were not true needles with an eye, but simply awls. As among most primitive people, formerly they were of bone, particularly the leg-bones of birds, but in recent years the Tehuelche have used a nail or some piece of scrap-iron.

As for the pigments employed to decorate Tehuelche cloaks, they were applied mixed with blood or with grease to a slightly dampened surface. Musters [17] writes that the grease was obtained from the

[16] 1905, figs. 194, 195.
[17] 1871, p. 172.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

scum of boiled marrow-bones, and he states that red paint was ocher, black paint an earth, and white paint a gypsum. Bourne[18] says that black was obtained from charcoal, as was the practice among both Foot and Canoe Indians in Tierra del Fuego. No information is available about yellow, blue, and green pigments. We suspect that the green is always of European origin and has replaced blue, frequently mentioned by early travelers but not found on the Museum's specimens, which, by the way, illustrate the use of both native and European pigments. On the methods of applying paints, we have the statement of Bourne that a stick was used for a brush. The Tehuelche made small hair-brushes by binding together a bundle of slender roots,[19] but apparently never used paint brushes. However, it must be remembered that a stick makes a good brush if the pulp has been removed by chewing so that a fibrous end remains.[19a] Certainly Tehuelche patterns have been applied with a neatness and precision perhaps not fully appreciable on existing specimens because the colors have run in the rain.[20]

Assemblage of skins we illustrate in fig. 6. This mantle contains twelve skins, placed alternately head to foot, as will be seen if the picture is reversed. From side to side there are five complete rows, two head-up and three head-down, while the sides contain skins which have been split into halves longitudinally. The result of thus piecing together the skins is an alternation of color, the white bellies and the *café au lait* backs of the guanaco succeeding each other in turn. Such robes have considerable commercial value today, and we have been told that more than half a million guanaco-skins were shipped from Patagonia in 1924.

Coming now to an examination of the painted patterns, preliminary inspection shows that the decorated surface habitually is divided into

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[18] Ubi supra.

[19] One of these is illustrated by Oates and Brush, fig. 118.

[19a] See Orchard, W. C., Fine-line Decoration of Southwestern Pottery, *Indian Notes*, vol. II, no. 1, 1925.

[20] The colors in pls. LXV and LXVI have been made more intense than on the weather-stained original specimens. The following color-scheme is employed in our line-drawings.

Red Yellow Green Blue Black

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which if intended to shadow forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garment is now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native tastes require. There is no trial of patience in smoothing obstinate wrinkles. A "genteel fit" is the easiest thing in the world; wherein Patagonian tailors have decidedly the advantage of their fellow-craftsmen in civilized lands.

many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much capitalia broadwood in the region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Ixis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 49' of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some small springs of coast but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts; there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. The chief who controls these lands is called Ulapiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 50 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [illegible] The earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at 48° 31' of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of massive hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cave-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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Cruz was probable, for I knew of no other river in these parts;—we had passed Corey Inlet and the Gallegos. The rest of the story I could only *try* to credit. I tried to urge them on, but they were not to be hurried. Some of them grumbled that I had no intention of giving them anything, but meant to slip from them the first opportunity. No wonder they thought so; they certainly had not laid me under very great obligations of gratitude. What on earth they wanted of me, unless to fat and eat me, was past conjecture; and my fare had not been of a nature to induce corpulence, so that this supposition was not trustworthy. They *said* they wanted me to help steal horses. They were bound for the Rio Negro, where they meant to steal seven hundred horses, of which number I was to get two. Certainly, I told them, it would be just the thing; and that was a most excellent reason for going to "Holland." They would find me a rare thief; but, however it might be with them, *I* could not steal without a good stock of rum and tobacco. Was I insincere in all this? The reader may smile or may frown, but it was my purpose, if I failed to escape by way of "Holland," to humor them to the top of their bent; to ride, hunt, and even *steal* my way into their confidence;—any way to insure present safety, and keep an eye open for future opportunities.

Three or four days were passed in suspense, which was at last terminated by taking our line of march down the river. We halted at noon, at a point where he banks sloped gently to the water's edge, on either side of the deep and narrow channel. Active preparations were here commenced for crossing. Part of the horses were driven across the river, whilst a portion of the tribe were occupied

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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in building boats to ferry their families and goods across. Their boats are constructed after a simple fashion. A quantity of bushes are cut and dragged down to the margin of the water. They take four tent-stakes, and lay them so as to enclose an area eight feet square, lashing them firmly together at the four corners. Four Indians then raise the stakes from the ground, while others place the skin covering of the tent over the frame, allowing it to sag down three or four feet. The edges of the skin are brought over the stakes, and fastened on the inside. The bushes, made ready for the purpose, are placed within, tops downward, round the entire circumference, and secured to the stakes, till the boat is completely timbered up. The bushes keep the skin distended, and give to the vessel an oval shape, so that, though square at the top, it bears a striking resemblance to a large iron pot. Its length and its breadth of beam are of course equal. When completed, it is firmly lashed from stem to sternpost, and from side to side, with a lariat, or green hide rope, forty feet long, to keep it from spreading or racking. I had no hand in modelling this witch of the wave, but, like an apprentice, did as I was ordered in forwarding the structure, and, when nothing else was required, "held on to the slack." It was at last completed, like the temple of Solomon, without the sound of axe or hammer; neither bolts, trenails nor caulking-iron, were required. We carried the barge down, and launched her in the stream. Two paddles were made by lashing two bladebones of the guanaco to sticks. Squaws, pappooses and baggage, were stowed away, till the boat was laden to the water's edge. I was directed to take passage with the family and household effects of the chief, and seated myself

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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coast. I was informed by Captain Morton, of whom the persevering reader will know more hereafter, that he had touched at Sea Bear Bay for a harbor, and saw there great quantities of iron pumps, ships' hanging knees, and other gear, from wrecks of vessels of all sizes. As he was bound for the land of gold, he thought it scarcely worth his while to collect the baser metals. Had he been homeward bound, he might have obtained a valuable cargo.

As ornaments, bits of brass and copper, of silver and German silver, have a high value among the Indians, and when the metals are plenty such adornment is very common. The children's shoes have small oval pieces sewed on in front, and they appear on other parts of their dress. When scarce, they are more seldom seen. Blacksmithing in Patagonia is something of the rudest. Two hard flat stones do duty, the one as anvil, and the other as hammer. Of the effect of heat in making the metals malleable, and of the art of tempering, the people have no knowledge. To make a knife, they take a piece of iron hoop, or iron in any practicable shape, and hammer away upon it at a provokingly slow rate. Their blows are not heavy enough to do much execution; but they keep up a constant tap, tap, tap, hour by hour, till the iron is flattened to the required shape and dimensions. It is then rubbed on a smooth stone till it is worn down to an edge, and finally inserted into a wooden handle. Sometimes melted lead is poured into the handle, but lead appeared to be a scarce commodity. All mechanic arts, if they deserve the name, are in an equally rude and primitive stage. The simplicity of these people's ideas is indeed extraordinary. In invention or constructiveness they are babes. A Yankee boy, six

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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481 years old, would be a prodigy among them, — a miracle of genius.

291 294 An opportunity was afforded, while in camp, to see some specimens of their tailoring or mantua-making achievements; — either term is appropriate, as the male and female dress do not differ in form, and but slightly in the mode of adjustment. The mantle or blanket is worn around the shoulders; those of the women are fastened together by the corners under the chin with a stick for a pin; the men hold theirs around them with their hands, except that when hunting they tie a string around the waist.

281 294 The skins of young guanacos are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. *When the surface is made tolerably smooth*, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively scoured with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. The skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The

283 294 thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of the ostrich. These are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

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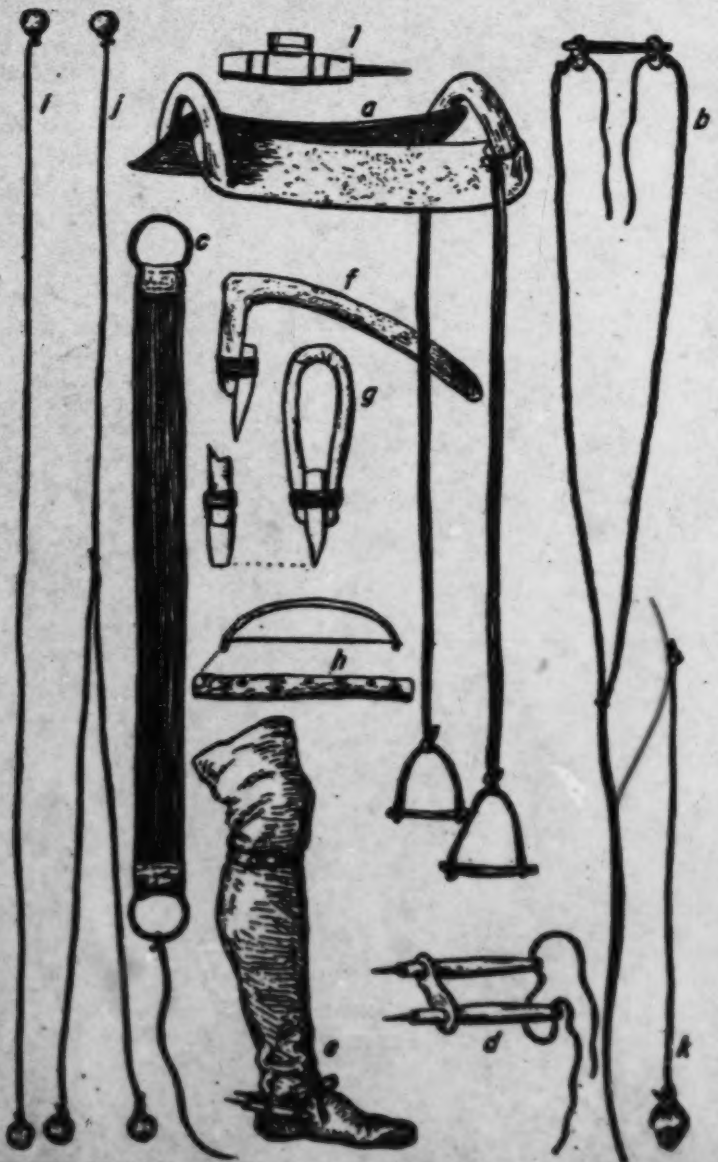

FIGURE 12.—Tehuelche arms and instruments. a, Saddle and stirrup; b, bridle; c, girth; d, spurs; e, boots with spurs; f, ads; g, scraper; h, musical bow; i, ostrich bolas; j, guanaco bolas; k, bola perdida; l, pipe. (After Musters, 1871, opposite p. 186.)

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323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

281 [413] [413] [283] **Skin dressing.**—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "*Pampa*" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche;* he records dehairing with ashes.)

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f*; cf. *Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170*).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i, j, k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 222) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

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621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognised (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:189; Spegazzini, 1924, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp cypress (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1908, p. 93) states that children's heads were

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Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Boncagl, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 125; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de León (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 51) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (Ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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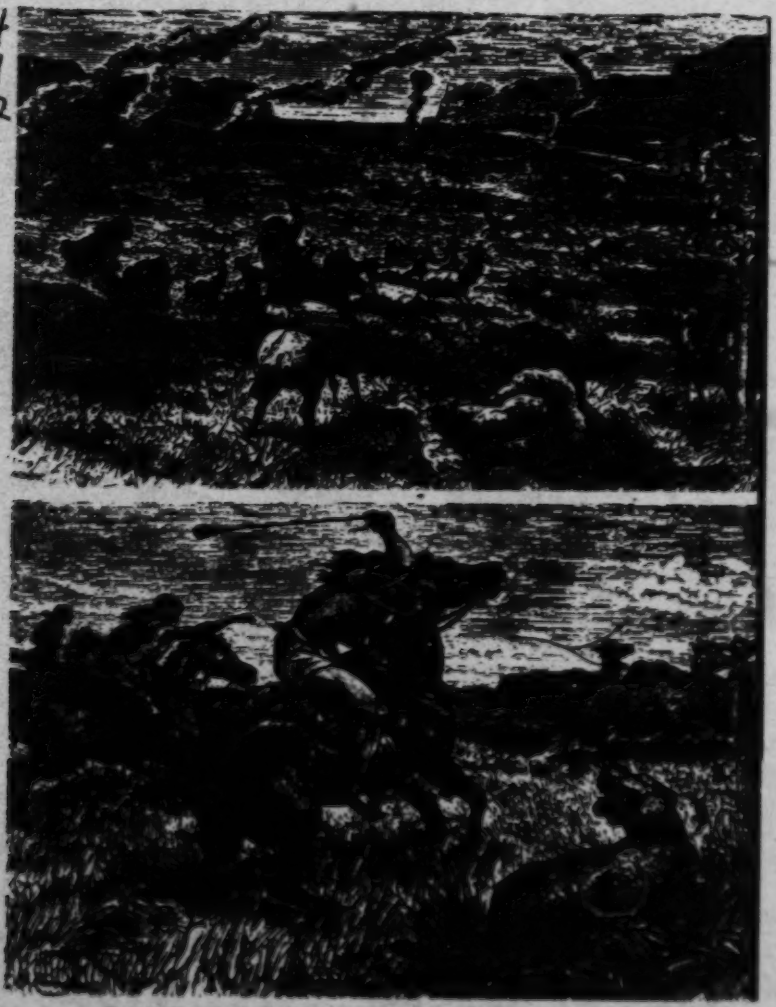

[p. 160 H]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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HUNTING GUANACO AND OSTRICH, VALLEY OF RIO CHICO.

[facing p. iii]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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gether wrong in naming them giants, yet they are not taller than some Englishmen.' Drake next visited Port St. Julian; and, curiously enough, as Magellan had in this place put to death two and marooned a third of his captains who mutinied, so this harbour was the scene of the execution of Mr. Doughty, who chose rather to be beheaded than to be put on shore. The ensuing year Sarmiento was despatched from Callao to examine the Straits in search of the daring Englishman. He saw natives who chased their game on horseback, and brought it down with bolas. But fifty years had elapsed since horses had been imported by the Spaniards of the Rio de la Plata, and already the Indians in the far south had become horsemen, and would seem to have exchanged their bows and arrows for the bolas.

In 1581 Sarmiento was sent from Spain with 2,500 men in twenty-three ships, to found new colonies in the Straits, and established a settlement, leaving 400 men and thirty women furnished with eight months' provisions. On his way home his ship was captured by the English, and the unhappy colonists were altogether forgotten and neglected by their Government.

Five years after, Thomas Cavendish anchored in a bay to the south of St. Julian, called by him Port Desire, which perpetuates the name of his little craft of 120 tons. Here the natives attacked his men with bows and arrows. Visiting the Straits, he arrived at the settlement, and found only twelve men and three women surviving, the rest having perished of slow starvation and disease; and the name of the place, Port Famine, conferred by him, still recalls the miserable fate of these ill-fated colonists.

On his next voyage, in 1591, Cavendish died; but John

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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received a fixed salary, which, however, generally proved to be balanced by an account with the store for clothes, &c. In sealing expeditions all went shares, like our own mackerel and herring fishermen; while for working at the Salina, extra pay was given and well earned, especially at this time, since it involved sleeping out in the open for several successive nights, and that in a Patagonian May. Such were the companions of my residence at Puhon, besides whom more than a score of dogs of all sorts slept anyhow and anywhere, and followed anybody, giving their masters the preference.

A short time after our arrival, Mr. Clarke took stock of the stores of provision, which could not be replenished until the return of the schooner. The result was that the amount of biscuits and sugar was found to be about equal to a month's consumption. These articles were accordingly divided into equal portions, and each man received his share, to husband or improvidently use, according to his bent. There was abundance of coffee, black beans, tobacco, and maize, which accordingly were used at discretion. The next thing was to accumulate a good stock of fuel before the snow should render it difficult, if not impossible, to transport it.

Every Sunday all hands except one—the cook of the week—left on guard, went hunting, and, as occasion required, during the week, the gauchos would proceed to supply the larder with guanaco or ostrich, the latter being, however, rare. Idleness was unknown; when not hunting, wood-cutting, or salt-raising, manufactures were the order of the day. We picked stones and worked them round for bolas, and covered them with the hide stripped from the hock of the guanaco, the soga or thong connecting the balls being made from the skin of the neck, the method of obtaining it being as follows. The head having been cut off, and an incision made just above the shoulder, the skin is dragged off into no piece; and after the wool has been picked off, is softened by hand and carefully cut into strips, which are closely plaited.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the Southern Indians—friends of Crimé, who was a cousin of Cuastro—and Orkeke's and Casimiro's people, or the Northern party, were soon ranged in open line at some twenty yards distance from each other. Cuastro was conspicuous by his tunic or 'buff coat' of hide studded with silver, while his only weapon was a single sword or rapier. The fight commenced with an irregular discharge of guns and revolvers, which lasted a few minutes, till some of the Northern or Orkeke's Indians, led by Casimiro, closed up, and a hand-to-hand contest with swords and lances took place, resulting in the death of Cuastro and the severe wounding of two or three Southern Indians. The Northerns then drew off to reload, and were about to renew the action, when Tankelow proposed a truce, which was accepted on the understanding that both parties were to march at once in the same direction. The women and children were then recalled from the bushes whither they had retired, the horses brought up, and the dead buried. The Tehuelches' lance is entirely different to that of the Araucanos or Pampas, and is only used when fighting on foot; it consists of a heavy shaft eighteen feet in length, at the extremity of which a blade is fixed about eighteen inches long, constituting a most formidable weapon in the hands of an expert Indian. Cayuke, whom I have before mentioned, in this fight was armed with the lance, and ran Cuastro through the body, although protected by his mail and endeavouring to parry the point with a sword. This Cuastro was a brave man; when dying, with several bullets in his body, and several lance thrusts, he sprang up to his full height and called out, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me;' his wife then rushed up to him crying and sobbing, but he fell down dead at the same moment. Casimiro had a narrow escape; he parried a blow of a sword with what may be termed the slack part of his mantle, but if the blow had caught him on the head, as intended, it would have ended his career then and there. The casualties were a wound in Crime's leg, and

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only sufficient for them to barter their fore and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanli- 516
ness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when
encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours
together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the clean-
liness of their kibbis and utensils, and will, if they can
obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of.
Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much
afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool
of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode
of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their
clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the
Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these
inflictions, to which, however (*experto credo*), he will soon
become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking 337
the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in
a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured 41
in the illustrations will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons
chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the
bolas filled with two balls called 'chumá,' for capturing
the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachilo,' for
guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the
Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are gene- 411
rally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are 439
employed, procured in the settlements, which require no 177
covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late 325
years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered
into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are
common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but
the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and
is consequently lighter by at least one-third than the other, is
generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in
so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging
balls round the head is generally made, as previously de-
scribed, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits,
the length of which should be between seven and eight feet.
It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact 224

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224 line, as the necks of guanaco and ostrich are always aimed at; entangling the hind legs of the quadruped being useless, though cattle and horses are always balled round the hind legs. A shot at a bird or beast bounding or running across is almost sure to miss; of course misses are frequent, as fifty to seventy yards is often the distance of a shot delivered from a horse's back at full gallop and the balls whirr through the air with their peculiar sound, only perhaps to fall into a tangled bush. Then it is that the advantage of the bright material becomes evident, for the horseman does not stop, but gallops on and throws another pair, returning afterwards to pick up the dropped weapons, frequently very hard to find on the pebble-strewn, grass-grown, or shrub-covered surface. I generally threw down a handkerchief or some such thing, easily seen, to mark the spot; but the metal bolas are so much preferred on account of
224 being easily seen, that a pair are worth a horse. In addition
411 to the bolas, a lazo is used when hunting cattle or horses, and sometimes for the pumas, although the ordinary method is to kill them by first stunning them with a blow on the
411 head. The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun or revolver, sword or dagger, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and altogether different to the light lance of Araucanian and Pampa horsemen, and the bola perdida or single ball, so called because once thrown it is not picked up again: this weapon is quickly constructed; a sharp-pointed stone is taken, covered with hide except the point, which is left out, and thong of raw hide about a yard long is attached, with a knot made in the end to prevent it slipping from the hand whilst whirling it round previous to throwing it at an enemy. Before the introduction of firearms, the bola perdida was the original weapon of the Tehuelches, and is even at the present day a most deadly missile in their hands. (See fig. 11.)

I am aware that Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan's voyage, describes the ancestors of these Indians as using

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bows and arrows, but I am inclined to think that this must 411
have applied either to a tribe of Fuegians or a party of
Pampas living in the valley of the Rio Negro. It is certain
that no ancient flint arrow-heads are met with south of the
Rio Negro, where they abound; also that there is but little,
if any, wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows,
and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the intro-
duction of horses the Indian migrations were confined to a
smaller area; besides, although no arrow-heads are found
in the interior of Patagonia proper, ancient bolas are not
unfrequently met with. These are highly valued by the
Indians, and differ from those in present use by having
grooves cut round them, and by their larger size and greater
weight. The introduction and diffusion of firearms has 713
almost superseded the use of defensive armour; but chain
suits, and hide surcoats studded thickly with silver, are still
—as instances before given show—possessed and employed:
and before going into battle the warriors are often padded
like cricketers, coreonillas or saddle-cloths, and ponchos
being employed to form a covering, the folds of which will
turn a sword cut or lance thrust.

During our long sojourn at Teckel, as hunting was avoided 461
as much as possible, in order to rest the horses, the men
occupied themselves in Indian arts and manufacture, some
account of which may be deemed interesting.

As the horse is the mainstay of the Indian, let the saddle- 492
gear take precedence. (See figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.)

The saddles are constructed in the following manner. A
piece of timber is split in two, and reduced, by means of a
small hand-adze, to the requisite size and thickness to form
the side boards or flaps, skilfully adapted to the shape of the
horse's back; in these boards holes are bored at each end,
and the saddle-trees, which are chosen from angular limbs of
trees, like knees for boat-building, and reduced to the requi-
site size, are lashed on by hide. Over this fresh guanaco
hide, divested of its woolly coat and carefully cut to the

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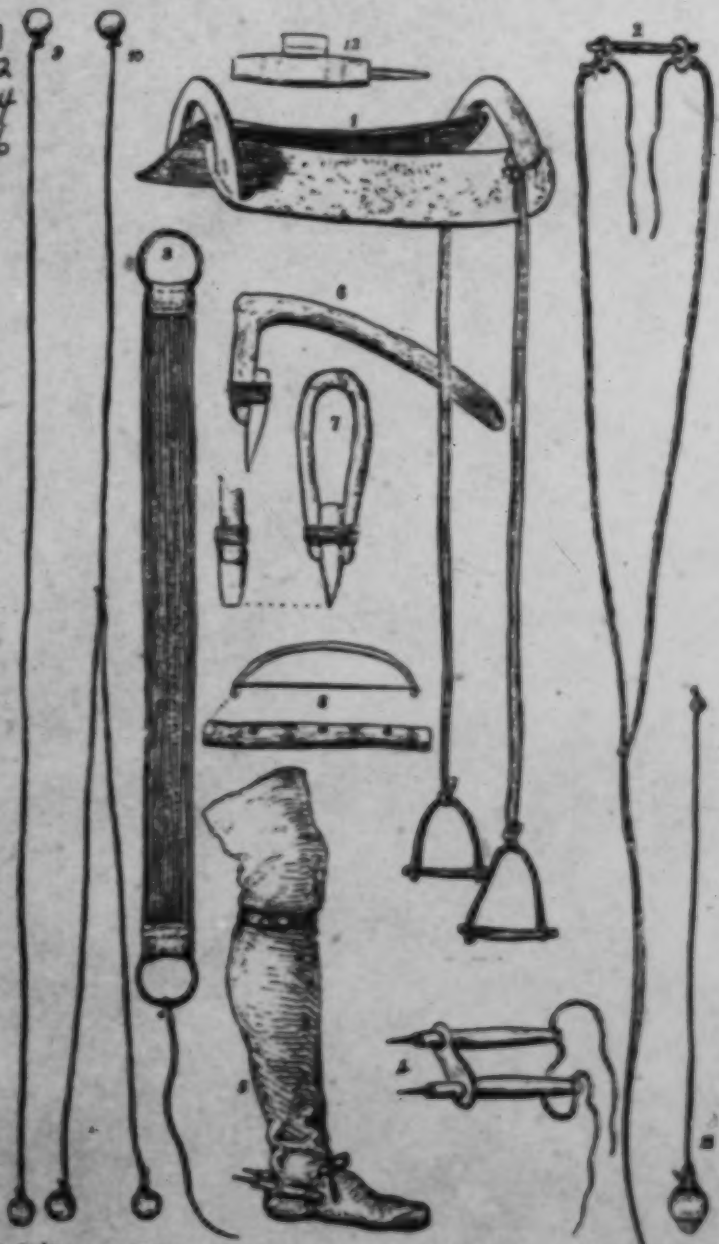

1. Saddle. 2. Bridle. 3. Girth. 4. Spurs. 5. Boot. 6. Adze. 7. Scraper. 8. Musical instrument. 9. Ostrich bola. 10. Guanaco bola. 11. Bola perdida. 12. Pipe.

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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Head-stalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

[411] Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'maniços,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Cazimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoe-horn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique speci- 411
mens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the
locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to
set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted,
and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking
instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, 291
whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four 142
women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to 521
be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and
stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the
cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the
others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of
Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were
gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs
bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into
two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions
charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I
came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the
sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then
asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been
dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro
had not been dead and come back again, and various other
questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, 574
and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio 431
that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding 291
thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed
with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he
made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term
it, 'leuku,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to
the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for
the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It
was perfectly new, having been just completed by his
daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

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volcanic aspect, was named 'Cerroè.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimé's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Chanque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

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of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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291 History, the United States National Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

291 136 In regard to the material preferred by the Tehuelche for their robes, Father Falkner[6] writes:

> Those made with the skins of young colts and mares are the least valuable. The mantles made of the skins of a small, stinking animal, like our polecat, which they call yaguane, are superior to these last. . . .
>
> The fur of the coipu, or otter, is in equal esteem with that of the yaguane, or maikel. . . .
>
> The mantles made of the skins of guanaco are in still greater estimation than those before-mentioned, on account of the warmth and fineness of their wool, and their long duration. But those which are in the highest esteem of all are made with the skins of small foxes, which are exceedingly soft and beautiful. They are of a mottled grey, with a red cast, but not so durable as those of the guanaco.

On this subject Musters[7] writes:

> Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat being the most valuable, but like the others, are generally intended only for barter.

In addition, the present writer has seen several mantles of ostrich-skins from Patagonia. While these have undoubtedly been made by the Indians and exhibit characteristic indigenous sewing, yet it is exceedingly doubtful that they were ever used locally. On the contrary, it appears that they were manufactured merely in order to [839] trade with white settlers.

A considerable variety of furs, then, were used on occasion in Tehuelche robes, but in most cases the guanaco was selected. This wild relative of the llama, one of the four New World camels, has been most succinctly described by the friend of Capt. Musters[8] who exclaimed that it combined "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil." We shall examine the methods of hunting guanaco and the weapons employed.

411 When first encountered by Europeans the Tehuelche armed themselves with bows and arrows. Their bows apparently were not like those of the Ona, for they are described as short and stiff.[9] After

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[6] 1774, p. 128.
[7] 1871, p. 180.
[8] Ibid., p. 137.
[9] Oviedo, lib. xx, cap. vi.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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the introduction of the horse, between 1670 and 1741, the Tehuelche abandoned their ancestral weapon in favor of the bolas. As pointed out by Outes,[10] there is no literary mention of bolas in Patagonia before the expedition of John Byron in 1764, but all travelers thereafter speak of it. On the other hand, various discoverers during the first half of the sixteenth century observed bolas in use among the inhabitants of the La Plata littoral, such as the Minuané, Charrúa, and Querandí, but archeological evidence indicates that this missile was never employed so extensively in that region as it was later in Patagonia. In Chile, Bolivia, and Peru occasional finds have been made of grooved stones suggesting bolas, but their use never was typical, for the inhabitants of these lands preferred the sling. The greatest development of the bolas, then, was among the Tehuelche, but the center of dispersion apparently was the La Plata district.

Among the Tehuelche three types of bolas were employed (fig. 2, *g–i*). The simplest of these, known as the *bola perdida*, was a stone ball attached to a cord about a yard long. This was employed in warfare, for finishing off wounded game, and for killing pumas, which they always attacked at close quarters (fig. 3). A second type, called *chemé*, had two balls joined by a cord six or seven feet long. This was intended primarily for capturing ostriches. A third type, with three balls, known as *yorkóo*, was dedicated to the pursuit of guanacos.

In compound bolas one ball is especially designed to be grasped in the hand when the missile is upon the cast. We do not know the Tehuelche name for it, but it is called the *manija* in Spanish. This stone is not round, but oval (fig. 2, *d–f*), and is lighter by about a third than the other balls.

In former times bolas' balls were made of stone or bronzite, but the Tehuelche have employed lead or copper when procurable. Archeological examples from southern Patagonia, illustrated in fig. 2, *a–c*, show various types of grooving. More recently, however, the stones have been enclosed in leather sacks and therefore have no grooves. The average weight of a ball is perhaps a pound, but there is a good deal of variation in this respect.

The cord used in Tehuelche bolas is of ostrich or guanaco sinew, braided four-ply.

As a weapon the bolas has both its advantages and disadvantages.

[10] 1905, p. 427.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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The hunting range above is up to seventy yards, which compares favorably with the effective bow-and-arrow hunting range. Its advantage over the arrow is that it will kill or entangle across a wide

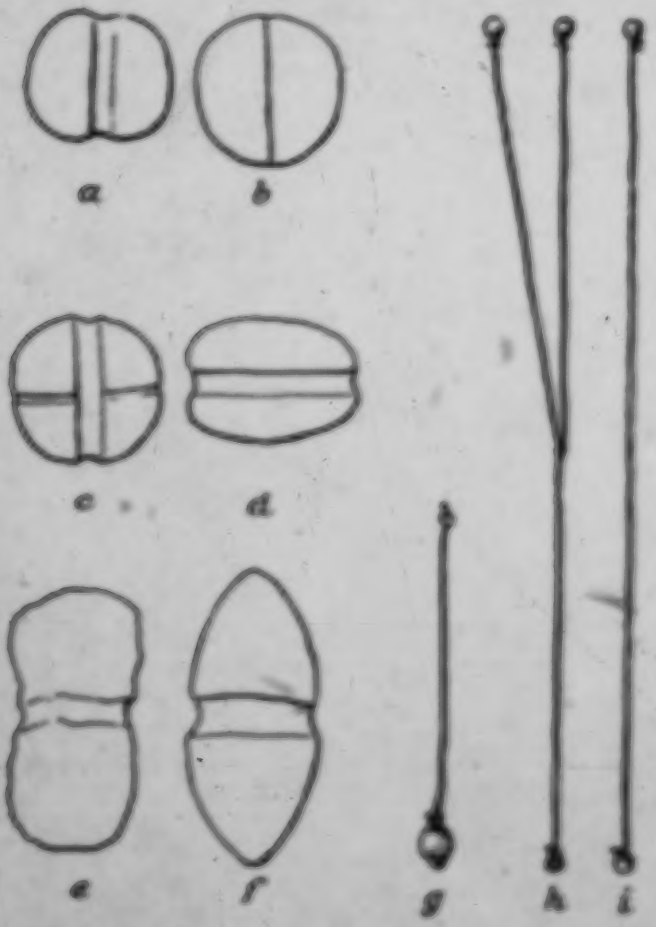

FIG. 2.—Tehuelche bolas. *a–f*, Rio Gallegos valley (Hamilton collection; not to scale); *g–i*, after Musters.

path, while the arrow must make a direct hit. On the other hand, the release of the arrow can be timed exactly, so that it is possible, by gauging the speed, to strike a transversely moving target; but it is impossible to time so accurately the swing of the bolas, and the

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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411 hunter must be moving in the same line as the quarry when he makes his cast.

224 The actual hunting of guanaco was a joint occupation for all male members of the group who happened to be living together. After camp had been broken, the horses packed, and the women and children set on the road, the men would sit around a fire and smoke for a while. Then, at the command of the chief, "two men start off at a gallop and ride around a certain area of the country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are dispatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed it are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use."[11]

000 Information about the manufacture and decoration of guanaco robes is scanty. We therefore quote in full the accounts of Musters[12] and Bourne,[13] as they are the most extensive we have been able to find.[14] Musters' narrative follows.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed in a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle [fig. 4]. They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into a pulp, after which they are softened in the

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[11] Musters, 1871, p. 71.
[12] Ibid., pp. 179-180.
[13] 1893, pp. 98-99.
[14] Cooper (1919) cites the following references to Tehuelche robes and colors: Maximilianus Transylvanus, 1523, p. 41. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498. Hulse de Silva, 1906, p. 135. Ortes, 1905, p. 258. Pigafetta, 1906, I, pp. 48-49. Oviedo, II, p. 49. Fletcher, 1854, p. 53. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 234. Dr. Cooper has most kindly assured me that he knows no detailed accounts except those of Bourne and Musters.

2/4 [The original sources have been processed—A]

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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was inevitable. Some of the men were dashed violently upon the deck, others precipitated into the boiling surf, where they clung desperately to spars, and fragments of the wreck. While the confusion was wildest, and the dream of effort for escape was subsiding into the calmness of despair, I suddenly awoke, and for some time was unable to comprehend where I was, or how I came there. If I were indeed shipwrecked, I was also, like Jonah, vomited upon dry land. I drew my hand across my eyes to assure myself that vision was unobstructed, cast my eyes right and left;—the lodge, the ashes of the last night's fire, the chief and his motley family, the door through which the "lubber fiend" had followed me with his restless eyes, and into which the fierce dogs had driven me, recalled my distracted senses, and restored consciousness of a reality which, at the moment, I would almost have exchanged for the wildest terrors of my dream.

With the light calmer thoughts succeeded, and I once more addressed myself to the task of effecting my escape. The first thing was to get the chief with me to the shore, in readiness to meet a boat, and to renew negotiations for my liberty. Observing that he was awake, I began to promise him an abundant supply of the articles most tempting to his fancy, on condition of my release. He carelessly replied that he would go with me to the beach by and by. I tried to urge his departure, being anxious to go without the rabble at his heels the day before, but for whose violence he would now hardly be master of me; but there was no hurrying his movements. He took down his little cutlass, drew it from its brazen scabbard, and commenced sharpening it with a rusty file, trying its

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[41]

edge with his fingers as the work went on, and casting side glances at me the while. Whether this ceremony was the preface to some act of violence he meditated, or a scene for effect, to fill me with a wholesome dread of his power, I could not guess; but, determined to show no foolish fears, I thought it best to put a bold face upon the matter, and make an equally striking demonstration of courage and presence of mind, qualities which savages generally appreciate. I therefore approached him, tried the edge with my own fingers, praised the beauty of the instrument, and interested myself in the process of sharpening it. Following up my assault on his vanity, I extolled him as one of the best of men, and assured him that when we got to the shore I would amply reward him for his kindness to me; taking occasion, however, to throw in a hint on the vast importance of starting early. This I enforced by the suggestion that, when he got his good things, the fewer there were present, the fewer claimants there would be to divide the spoils.

After much coaxing, he started after his old horse; I mounted behind him, and we moved slowly off. When we arrived at the shore it was blowing a perfect gale. A boat could not live in the billows. All three vessels had dragged their anchors, and lay at some distance from their anchorage of yesterday. Bark Hebe appeared to be dragging towards the Orange Bank, a dangerous shoal. I afterwards learned that the Hebe, after getting into water as shoal as would barely float her, slipped her cables, put up a little sail, and finally succeeded in weathering the shoal and getting safely out to sea. The J. B. Gager was dragging in the same direction. My own vessel was

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horses, the stock of which is frequently replenished by stealing from the Spanish and Chilian settlements. These animals are, for the most part, of small size and inferior quality, half wild, coated with coarse, shaggy hair — lean and woe-begone enough, just "fit for the crows." A few valuable specimens of a superior breed are found among them, doubtless "conveyed" there. The rude saddles in use among them are mostly of Spanish origin, obtained at the settlements. They consist each of two boards, an inch thick, six inches wide, and two feet long, rounded at the corners so as to fit the horse's back, and united by two strips of board passing across the back-bone, the several pieces lashed together with leather strings. A piece of guanaco-skin often serves in default of a saddle. The steed is guided by a single rein, tied round the lower jaw; some of them sport a bit of iron or wood, secured by a string round the jaw, attaching the rein to this. Spurs, like the rest of their riding apparatus, are more efficient than elegant. They are indeed rude and cruel things, — straight sticks, six inches long, with a long, sharp iron inserted into the end, secured by a string or strap around the hollow of the foot, and tied at the top, a second strap nearer the heel, and a third passing round the heel. They are all agile and excellent horsemen.

For weapons, the chief, and a few of the principal men, had cutlasses or swords. They had no fire-arms, nor could I learn that they understood their use; bows and arrows, spears and war-clubs, appeared to be equally unknown. All the men carried knives; and the *bolas*, a missile weapon used in the capture of all kinds of game. This consists of two round stones, or lead balls, if they can be

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

gummous, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots made from the hocks or legs of horses or large gummous, and their spurs are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their foreheads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird. These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and being thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur. Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large gummous, the pads stuffed with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood, are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end; it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [68] The reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they work they gather it up to their left hand. They do not use their left hand for anything else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circumstance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide, a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel, woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of rosy soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which form women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 15
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lazo, and also 41
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [69]
Aires or [78] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [79]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 812]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The toldos are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 582
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 3223 Yahuskin 597

323 **Pottery**.—The early *Yahuskin* used very simple and crude pottery (Figuhera, 1908, 1: 30), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Yahuskin* territory (present volume, p. 30; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 190–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 172) reported pottery almost from the *Yahuskin* of his day.

251 325 **Miscellaneous**.—The *Yahuskin* did excellent bone plaiting and millinery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Mollie, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1883, p. 97, cf. 98).

281 [343] **Skin dressing**.—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by hafting the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. Hunter, Ochre and Brush, 1910, p. 101) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Yahuskin* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1932; Bourne, 1883, pp. 95–96; Guinnard, 1866, pp. 49–49; Beaugh, 1896, p. 779; Hatcher, 1903, p. 200. One most detailed account is Korman, 1905, pp. 229–233, for "Pampa" Indians apparently of Rio Negro, probably including *Yahuskin*; he records debauching with salsa.)

[341] [342] 95 912 **Skin bags** were made for holding water (Coan, 1866, p. 52; Gardiner and Stone, 1853, p. 69; Bourne, 1883, p. 96), grains, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 19th century (Hawkes Labrador, 1916, p. 71). A small hand-adz was used in wood-working (fig. 18, *f*; cf. Masters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

911 **Weapons**.—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Yahuskin* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Maxwell, 1855, p. 96; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 168). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Orbigny, 1835–38, 2: 46), carried originally in the hair, then headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 116–117) reported bows 5 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i*, *j*, *k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lance, too, was of later introduction.

The bolas, bola pendula, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 155–164.

322 **Fire making**.—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1866, p. 52) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1880, p. 202) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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175 the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth." They never cut their hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a white savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is compound of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gelatine being carefully skimmed off and secured. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair endeavor, and confess that the process was rather painful.

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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stone implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikikh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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ous household, however, seemed to enjoy immense satisfaction; and jabbered and grunted, and played their antics, and exchanged grimaces, as complacently as if they breathed a highly exhilarating atmosphere.

My meditations and observations were shortly interrupted by preparations for a meal. The chief's better half — or rather fifth part, for he had four wives — superintended the culinary operations, which were as rude and simple as the hut where they were carried on. And now my fancy began to conjure up visions of the beef, fowls and eggs, the promise of which had lured my men from the boat, — had proved stronger than the suggestions of prudence, and had made me a prisoner. But these dainties, if they existed anywhere within the chief's jurisdiction, were just at present reserved. The old hag threw down from the top of one of the stakes that supported the tent the quarter of some animal; whether dog, guanaco, or whatever, was past imagining. She slashed right and left, with might and main, an old copper knife, till it was divided into several pieces. Then taking a number of crotched sticks, about two feet long, and sharpened at all their points, she inserted the forked ends into pieces of the meat, and drove the opposite points into the ground near the fire; which, though sufficient to smoke and comfortably warm the mess, was too feeble to roast it. At all events, time was too precious, or their unsophisticated appetites were too craving, to wait for such an operation; and the raw morsels were quickly snatched from the smoke, torn into bits by her dirty hands, and thrown upon the ground before us. The Indians seized them with avidity, and tossed a bit to me; but what could I do with

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Figure 16.—Tehuelche arms and instruments. a, Saddle and stirrup; b, bridle; c, girth; d, spurs; e, basin with spurs; f, ado; g, scraper; h, musical bow; i, ostrich bolas; j, guanaco bolas; k, hole pendle; l, pipe. (After Mentzen, 1871, opposite p. [illegible])

323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Figuerón, 1908, 1:80), and pottery occurs archaeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 39; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 325 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent bone plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Medin, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1893, p. 97, cf. 96).

281 **Skin dressing.**—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 16, *f*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Orbigny and Brunh, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1932; Bourne, 1893, pp. 96–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Beneagli, 1894, p. 776; Hatcher, 1903, p. 338. Our most detailed account is Kerman, 1905, pp. 209–210, for "Pampa" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche*; he records debairing with adze.)

[413] [483] 485 412 **Skin bags** were made for holding water (Coan, 1886, p. 33; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1893, p. 99), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 19th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f*; cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 108, 170).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 64; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled type (fig. 18, *i*, *j*, *k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lasso, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 152–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1886, p. 30) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 288) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The 326
anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stone [413]
implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for
procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers
in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any
piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies,
or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently
used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one
blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of 412
files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikikh,' or per-
haps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small
adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these
have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by
barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the 462
making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down 281
with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken 294
up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or some-
times glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a
handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and
liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the
hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground
and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed
so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of
seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six 442
women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, 283]
consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and
dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole
mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is
finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus.
The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake 294
or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping 531
it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the
ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife [fig. 5] into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other [fig. 6], in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The favorite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work, and the rapidity with which they sew are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case, he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about a third of their number.

FIG. 4—Tehuelche flesher. (After Oates and Bruch)

Bourne's account of mantle-making differs in detail from that of Musters, so we quote it also in full.

The skins of young guanacos are selected for mantles, on account of the superior fineness and softness of the hair. Nearly a dozen skins are used for a single mantle, as a large part of each is esteemed unfit for use, and thrown away. The skins, while green, are stretched to their utmost tension on the ground to dry. When partially dried, they are scraped on the inside with a stone sharpened like a gun-flint, sprinkled the while with water, to facilitate the operation. When the surface is made tolerably smooth, and of a pretty uniform thickness, it is actively scoured with a coarse-grained stone, till it has a bright polish. When the skin is again dried, then crumpled and twisted in the hands till it becomes perfectly soft and pliable. The thread, as has been stated, is made from the sinews of

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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the ostrich. They are extracted by the exertion of great strength, and divided into strings about the size of an ordinary shoe-thread. They are then twisted, the ends are scraped to a point, and when dry become stiff; they are now ready for use.

Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which, if intended to show forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), *or* for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4: and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garments are now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native taste requires. . . .

Certain comments may be made on the two descriptions of robe-making just quoted. In the first place, the tools enumerated are well known archeologically, and most of them have been illustrated by Outes (1905). Scrapers sometimes were hafted by setting them transversely in a block of wood and securing them with resin.[14] More often the handle consisted of a split sapling, bent until the ends met, with the blade secured between them by lashings (fig. 4). Snub-nose scrapers, intended for use without hafting, are found throughout Patagonia, but not in great quantities.

Knife-blades are found all over Patagonia. However, the series we illustrate in fig. 5, *a–d*, come from the region where the cloaks here described were obtained. Of these *b* is a single triangular flake, retouched along the edges; *a* is a symmetrical elongate blade which

[14] Outes (1905, p. 339) states that this hafting is of Araucanian origin, taken over by the Tehuelche. The use of transversely hafted scrapers by the Ona of Tierra del Fuego, however, suggests that the culture transference may have been from the Tehuelche to the Araucanians.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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has been worked all over; *c* is a lanceolate blade, again worked all over. While not rare, none of these forms is common. An apparently unique knife is seen in *d*—a form probably derived from some European prototype. The great majority of blades (fig. 5,

a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f*

FIG. 5.—Tehuelche knife-blades. *a–d*, Rio Gallegos basin (Hamilton collection); *e*, Gulf of San Jorge; *f*, Sierras Coloradas (after Outes)

e, *f*) are of somewhat irregular shape, sometimes one- and sometimes two-edged, in type merging imperceptibly into the scraper class. On the Tehuelche manner of hafting stone knife-blades we have no information.

Bourne's account of preparing skins describes the scouring of hides with a coarse-grained stone. In the John Hamilton collection at Gallegos, which we had the privilege of inspecting, were a number of accurately cut rectangular blocks of porous lava about six inches long by two to three inches wide and thick, which might well have been used for this purpose. Outes[10] describes and illustrates stone discs about three inches in diameter and an inch in thickness which may have been similarly employed.

Tehuelche "needles," used in the sewing, were not true needles with an eye, but simply awls. As among most primitive people, formerly they were of bone, particularly the leg-bones of birds, but in recent years the Tehuelche have used a nail or some piece of scrap-iron.

As for the pigments employed to decorate Tehuelche cloaks, they were applied mixed with blood or with grease to a slightly dampened surface. Musters[11] writes that the grease was obtained from the

[10] 1905, figs. 194, 195.
[11] 1871, p. 172.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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stum of boiled marrow-bones, and he states that red paint was ochre, black paint an earth, and white paint a gypsum. Bourne[10] says that black was obtained from charcoal, as was the practice among both Fuegian and Canoe Indians in Tierra del Fuego. No information is available about yellow, blue, and green pigments. We suspect that the green is always of European origin and has replaced blue, frequently mentioned by early travelers but not found on the Museum's specimens, which, by the way, illustrate the use of both native and European pigments. On the methods of applying paints, we have the statement of Bourne that a stick was used for a brush. The Tehuelche made small hair-brushes by binding together a bundle of slender roots,[11] but apparently never used paint brushes. However, it must be remembered that a stick makes a good brush if the pulp has been removed by chewing so that a fibrous end remains.[12] Certainly Tehuelche patterns have been applied with a neatness and precision perhaps not fully appreciable on existing specimens because the colors have run in the rain.[13]

Assemblage of skins we illustrate in fig. 6. This mantle contains twelve skins, placed alternately head to foot, as will be seen if the picture is reversed. From side to side there are five complete rows, two head-up and three head-down, while the sides contain skins which have been split into halves longitudinally. The result of thus piecing together the skins is an alternation of color, the white bellies and the *café au lait* backs of the guanaco succeeding each other in turn. Such robes have considerable commercial value today, and we have been told that more than half a million guanaco-skins were shipped from Patagonia in 1924.

Coming now to an examination of the painted patterns, preliminary inspection shows that the decorated surface habitually is divided into

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[10] Ubi supra.

[11] One of these is illustrated by Oates and Beach, fig. 118.

[12] See Orchard, W. C., Fine-line Decoration of Southwestern Pottery, *Indian Notes*, vol. II, no. 1, 1925.

[13] The colors in pls. LXV and LXVI have been made more intense than on the weather-stained original specimens. The following color-scheme is employed in our line-drawings.

Red Yellow Green Blue Black

S: Bourne T-S (1849)1874
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Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which if intended to shadow forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garment is now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native tastes require. There is no trial of patience in smoothing obstinate wrinkles. A "genteel fit" is the easiest thing in the world; wherein Patagonian tailors have decidedly the advantage of their fellow-craftsmen in civilised lands.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

757 [413] left them and drew from their repository of tools a sharpened nail fixed in a wooden handle, like an awl. The chief stretched himself on the ground, face downwards; a surgical operation was plainly impending. What could the matter be? Had the chief, in the excess of his plumpness, burst open, like ripe fruit, requiring to be sewed up? I drew my head from beneath the protection I had provided against the smoke, and rose on my knees, to get a better view; the huge, black, greasy monster lay extended at his full length, his wife pinched up the skin on his back, pierced it with her awl, and continued the process till a number of perforations were made, from which the blood oozed slowly. I asked the meaning of this operation, and was told by the chief that he had pains in his back, for which this was the best *remedy*. Blood-letting, it seemed, is no monopoly of the faculty. I told him that in my country we applied, in such cases, a liquid called opodeldoc, an infallible *remedy*, and promised to procure him some when we got to Holland. This was henceforth added to my list of inducements.

264 The old fellow righted himself, and leaned against one of the pillars of his palace; one of his partners pulled up the toasting-fork, and jerked the half-roasted and more than sufficiently smoked meat upon the ground, seized the knife which the boys had been playing with, and cut the mess into liberal pieces, which were thrown broadcast on either side. The chief's appetite did not appear to be affected either by his indisposition or by the extraordinary remedy applied; his portion of the *cárne* disappeared behind his great white teeth with a haste that seemed to involve no waste.

1: Clinger E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche 5445

or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1839-47, 3: 330), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 635-638, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

Hunting.—The early *Tehuelche* used tame young guanacos as decoys in hunting guanacos (Figueira, 1838, 1: 69; Moré, [1850], 1889, p. 350), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41-42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanacos and the rhea (pl. 46, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 46, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1880, pp. 362-364, 366, and Outes, 1909 d.)

Food preparation and storage.—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1880, p. 56). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanacos, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Skinned stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1880, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 284). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 289). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanacos was drunk raw (Coan, 1880, p. 110; Bourne, 1888, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

Artificial receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851-55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

CAMPS AND DWELLINGS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 110) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851-55, 2: 41, and text-fig. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ladrillero, 1880, p. 429, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 [282] Tehuelche §67

Pottery.—The early Tehuelche used very simple and crude pottery (Figueira, 1888, 1: 80), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in Tehuelche territory (present volume, p. 89; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 134–135); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 178) reported pottery absent from the Tehuelche of his day.

Miscellaneous.—The Tehuelche did excellent bone grinding and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Musters, 1917, p. 234; Bourne, 1893, p. 97, cf. 96).

Skin dressing.—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, g) are hafted by hafting the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. Hunter, Outes and Bruch, 1918, p. 331) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scraping. In sewing, an awl, later made of an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On Tehuelche skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1932; Bourne, 1893, pp. 96–99; Guinnard, 1894, pp. 49–50; Hemsley, 1894, p. 773; Hatcher, 1903, p. 268. One most detailed account is Koessler, 1895, pp. 209–210, for "Pampas" Indians apparently of Rio Negro, probably including Tehuelche; he records disbarring with salaa.)

Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1899, p. 19; Gardiner and Hunt, 1855, p. 69; Bourne, 1893, p. 92), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 19th century (Martens Lalvador, 1899, p. 73). A small hand-adz was used in wood-working (fig. 19, f; cf. Mantero, 1871, pp. 169, 170).

Weapons.—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early Tehuelche was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Maxwell, 1855, p. 54; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 67), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, i, j, k), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 183–184.

Fire making.—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1899, p. 20) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1894, p. 288) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant Ona influence (cf. supra).

Lista, 1879 b, p. 9; Borough, 1904, p. 79; Spegazzini, 1924, p. 387.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of *Schinus Dependens* was thought for health purposes (Hudson, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pittaluga, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco humors were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 108; King, 1839, 1: 117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from Quichua.

[illegible]

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Pampa* culture are derived from Diego Flores de Lete (1580), Gerónimo Flores (1646), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Valenzuela (1698), and Menendez (de Furoh, 1899). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Lenhossék, 1929-30, 64: 289-302).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Flores de Leon and Flores, make no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 311) stated that the *Pampa* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (de Furoh, 1899, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Pampa*] of Leon Bulnes-Isnapi in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Flores de Leon, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1580, p. 200)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 311; Valenzuela, 1698, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 313), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (Ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
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[175] the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta [342] with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, [203] covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were [412] very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate their meat nearly raw.'

That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking [224] the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth." They never cut their [302] hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they [415] carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are [534] fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women.

The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Head-stalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'manèos,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoe-horn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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592 position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

133 The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They

136 are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are

252 very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-

281 415 baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

852 The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

648 Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bring-

576 ing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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meal with the savages, and a sample of many others; though better viands afterwards varied their monotony, now and then.

The eating being over, a large horn, that had once adorned the head of a Spanish bullock, was dipped into a leathern bucket and passed from one to another. Between the bucket and the horn, the fluid had gained a flavor not found by Adam in his first brewing, and, indeed, not far from nauseating. However, it seemed expedient to "conquer my prejudices" so far as to drink with the other guests, and the ceremonies of dinner were over; for which, "with all other mercies," I felt thankful, and turned to my corner near the expiring fire, to chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies, in which the latter ingredient decidedly predominated. The strange and sudden desolateness of my condition, the doubtful chances of escape, the possible sufferings before me, the uncertainty that rested on the designs of my savage captors, all rushed upon my mind, and suggested to my heated imagination a host of terrors.

These painful thoughts were interrupted by an order to prepare for the night's repose. An old skin, about two and a half feet square, was thrown upon the cold ground in the back part of our rookery, and assigned for my couch; I took possession accordingly, and the whole family bestowed themselves in a row near me. The stifling atmosphere was soon vocal with their snoring. My brain was too busy for sleep. Feverish fancies kept me wakeful. I revolved a variety of plans for escape. Could I steal out of the hut unperceived? Could I find my way to the shore? I doubted the first, and more than doubted the

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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should little think of as an object of adoration — the tobacco-pipe; — though, how far this is, in fact, an object of idolatry in Christian lands, it might not become me to speculate. The only occasions on which the Indians discovered any appearance of devotion were those of smoking. This may have been only a symptom of intoxication, but the reader may judge for himself.

A group of a dozen or more assemble, — sometimes in a wigwam, sometimes in the open air. A vessel made of a piece of hide bent into a saucer-shape while green and afterwards hardened, or sometimes an ox-horn, filled with water, is set on the ground. A stone pipe is filled with the scrapings of a wood resembling yellow ebony, mixed with finely-cut tobacco. The company then lay themselves in a circle flat on their faces, their mantles drawn up to the tops of their heads. The pipe is lighted. One takes it into his mouth and inhales as much smoke as he can swallow; the others take it in succession, till all have become satisfied. By the time the second smoker is fully charged, the first begins a series of groanings and gruntings, with a slight trembling of the head, the smoke slowly oozing out at the nostrils. The groaning soon becomes general, and waxes louder, till it swells into a hideous bowling, enough to frighten man or beast. The noise gradually dies away. They remain a short time in profound silence, and each imbibes a draught of water. Then succeeds another interval of silence, observed with the most profound and devotional gravity. All at length arise, and slowly disperse. Now, this may or may not have been a form of worship; but the circumstances attending it, the numbers uniformly engaged in it, the formality with which it was invariably conducted

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

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The
846 child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum.
854 The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

421 To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted,
858 which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child,
553 nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing
551 so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

868 The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about
881 sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as
857 described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages
581 are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

583 The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has
585 secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

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515 356 but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

114 Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

621 **The band.**—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

621 423 721 Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73).

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780–83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65–68), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4′ S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

> The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: *although that family does not thereby lose its right to the* [its] *territory* [italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the tolderia which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.]

A tolderia may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76).

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to [462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them [90] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown 622 they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When 721 623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion 721 203 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol- 423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from 484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission [202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

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or for small parties, the chañal grows to the height of ten to fifteen feet, and, like the 'waitabit' thorns in Albania, renders fast riding impossible. |37

This day we were about to start hunting, when a demi-john of rum was discovered in a bush. This put an end to the sport, for, although it was hidden again in another place, enough was taken out to render most of the party talkative, a bottle or two also being reserved for discussion at the camp fire. 425

At four P.M. we encamped by the side of a lagoon similar to the previous one, and, our Valchita water being finished, diluted the rum with meal and water about the consistency of Spanish chocolate. I forgot to state that in the excitement of the 'find' the horses were not looked after, and on mustering to proceed, one of Nacho's had disappeared, and, although carefully searched for, he was not found again. 484

The next day, despite the dissipations over night, we were in the saddle at daybreak, and had hardly traversed a league of this wearisome waste when we came suddenly upon seven wild horses. An effort made to surround them failed, owing to the difficult nature of the ground; but the failure was to me fully made up by the magnificent spectacle of these splendid creatures careering in their untamed strength and beauty across the plain. |36 484

We subsequently hunted and killed guanaco and ostrich, and also saw some hares and partridges. At about ten A.M. our eyes were gladdened by the sight of the sea, and presently the level plain rose into more undulating country, and from the crests of the elevations at times a full view of the inlet called the Laco de San Antonio presented itself. |33 484

Smoke was visible ahead, and we accordingly pushed on, and made a long and rapid march, the surface being here altogether free from the small stones which had previously caused so much damage to the horses' feet. That night we halted, as usual, by the side of a lagoon, the water of which was not more than two inches deep.

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side of the valley, and shortly a line of mounted women and children descended the slope in front, making for our fire, which Sam informed me was their intended camping-place. We advanced to meet them, and Sam conversed in their tongue; interpreting to me that they had left Santa Cruz two days previously, and that Don Luiz P. B. had quitted his settlement on the island to sail in his schooner to Buenos Ayres; while the Northern Indians, encamped to the north of Santa Cruz, with whom I hoped to proceed to the Rio Negro, had no intention of marching until the ensuing spring. On leaving these ladies, amongst whom was a young and rather pretty girl, I lifted my hat in salute, which called forth a burst of laughter from the whole group, and cries of 'English, English!' amidst which we rode off to join the remainder of our party, who were crossing the valley to the eastward, having intentionally deviated from the straight route; and although Sam used every effort to induce Gallegos to stop at the Indian encampment, the latter wisely determined to proceed about a league further, knowing that a halt here would cause considerable inroad to be made in the stock of provisions, which, in view of the return journey, with perhaps an increased party, it was desirable to avoid. We accordingly left the sheltered valley and encamped on the plateau in an exposed situation near a lagoon, the ice of which had to be broken to secure a supply of water. The frost was keen, and the tent afforded but a partial protection from the biting wind; so that the economical foresight of our leader resulted in all the party spending the coldest night hitherto experienced by us.

During the evening we were visited by several Indians, [+3] bringing presents of ostrich and guanaco meat. I was pre- 57+ sented by the soldier with a piece of the gizzard (the tid-bit), which he had cooked on the end of his ramrod; but I must confess I did not appreciate it at the time, though later on in my journey I learnt to relish this and other strange delicacies. Amongst the Indians who gave us the benefit of

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only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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the next chapter—the Indians began to arrive, and the hunting was resumed; only, however, when absolutely necessary. Some of the new arrivals proceeded to the wild cattle district, and managed to kill a bull, although—as before—an accident occurred. As my lazo was used to capture the bull, I came in for a share of the meat, which was divided amongst the people in our toldo; but it proved very tough, and rather nasty. Perhaps the palate, having been so long accustomed to guanaco, ostrich, or horse, could not relish meat of a coarser description; but the hide was invaluable for making maneos and other horse-gear. On the 7th of January a messenger arrived from Casimiro requesting me to send him some information, and stating that he was distant some three marches, and wished to wait some time to refresh his horses, &c. After consulting with Orkeke and Jackechan, we sent back a messenger to say that, 'As game was scarce now in the vicinity of Teckel, and all were more or less desirous of pushing forward, he had better make haste and join us, otherwise we should continue our march towards Las Manzanas.' This message had the desired effect, as on the 12th he made his appearance, with several other toldos, a few only remaining in the rear with Crimé, who was reported to be unwell.

On Casimiro's arrival, as he now possessed a good toldo, I changed my quarters to his residence, as agreed on at the outset of the journey. I was sorry to leave Orkeke, and the old man was very much grieved, a present of a revolver only troubling him the more, as he informed me that he had nothing to offer in exchange; however, my assurance that I did not give him a present expecting an exchange, as is customary with Indians, appeared to console him. The usual consultation of the chiefs took place, in which all the preceding arrangements were agreed to, and we remained stationary in Teckel until January 20. As I had by this time become well acquainted with the mode of life and usages of the Tehuelches, and was looked upon as one of them-

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784 them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a
766 child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round
● [431] the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

771 The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in
776 a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition
177 related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 93). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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131 We proceeded to Inacayal's toldo at his personal request, where we remained until evening was drawing on, when cattle were brought up, caught and slain, and divided amongst the chiefs. Whilst busy shaving a piece of hide wherewith to make some gear, I received a message from Orkeke, whose fire was situated at perhaps a hundred paces from ours, that he wished to see me when disengaged, and after supper I strolled down, and found the veteran sitting loading his pipe. After a smoke, he invited me to accompany him to inspect his newly-acquired troop of horses, and show him which I considered to be the best. I picked out a young white animal that had belonged to Cheoeque's own stud. 'Very well,' he replied, 'take him; he is yours; I never made you any return for the revolver you gave me in Teckel.' Although I did not require the horse, it would have been insulting to refuse it, so I walked off with my racer in tow. This little incident is mentioned to correct the notion entertained by some that the greed of gain is a predominant feature in the Indian character.

133 The following morning we bid adieu to Inacayal and his people, and turned our horses' heads for the pass of the river Limay, which was if possible more swollen and rapid than on the previous occasion; but we all crossed in safety, although Casimiro's and my horse fell once, fortunately where the water was shallow. Everybody, however, got thoroughly wet, and a continual downfall of rain coming on, prevented all chance of drying our mantles. We marched back by a route lying to the westward of that we had before followed, passing under and amongst the high wooded mountains, on the heights of which every now and then we could perceive a condor sitting in majestic solitude, looking down on us like a priest from a pulpit.

000 About four P.M. the rain cleared off, and we bivouaced in a grassy valley, with incense and other bushes growing on the sides. Here, owing to the sickness of Graviel and another of our party, we passed a miserable time, not even

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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622 At the risk of repetition, it must be said this man was the best Tehuelche, excepting perhaps Wáki, I ever had anything to do with; he was frank, honest, generous, sober, and in every way fit for a chief; a ready and skilled workman in all Indian trades, from breaking a colt to constructing a saddle or silver necklace; his only vice being gambling, but for which last habit he would have been the richest and most powerful chief, as he was universally respected.

[431] Orkeke also sent for me, and put into my hand a packet of tobacco for the journey, which he assured me would be long, tedious, and dangerous. I promised to ask particularly for his ration, and if the Government would not grant it, to make him a present myself. He wished me to return, but I pointed out to him that for various reasons it would be better not, so we parted, agreeing to meet in Patagones.

202 It may be as well to mention that if the post of chasqui, or herald, as he may be styled, be an honourable one, for which as a rule only the near relatives of chiefs are employed, the duties are sufficiently hard. The chasqui is expected to ride like 'young Lochinvar,' as fast and as far each day as the horse will carry him; he must not turn aside or halt even for the purpose of hunting, and unless an ostrich or other game cross his path may have to go without supper after his day's fifty or sixty miles' journey, while his bed and bedding are the ground and mantle. Of course endurance, sobriety, and reliable steadiness of purpose are essential qualifications, especially if the distance to be travelled over be great. And Nacho had always approved himself an excellent chasqui, and was an unerring guide even across the trackless travesia.

When the chasqui falls in with other Indians on the march, or an encampment, he is ceremoniously received and honourably entertained, and it is usually expected that in case of need he will be supplied with fresh horses to prosecute his mission.

The following morning at daylight another consultation

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

place at the settlement between Gonzalez and Antonio, in 574
which the latter had been killed or mortally wounded, and 273
the former had escaped to the Pampas, but had subsequently been captured and taken as a prisoner in the schooner to Buenos Ayres; and other news of trivial importance. Meanwhile the grog was fast disappearing, and the pot had to be replenished. This in turn was about half-emptied by the time the other Indians and women arrived, and Jackechan, very inebriated, was vowing eternal friendship to me, while Tchang was howling in my other ear a lovely Tehuelche ditty. As I had drunk in moderation, I thought it about time to clear, so, on the plea of looking after my horse, retired and re-read my letters, which any one may imagine, although not coming from my relations, were of great interest. After my departure no more liquor was given away, El Sourdo selling two bottles for a young horse or a [437]
silver-sheathed knife, so that he soon found himself a rich man. By midnight all the liquor was exhausted and many drunk, but no disturbances occurred worthy of mention, all arms having previously been stowed away safely. I was roused from my first sleep by a lady from a neighbouring toldo, who wished to embrace me, and, with feminine curiosity wanted to know the contents of my letters. She was, I am sorry to say, in an advanced stage of intoxication, so after giving her a smoke, Orkeke, who had roused up and was dying of laughter, politely showed her the door. Most of the party went out hunting in the morning, the ride no doubt proving beneficial to those suffering from headache, though little game was killed; but the Sourdo, whom I had joined in a morning bowl of coffee, remained at home, as his horses were very much used up, one of his boys going on a friend's mount to procure meat. For four days after this 782
drinking bout we did nothing but slaughter and eat mares, somebody's child having been slightly hurt in some manner. Although I have read in various books that the Indians have a religious festival at which mares are slaughtered as a

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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stant he felt the unwonted incumbrance he buck-jumped for 231
several yards, finally jumping into the middle of the brook and nearly losing his footing. I spurred him out, and once on the bank he commenced to whirl round and round like a teetotum. At last I got his head straight, and after a few more buck-jumps he went off at a racing speed, urged by whip and spur. After a stretching gallop of three miles, I rode him quietly back, now and again turning him to accustom him to the bridle-thong, but not venturing to feel his mouth, and then brought him up to the toldo amidst the shouts of the spectators. Orkeke expressed great surprise, and wanted 437
to know where I had learned to 'domar'; and the gratified owner insisted on presenting me with a piece of tobacco. This was most welcome, as my store was almost exhausted, though it had been replenished occasionally by the possessors of guns and revolvers in return for my services in putting the locks to rights; and the fear of being left tobaccoless—the agony of which all smokers will appreciate —was becoming unpleasantly strong. The following day 136
we bade adieu to the lagoon, which, as usual, was covered with swans and other wild-fowl, which we never molested, husbanding our powder in the event of future disturbances with other Indians. We marched a few miles, and en- 000
camped near the river—indeed, on its very banks, under the shadows of the trees. Here we passed our time away hunting, bathing in the stream, smoking, and lying in the shade for three days. One of my horses being lame, I could not hunt every day, so frequently passed hours under the trees by the river, scrubbing my one remaining shirt for future use, and working hide, &c. As writing in the toldo was made almost impossible by the curiosity of the children, crowding round me and asking questions, I generally used to take my note-book to my retreat; here, however, I was often interrupted by the girls, who came on the pretence of bathing, and evinced great playful curiosity as to the contents of my book—for here, too, I used to peruse and re-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work, and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case, he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter. The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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060 returned early in the forenoon, with a large number of sea-fowl. Not long after, Captain Brownell announced his intention to go ashore, and commenced making preparations. He soon changed his mind, however, and asked me to go, in his stead, to procure some fresh provisions, if they were to be had. Knowing, from the reports of whalers and others, something of the savage character of the natives, I felt reluctant to venture; but afterwards, to oblige the captain, I complied.

609 Taking our guns, a bag of bread, and some tobacco, four of us started for the shore. As we approached the beach, a crowd of black-looking giants came to the water's edge to gaze at us. We did not particularly fancy their looks, and lay on our oars for a considerable length of time. A recollection of the many ugly stories current about the Patagonians, their barbarous and cruel character, did not greatly fortify our confidence, or make us especially anxious for a personal acquaintance with them. We accordingly lay off in our boat, and, hailing them in Spanish, asked them if they had eggs, fowls, and beef. They replied, in broken Spanish, that they had plenty at their houses. I told them to produce their stores, and they should have plenty of bread in exchange. We parleyed with them for some time, till our boat at length touched the shore. I stood in the boat's stern, gun in hand, endeavoring to keep the natives from stealing, and warned the men not to leave the boat. They jumped ashore, promising not to stray from the spot. The Indians offered some skins for sale, which I paid for in bread. While my attention was diverted from them by this barter, the Indians were coaxing my men away. I looked about, and found only

• [437]

woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare, skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing, beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in regard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live. When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent. He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away. The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco hunt, for which in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On arriving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, collect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:182) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:182), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1815, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

dark peaty earth was generally to be found, and the surface of the Pampas had assumed a more desolate appearance, being strewn with small pebbles, and studded with bushes—generally of a thorny species. Round clumps of prickly thistles—which burn like tinder on applying a lighted match—and a few stray tufts of withered grass, only made more desolate the hungry barrenness of the deserts, over which the wind blew with cutting violence, yet they are the home of large herds of guanaco, ostriches, puma, and armadillo, though the latter were at this period comfortably hybernating.

Next morning no horses were visible, and as time went on till ten o'clock without any appearance we all began to suspect Indian treachery. Sam volunteered the remark that if they (the Indians) had played us such a trick, he would go and clear all their animals out the following evening. This threat there was fortunately no occasion for him to put into execution, as the troop proved only to have strayed into another valley. As we were now nearing Santa Cruz, which the last of the Indians were just leaving, having completed their trade and finished all the grog, we saw numerous columns of smoke, caused by their hunting parties. After passing the broken ground and reaching the high Pampa, Sam and myself rode on ahead, amusing ourselves by fruitlessly chasing guanaco or ostrich, but Sam's dexterity with the bolas was frustrated by his being mounted on a horse belonging to the expedition and unused to this work. Towards evening, after again passing numerous salt lagoons, we came to a descent of 300 or 400 feet leading to a valley containing a large salina, and halting, made our fire by the side of a spring, near which, Sam informed me, were the graves of two Indians, which he mentioned with the deepest respect and in an awe-stricken undertone.

Our signal smoke, which was as much to attract Indians as to give the direction of our route to Gallegos and J'aria, was soon responded to from the opposite hills on the northern

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tenance, were incurably bad; but Mona, a youth of nineteen, attracted one's sympathy by his handsome frank face and cleanly smart appearance; the fourth, Arica, had made his way on foot from Punta Arena to Santa Cruz, without any knowledge of the country, and only guided by a vague notion of the existence of the settlement to the north. He had for twenty-seven days followed the line of the sea-coast, subsisting on shell-fish and sea-birds' eggs; the toil and hardships thus undergone must have been indescribable, and his eventual safe arrival was a miracle of patient endurance. He brought in news of the loss of a tender to the schooner, a decked launch, in which Captain Warren and three men had sailed from Staten Land and been no more heard of; of their fate there was now little doubt, as he had found her dingy cast up on the beach, and a piece of the mainsail out of which he had supplied himself with clothes.

The promising *élève* of the mission, Sam Slick, also accompanied the party. Before his departure he offered to give a specimen of his education by singing a hymn, with a broad hint that grog was a fitting accompaniment; but as none was forthcoming, we lost the chance of being edified by his performance.

We watched the cavalcade till it disappeared in the distance on the upper plains, and then returned to the station, where I settled myself to pass the ensuing three months of the Patagonian winter. The settlement or trading station of Santa Cruz consists only three houses, built on an island called 'Pabon,' marked as Middle Island, in Inlet Reach, in Fitzroy's chart. It is owned by Don Luis P. Rocca, who holds by virtue of a grant from the Argentine Government, which has also conferred on him the commission of captain in the navy, with power to prevent all foreign sealers from trespassing on the valuable seal fisheries on the coast. The island is about a mile and a half long, and has an average breadth of some 350 yards. Access is obtained from the south shore by a ford, about fifty yards across, only

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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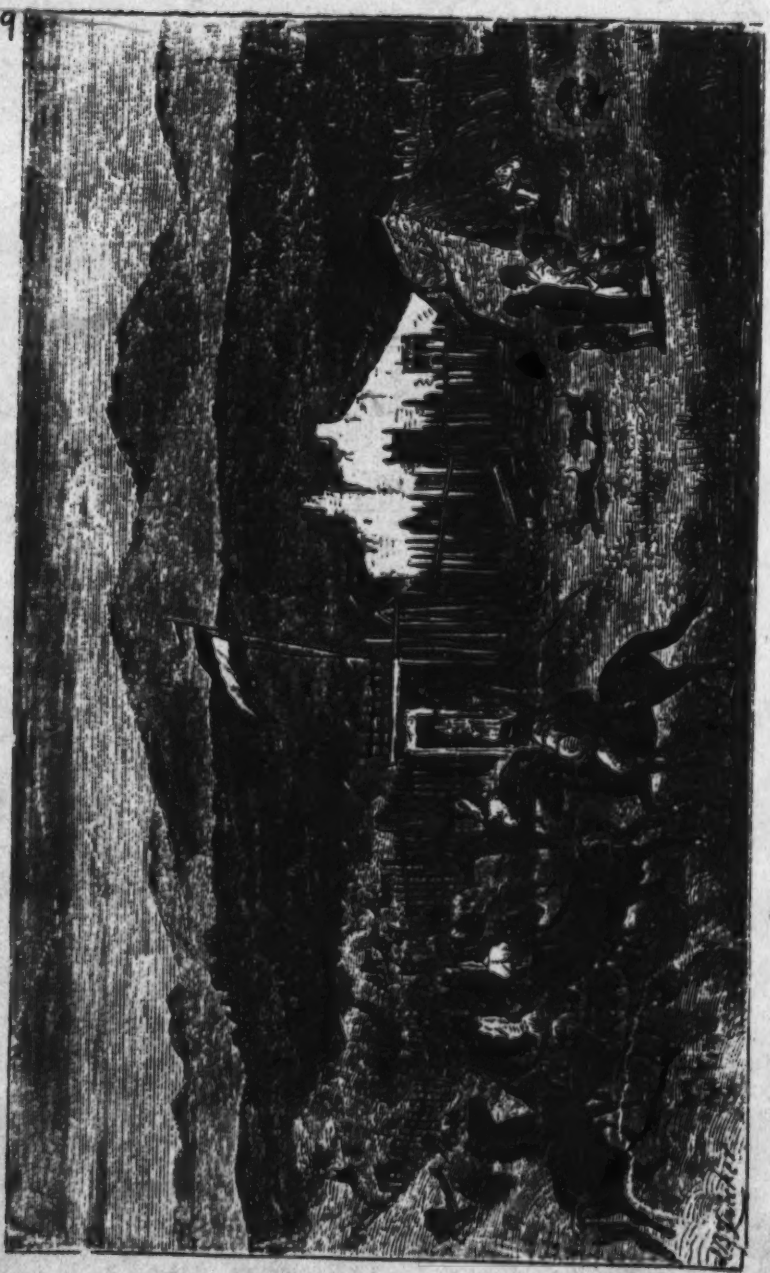

PAGE 39.

STATION ON PABON ISLAND, RIO SANTA CRUZ.

[facing p. 39]

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passable at low water. The northern channel is wider and deeper, and the swiftness of the current renders it impassable save by a boat, which is moored ready to ferry over Indians desirous of trading, and is also useful for bringing wood for fuel, which is not obtainable on the island. About a hundred yards from the ford stands the principal house, substantially built of bricks, with tiled roof, containing three rooms, and a sort of porch to shelter a nine-pounder, commanding the entrance. It is further defended by a stockade, over which floats the Argentine flag, and beyond it a fosse, which is filled with water by the spring tides. The object of these fortifications is to afford protection in the case of the Indians proving troublesome when under the influence of rum. Though Mr. Clarke narrated some queer scenes he had witnessed, his excellent management had hitherto obviated any danger, and the fairness of his dealings with them had secured their friendship, a regular tariff with equitable prices having been fixed, and scrupulously adhered to, by which their barter of ostrich feathers and peltries was regulated; and although they are keen bargainers, often spending two or three hours in debating the price to be given, they appreciated the fairness with which they were treated. A second house was situated about fifty yards off, and being generally used as a store, bore the name of the Almacen: at this time being empty, one room served as a sleeping-place for some of the men, and the other had been given up for the accommodation of Casimiro and his family. A third house, which stood at the eastern end of the island, was unoccupied. Near it a small plot had been tilled, and potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables had been successfully raised. At the time of my visit no corn had been tried, but a subsequent experimental sowing of one and a half fanegas* gave a field, though little pains were bestowed on the crop, of twenty fanegas. As the lower part of the island is liable to be overflowed at high springs, a ditch had been cut across to

* A fanega contains 100 lb.

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expedition, was to be had in abundance by ascending the river. At the present time the knowledge of the navigation of the Straits would make it much easier and cheaper to import timber from Punta Arena than to send lumberers into the Cordillera and raft the timber down to Santa Cruz.

Near the Potrero, on the southern shore, there is a natural salt lake or salina, which must have been overlooked by the Beagle expedition, as Mr. Darwin fixes the southern limits of salinas at Port St. Julian. In the summer, and until the winter rains and snow set in, an inexhaustible supply of excellent salt can be obtained. It is at present worked only to furnish, besides the salt for home use, what is required for the annual sealing fishery; but if labour were more abundant, the salt would be found to be a valuable article of export to the Falkland Islands; the salina being situated less than half a mile from the beach, where there is good anchorage.

The river[1] also yields abundant supplies of fish—a species of bass and others—which when cured keep well: some which had been cured over a year proved excellent. These might be profitably exported to Rio Janeiro, &c., where cured fish are always in demand.

Notwithstanding these natural advantages, Santa Cruz could hardly at this period be considered a settlement. Subsequently to my visit, two Frenchmen from Buenos Ayres proposed to try sheep farming in the valley, but with what result I have not heard. As already mentioned, the station existed as a depôt for sealing, and as a trading post, to which the Tehuelches resorted to exchange their ostrich feathers, and puma, guanaco, and ostrich skins, for tobacco, sugar, ammunition, and above all, rum. There was little or no trade going on during the absence of the schooner, as all the stores had been exhausted; but after the summer campaign some of the Tehuelches invariably resort thither, and the vicinity has always been a favourite winter quarters. The missionaries, Messrs. Schmid and Hart, endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity for essaying the conversion

[1] [i.e. Santa Cruz River--Andyst]

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and civilisation of the Indians. They resided for some time in 1863 at a spot near Weddell Bluff, about ten miles from the mouth of the river. To quote Mr. Sterling's description, the station was at the mouth of the valley which 'retreats towards the south-west for a considerable distance inland; a stream of pure water flows perennially through it, and a broad belt of grass, offering fine pasture for cattle, gives a cheerful, fertile aspect to the low land; the hills on either side are intersected with ravines, or lift up their bronzed faces out of some intervening dale, and refresh the air with the aroma of shrubs and plants growing everywhere about them.'

This was written after a visit in the summer month of January, and the picture drawn presents the landscape in its fairest colours; very different from its bleak aspect as viewed by myself in the winter. This valley still bears the name of Los Misionarios, but this is the only existing trace of their settlement. Mr. Schmid, however, during his sojourn and journeys with a party of the Indians, compiled a vocabulary of the Tsoneca language, as spoken by the southern Tehuelches. Their plan for establishing trade at Santa Cruz, in order to secure the regular visits of the Indians, was not approved of by the managers of the mission, and they were obliged to abandon the scene of their praiseworthy but unsuccessful efforts—to instruct at least 'the little bright-faced Patagonian children,' of whom they speak in their journals with warm affection.

The counter attractions of rum supplied by a trader who visited the river were felt by Mr. Schmid to be very destructive of his influence, but it cannot be doubted that their store, if established, would have had no chance against any rival that supplied rum to his customers; for though there are many exceptions, the Indians too eagerly expend the spoils of their hunting and industry in liquor. Their wives, however, when they accompany them, take care to manage their business with discretion, and reserve sufficient stock

[i.e. Santa Cruz trading station--Analyst]

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to barter for more useful and innocent luxuries as well as necessaries. There is no doubt that in the event of the future development of this settlement, it might serve as a *point d'appui* to raise the Tehuelches to the level of a more cultivated and settled mode of existence; but speculations on this point are not within my province, and it is time to introduce the members of the party with whom my winter was agreeably spent on the island of Pabon. With Don Luiz P. Buena and his amiable and accomplished señora I subsequently made acquaintance, which ripened into friendship; but though his guest, I was at present personally unknown to him. In his absence, his representative, Mr. Clarke, who, as already mentioned, was an old acquaintance, did all he could to make me feel at home. He was a handsome young fellow of twenty-five, and an excellent specimen of the versatile and cosmopolitan New Englander 'raised' in Salem, Massachusetts, where he had been brought up as a builder, though he afterwards 'shipped himself on board of a ship.' In his nautical life he had been mate of the Snow Squall, in a homeward voyage from Shanghai, when she was chased off the Cape of Good Hope by the Alabama, and but for the pluck of the captain and crew, and the wonderful sailing powers of the craft, another item would have been added to Mr. Adams's 'little bill.' As it was, the beautiful vessel fairly outsailed the swift steamer. The steadiness of the crew, and their well-deserved attachment to the captain, were most strongly proved on this occasion. As there was no alternative between putting in for water at St. Helena—where it was too probable the Alabama would pounce upon the prize—and running home upon half a pint per diem each man, the captain left it to the crew to decide, and they chose the latter course.

Mr. Clarke had spent three months travelling and hunting in company with the Tehuelches, which had made him a most expert hand with lazo or bolas, and well acquainted with the Indian character; and it was pleasant to hear that

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plaited. Of this leather we also make serviceable bridles, lazos, stirrup-leathers, and, in fact, horse-gear generally. Sometimes we would have a fit of making pipes, and all hands would be busy sawing out wood or hard at work boring the bowls; at others, spurs were the rage, made by the simple Indian method of sticking sharpened nails into two pieces of wood, secured together by thongs fastened under the foot and round the leg; or again, we would work silver, and come out with our knife-sheaths glittering with studs. On non-hunting days, I invariably practised the use of the bolas, and caught almost every shrub on the island.

The evenings were passed in playing the American game of brag. Cash being unknown, and no one being disposed to risk the loss of his gear, the stakes were simply so many black beans to a box of matches; and as much excitement prevailed as if each bean or perota had been a five-dollar piece.

Both in our hunting parties and in the house which he had been allowed to occupy, though he occasionally visited the camp on the Chico, I sedulously cultivated the acquaintance of Casimiro. Both the missionaries and Her Majesty's surveyors have made frequent, and often by no means honourable, mention of this Indian, who has always evinced a wish to conciliate the friendship of the English visitors to Patagonia. His history, as I learned it from himself, was a very curious one, and aptly illustrates the conflicting claims of Chilians and Argentines, and the confused politics of the Indians themselves, his father having been killed in an engagement with the Araucanian or Manzaneros Indians. His mother was a Tehuelche; being an inveterate drunkard, whilst visiting the settlements of Rio Negro she bartered the child for a cask of rum to the governor of the fort, a Frenchman named Viba, who was connected with the slave-trade, for at that period Indians seem to have been made slaves of as well as blacks. Viba had Casimiro christened—whence his name Casimiro Viba—and brought up at the Estancia, or

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to be good friends. The whole were housed in five toldos—621
by which Spanish name the Indian kau, or tents, strongly [342]
resembling those of our own gipsies, are known. They were pitched in a sheltered hollow, with their fronts facing the east, to avoid the bitter violence of the prevalent westerly winds.

Fitzroy has given an excellent description of the toldo; 342
but to those readers who are unacquainted with it a brief sketch will not be unacceptable. A row of forked posts about three feet high is driven into the ground in a slightly slanting position, and a ridge pole laid across them; in front of these, at a distance of about seven feet, a second row, six feet high, with a ridge pole; and at the same distance from them a third row, eight feet high, each slanting a little, but not at the same angle. A covering made of from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins, smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and the great drag of the heavy covering straightens the poles; it is then secured by thongs to the front poles, while hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping-places, and the baggage piled round the sides of the tent excludes the cold blast which penetrates under the edge of the covering. The fire is kindled in the fore part, or 'mouth of the tent.' In very bad weather, or when encamped for the winter, an additional covering is secured to the front poles and brought down over an extra row of short posts, making all snug. It is a common arrangement for relatives or friends to combine their toldos, when, instead of bringing down the coverings to the ground at the side, they are made to overlap, and thus one tent roof will cover two or three distinct domestic interiors.

The furniture of the toldos consists of one or two bolsters 352
and a horse hide or two to each sleeping compartment, one to act as a curtain and the other for bedding. The bolsters are made of old ponchos, or lechus, otherwise called mandils, woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, who are [439]

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with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penck,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Arica arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

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each, and reserved as tid-bits for the women and children. When the head and breast half are to be cooked, the bone is not extracted, but the wings turned inside and the breast cavity filled with heated stones, and tied up with half of the skin of the legs, which have been divided, additional pieces of meat from the legs having been placed in the breast cavity. The fat of the breast is divided amongst the party at the fireside, the owner in all cases reserving none or a very small piece for himself, as the others who are cooking at the same fire are sure to give him plenty. The cacique generally receives the largest share, or if he is not present, the greatest friends of the owner. The wing feathers are carefully taken to the toldos and stored with others for future trade. The ostrich is most thoroughly eaten; the gizzard, which is large enough to fill both hands, being carefully cooked by the insertion of a hot stone and roasted; the eyes, too, are sucked, and the tripe devoured; but when the birds are thin they are simply skinned, and the carcase left to the pumas. After the meal, concluding the hunt, is finished, a pipe is handed round, saddles are re-adjusted, and the game placed on them, and the party adjourn to the toldos, which by this time have been pitched and arranged by the women.

Guanaco are not much killed, unless a long stay in a place is intended, or an Indian feels inclined for blood, or ostriches, which are always eaten in preference, are scarce. The meat of the guanaco is, however, excellent; the haunches are generally what is termed in Spanish 'charqueared,' which means that the meat is cut off in thin slices, and after a little salt has been sprinkled over it, is dried in the sun. When thoroughly dried it is roasted in the ashes, pounded between two stones, and mixed with ostrich or other grease; this preparation, like pemmican, is very useful for a man going a long journey, as it can be carried in a small compass, and a mere handful satisfies the appetite.

It would be tedious to describe every day's march, and the

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576 Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and [537] down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Koue' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, [537] each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

621 These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel,
221 usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro
● 439 and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the
622 settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

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only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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then bound off, and speedily distance him. Their means of defence consist chiefly in the savate, or use of the feet, more especially the fore ones, although they also bite at times, and with their two peculiar canine teeth could inflict a severe wound.* I have seen places where a puma and a guanaco have evidently had a severe struggle, always, however, resulting in the victory of the puma, as, on seeing these marks, we invariably searched for and found the body near, carefully covered over by the 'leon.' The flesh of the guanaco is excellent, something resembling mutton; the young guanaco being more like very tender veal. That their wool might be turned to account for mercantile purposes is undoubted, as it is of very fine texture, and is at the present time of value in Chili, where it is woven into ponchos which are highly prized. Up to the present time few have been domesticated, but they become very tame, and might at a future date be found useful as beasts of burden, as they are similar in most respects to the lama. There is one very remarkable point about the guanaco; at certain times of the year a sort of secretion, condensed into a hard substance like stone, is found in round pieces, varying from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, in the stomach. To these stones some of the Indians attribute medicinal virtues. The guanaco is of use to the Indians in every way. The skin of the adult is used to make the coverings of the toldos, and that of the unborn or young ones to make mantles for clothes; the sinews of the back furnish them with thread; the skin of the neck, which is particularly tough and durable, with lazos or thongs for bolas, bridles, &c., &c. The skin of the hock supplies them with shoes or coverings for the bolas; from the thigh bone they also cut out dice, or make a musical instrument. On attaining the age of about two months, the coat of the young guanaco begins to become woolly, and the skin is then useless for mantles, but makes sufficiently good saddle-cloths.

* The skull of a guanaco is well figured in Mr. Cunningham's work.

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saddle-cloths. The animal at this early age is very swift of foot, and will give a good chase. They attain their full size the second or third year after birth, and the adult male cannot be better described than as apostrophised by Lieut. Gallegos. As we watched a solitary guanaco standing on a hill above us, and every now and then uttering its shrill warning neigh, 'Ah,' said Gallegos, 'you are a queer animal; you have the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil.' The Rhea Darwinii, called by the Indians 'Mekyush,' and by the Spaniards Avestrus or Ostrich, which name is universally applied to it, is peculiar to Patagonia, few being met with north of Rio Negro, and none being found that I am aware of in any other part of the globe; with the exception, perhaps, of the more northern and plain-like parts of Tierra del Fuego, opposite the country extending from Cape Virgin to Oazy Harbour. It is a variety of the Rhea Americana, common in the Argentine provinces of Entre Rios and Santa Fé, also scattered over the Republic of the Banda Oriental, and extending, I believe, as far north as Rio Grande do Sul and the southern Brazilian province. They exist also in Chili, on the plains at the foot of the Cordillera of the Andes. The chief difference between these two species is that the Patagonian Rhea Darwinii is smaller and of lighter colour than the American Rhea. The Patagonian ostriches are very swift of foot, and run with their wings closed, while the other species invariably spread theirs. The former birds also always run in a straight line, except when leaving the nest, when probably, to avoid being tracked, they run in a circuitous manner. Their plumage, that is to say the wing feathers, are an object of commerce, and fetch at present about a dollar a pound in Buenos Ayres. The marrow from the leg bones is also, I believe, of use for making pomade, and was formerly, if not at present, highly prized in Buenos Ayres. To the Indian this bird is invaluable in many ways. Besides furnishing their most favourite

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scooped out of the earth. They begin to lay in the early 136
part of September, the number of eggs in each nest varying from twenty to as many as forty, or more. In the early part of the laying season extraneous eggs were found scattered in different parts of the plain, some of which were of diminutive size. Contrary to the usual rule amongst birds, the male sits on the eggs, and when the chickens are hatched assumes the charge of the brood. The young run immediately, or shortly after emerging from the shell, and are covered with a down of greyish black colour on the back, and whitish on the breast and neck. Their cry resembles the syllables pi, pi, pi, uttered in a sharp quick manner. The old male, when any dangers appear, feigns to be hurt, like other birds endeavouring to distract the attention of the hunter, in order that his brood may escape by hiding in the grass. After the male has sat for some time on the nest (I should place the period of incubation at about three weeks), he gets thin, and the grass closely surrounding the nest is found eaten quite bare. The females by this time are beginning to pick up flesh, which is a fortunate provision of nature for the Indians, [262]
who cannot subsist on lean meat. Whilst the females are [281]
thin they are killed and skinned, the meat being left, and [439]
the skins sewn into mantles for sale at the settlements.
These birds at that period are much afflicted with vermin, which invade the toldos and guanaco mantles of the Indians, and cause them infinite annoyance. (A useful hint occurs to me for future travellers amongst the Patagonians—never allow the squaw of the establishment to place ostrich mantles under your sleeping hides.) The young Rhea does not attain its full plumage or size until the second year after its birth, and is never pursued by the Indians unless food is really scarce. The eggs are eaten in all stages, fresh [262]
or stale; the Indians not recognising much difference between the unhatched chicken and the unborn guanaco. The inveterate destroyers of these birds are, besides their human enemies, the puma and foxes, the former of which will sur-

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanliness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called 'chumé,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachiko,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are generally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are employed, procured in the settlements, which require no covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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T A 439 drink, as the first free allowance was stopped, and in a short time many were in an advanced stage of intoxication, amongst whom was our head chief. The terms of barter were a mantle or unbroken colt for two bottles of villainous Valdivian rum, which was, as the Tehuelches agreed, a very exorbitant price; but inasmuch as the dealers left it free for them either to go without or pay up, the liquor was soon finished and the merchants possessed of some eighteen new mantles and a good number of mares and colts. The artful T [577] Tehuelches, however, during the ensuing night, stole back a portion of the mantles, an dhumbugged the Araucanians about the horses, professing not to be able to catch them. T A 579 Everything went on quietly until about three P.M., when a fight took place, but the combatants were disarmed. From this up to eight P.M., Quintuhual, Orkeke, and many of the people who had kept sober, were occupied in quelling disturbances, Casimiro being as bad as any, and sending for his gun wherewith to shoot some imagined enemy, which I fortunately intercepted, and after plugging up the nipples hid it behind the toldo. There was little sleep to be obtained till nearly morning, when the inebriated ones laid down anywhere and everywhere to sleep off their potations. The following morning Casimiro awoke with a bad headache and bad temper, and commenced talking about something that had been said to him the previous day, on which I informed him that he must have no shame left in him to get so intoxicated, and that no Indians could respect a chief who was the first to set an evil example by wishing to create a disturbance, while Quintuhual had remained sober, taking care of his people as became a chief, and that he (Casimiro) should have done the same. This raised the ire of the ancient monarch, who answered in a most impolite manner, so much so, that to avoid a row I left him to his bad head and quitted the toldo till he should be in a better frame of mind. Shortly after this little episode we broke up the camp and marched a few miles to the north. OUT Having been detained by a missing horse, I did not start with

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CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lenketrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Cheoeque—A Mounted Parlamento—Apples and Piñones—Graviel's Madness—Las Manzanas—Cheoeque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolutions of Peace—A Grand Banquet—Power of Cheoeque—Araucanian Customs—Farewell Presents—Invitation to Return—Orkeke's Generosity—Return to Geylum—Outbreak of an Epidemic—My Pretty Page—Departure from Geylum.

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THE day after our arrival at Geylum, Manzaneros or Araucanians arrived from the north with cider of their own manufacture stored in sheep skins, apples, and piñones, to trade; and a scene of debauchery ensued, as usual. At night an attempt, nearly successful, was made to rob our toldo: one of the women, however, was awake, and heard the thief endeavouring to get into the back of the sleeping places where some newly-finished mantles were stored; she gave the alarm to two of the men, and they endeavoured to catch the would-be intruder, who, hearing the alarm raised, started off at speed, not without receiving a cut from a knife which marked him deeply on his shoulder; and, what was worse, being recognised as he ran off.

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Foyel invited me to drink at his expense, but I merely stayed in his toldo long enough for the observance of

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farther north; also to consider Calfoura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parliamento was a chief subordinate to Chocopa, named Mafuko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt our colloquy.

We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of Chocopa's tolderia, where animals were lanced and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Pierunche Indians came round bartering pifiones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The pifiones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been cheated by the Pierunche thieves.

Towards evening Chocopa sent over to say that, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chocoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
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other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Cheoeque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Cheoeque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlemento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Cheoeque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Cheoeque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calfcura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the public during the preparation of these pages for the press, and to which reference will be made in the ensuing chapter. Jackechan, after the return of his messenger, proceeded to Margensho, in the vicinity of which he met the parties under Teneforo, Patricio, Antonio, and other petty chiefs. These all united, and, sending into Patagones, obtained liquor and other stores, with which, as before mentioned they had a drink for ten days, but no quarrels or fights took place—a fact which redounds to the credit of the chiefs. After waiting a month for our party, they, owing to the scarcity of game, had come by easy stages to this place (Trinita). Jackechan then explained that the first toldos were those of the Pampa Indians, under Teneforo and Champayo, the former being absent in Patagones, getting his rations of animals; his Indians are pure Pampas, and are often called Kerekinches,* or armadilloes, for some reason unknown to me. Some of them are in the service of the Argentine Government, and liable to be called upon by Linares, chief of the tame Indians. The remaining toldos were those belonging to the Indians under Antonio and Patricio, who were composed of mixed Tehuelches and Pampas. The two encampments were situated about half a mile apart, separated by a winding stream, in some places concealed by most unusually high reeds. The position was entirely surrounded on the eastern, southern, and western sides by high rocky eminences; but to the north the valley apparently continued for some miles; its breadth was about three miles, and everywhere in the vicinity of the stream, which in some places had overflowed its banks and formed a marsh, the most luxuriant pasture was growing.

On returning to Patricio's toldo, I formally asked for the necessary horses to prosecute our journey, but was refused on the grounds of his having none to spare; so we determined, as our horses showed symptoms of fatigue and one was lame, to give them one day's rest before proceeding. We passed

* Quirquincho.

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648 great. I saw myself 1,000 head of cattle pass on their way to Ronque, and Cheoeque was expecting 1,200. The cattle 648 were brought down from the Tandil by purveyors, whose 439 business must be as lucrative as that of the American army contractors; for the Indians are sometimes when sober, or oftener when intoxicated, induced to part with their newly-acquired possessions for a mere trifle, and the cattle, reverting to the dealer's hands, thus do duty over again as a ration perhaps to the same cacique. Thus the Indians benefit but little, while the Government pays a large amount, and the purveyors and other agents grow rich, Indians and Government being esteemed apparently as lawful and natural pigeons, to be plucked by any safe means.

273 The Commandante's reply had been duly forwarded to 579 Casimiro, together with some liquor and presents for my friends; and the morning following my return from the country I was awoke early by a knock at the door, and on opening it found five or six Tehuelches who had made their way over the river to my quarters. After giving them a maté, we all proceeded to the store, and I gave one or two some small presents. Among these first arrivals was my friend Jackechan, the cacique from the Chupat, who confided to me that he had been very drunk the night before. The Tehuelches had not, however, waited till they reached the settlements for an opportunity of abandoning themselves to the pernicious enjoyment of 'lum.' It soon came out that their delay at Valchita had been necessitated by a prolonged debauch on liquor procured from the Guardia. Casimiro had of course set the example, and the drink had, as usual, also led to quarrelling, which resulted in a general fight; several had been killed, including Cayuke, so often mentioned as a staunch friend; and I was greatly grieved at being unable to get any accurate tidings of my Herculean comrade the good-natured Wáki, who had, beyond doubt, been killed at the same time.

574 Such common occurrences were little regarded by my visitors, all of whom were caciquillos, and whom I presently

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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dismissed rejoicing, with a promise to visit them on the south side in the evening. But my troubles had only just commenced. All day long Tehuelches kept arriving, and not knowing what to do with themselves, followed me about wherever I went, much to the amusement of some of my acquaintances.

In the evening I crossed to the other side, and remained for the night with my old hosts. All were in a great state of delight, as their rations were to be given them without delay—the yerba, sugar, and spirits from Aguirre's stores, and the cattle and mares from the Guardia in front of Sauce Blanco. Old Orkeke, who had not expected to receive rations, had been allowed, in consequence of my urging his claims, the same as other minor chiefs, and was consequently in high delight.

They were, on the other hand, very dissatisfied at the extremely low prices which their feathers and peltries had realised, and abused the dealers very roundly as a lot of rogues. False weights and other tricks of trade had been freely employed to cheat the Indians; and the storekeepers also charged exorbitantly for necessaries supplied to them. Their custom is to bivouac in the yards or corrals at the back of the stores, where they light fires and cook as in their own country, and pay in the end as dearly for their accommodation as if in a West End hotel. I delighted the heart of Mrs. Orkeke by presenting her with a long-promised iron pot and a shawl; and to Hinchel's son I gave a promised pack of cards, and to the children raisins, sweets, or bread.

Jackechan's wife and daughter, who had always showed me great kindness, I took into the store, and told them to choose whatever they fancied most; whereupon they both, without hesitation, selected two small bottles of scent to put on their hair. I must remark, *en passant*, that all this family were exceptionally clean in their habits and persons, and I promised, if I returned to Patagonia, to travel in their toldo, as I had then some idea of journeying by the sea-coast to

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

291 History, the United States National Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

291 136 In regard to the material preferred by the Tehuelche for their robes, Father Falkner [6] writes:

> Those made with the skins of young colts and mares are the least valuable. The mantles made of the skins of a small, stinking animal, like our polecat, which they call yaguane, are superior to these last. . . .
>
> The fur of the coipu, or otter, is in equal esteem with that of the yaguane, or maikel. . . .
>
> The mantles made of the skins of guanaco are in still greater estimation than those before-mentioned, on account of the warmth and fineness of their wool, and their long duration. But those which are in the highest esteem of all are made with the skins of small foxes, which are exceedingly soft and beautiful. They are of a mottled grey, with a red cast, but not so durable as those of the guanaco.

On this subject Musters [7] writes:

> Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat being the most valuable, but like the others, are generally intended only for barter.

In addition, the present writer has seen several mantles of ostrich-skins from Patagonia. While these have undoubtedly been made by the Indians and exhibit characteristic indigenous sewing, yet it is exceedingly doubtful that they were ever used locally. On the contrary, it appears that they were manufactured merely in order to trade with white settlers.

● [439]

A considerable variety of furs, then, were used on occasion in Tehuelche robes, but in most cases the guanaco was selected. This wild relative of the llama, one of the four New World camels, has been most succinctly described by the friend of Capt. Musters [8] who exclaimed that it combined "the neigh of a horse, the wool of a sheep, the neck of a camel, the feet of a deer, and the swiftness of the devil." We shall examine the methods of hunting guanaco and the weapons employed.

411 When first encountered by Europeans the Tehuelche armed themselves with bows and arrows. Their bows apparently were not like those of the Ona, for they are described as short and stiff.[9] After

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[6] 1774, p. 128.
[7] 1871, p. 180.
[8] Ibid., p. 127.
[9] Oviedo, lib. xx, cap. vi.

Every moon a day of mourning and weeping is repeated, and a horse or 765
mare is slaughtered if a friend or relative can be found who will donate one, since the deceased no longer has any. On the first anniversary a three-day mourning period is observed, with weeping, a bonfire into which offerings are thrown, and as many of the other ceremonies which were done on the day of death as can be, as a memorial to it. After these three days are passed they forget all about the deceased person, and that is the end of the matter. All this funeral pomp and ceremony is done only for young or mature and robust persons, while for those who die in old age there is no mourning or weeping, the belief being [488] that their death was necessary, and so only one horse is killed, and at that the worst and of least value from among the deceased's herd.

Horses are killed for weddings and deaths, on the occasion of a 782
child's teething, when the menstruation period starts in women, for any minor evil, to placate the idol when it is angry, which they believe is the case when they become sick, when the taking of game is very difficult, when other Indians harass them and they are themselves not strong enough to declare war -- when they are not strong enough to war with others they endure any wrong the others care to do to them. And all this slaughter of horses and mares is the reason why the whole region is not full of horses, for although the mares foal every year, the Indians kill so many mares that they do not have enough horses for their needs and must make up the difference by trading for them with the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires. In order to replenish their stock of horses [439] ● they bring hides with them when they come down to the Rio Negro, and exchange them for these animals, from which it happens that the Indians of San Julian have less horses than those of the gulfs of San Jorge and Santa Elena, because they cannot go down to the Rio Negro as often as the former can.

They believe in the transmigration of the soul, and that the souls 775
of those who die pass back into the babies who are born into the same family, and in this way: If a person dies in old age his soul transmigrates without having to wait, and that is why he is not wept for or mourned since they say that the soul is passing into a more fortunate life; but the soul of one who dies young and strong remains detained beneath the earth and is fated to sojourn there a length of time equal to that which would have been required for him to reach old age. Once this time is fulfilled his soul passes into the next-born infant. It is be- 776
cause of this long wait during which it is thought that the soul is cramped 782
and strained, that they make so many sacrifices to the idol, in order that

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 141
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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bows and arrows, but I am inclined to think that this must 411
have applied either to a tribe of Fuegians or a party of Pampas living in the valley of the Rio Negro. It is certain that no ancient flint arrow-heads are met with south of the Rio Negro, where they abound; also that there is but little, if any, wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses the Indian migrations were confined to a smaller area; besides, although no arrow-heads are found in the interior of Patagonia proper, ancient bolas are not unfrequently met with. These are highly valued by the Indians, and differ from those in present use by having grooves cut round them, and by their larger size and greater weight. The introduction and diffusion of firearms has 713
almost superseded the use of defensive armour; but chain suits, and hide surcoats studded thickly with silver, are still —as instances before given show—possessed and employed: and before going into battle the warriors are often padded like cricketers, coreonillas or saddle-cloths, and ponchos being employed to form a covering, the folds of which will turn a sword cut or lance thrust.

During our long sojourn at Teckel, as hunting was avoided 461
as much as possible, in order to rest the horses, the men occupied themselves in Indian arts and manufacture, some account of which may be deemed interesting.

As the horse is the mainstay of the Indian, let the saddle- 492
gear take precedence. (See figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.)

The saddles are constructed in the following manner. A piece of timber is split in two, and reduced, by means of a small hand-adze, to the requisite size and thickness to form the side boards or flaps, skilfully adapted to the shape of the horse's back; in these boards holes are bored at each end, and the saddle-trees, which are chosen from angular limbs of trees, like knees for boat-building, and reduced to the requisite size, are lashed on by hide. Over this fresh guanaco hide, divested of its woolly coat and carefully cut to the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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terns; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been previously described. In Teckel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonies, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jackechan's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving filleta.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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famous for their manufacture, stuffed with guanaco wool and sown up with ostrich or guanaco sinews. The bolsters do duty as pillows or as seats, and help to form the women's saddles on the march. Besides these, the women all own mandils for their beds. The men occasionally use the cloths worn under the saddles for seats when the ground is damp, but as a rule all the inmates of the toldo squat upon Nature's carpet, which has the advantage of being easily cleaned, for the Tehuelches are very particular about the cleanliness of the interior of their dwellings, and a patch of sod accidentally befouled is at once cut out and thrown outside by the women.

The cooking utensils are simple, consisting of an asador, or iron spit, for roasting meat, and an occasional iron pot, which serves for boiling and also for trying out ostrich grease and marrow, which is employed both for cooking and for mixing with the paint with which the faces of both sexes are adorned. To these, wooden platters and armadillo shells, to serve broth in, are sometimes added. The duty of pitching and arranging the toldos on the halt and striking them for the march, as well as loading the poles, covering, and furniture on the horses, devolves entirely upon the women, who display great strength and dexterity in the work.

About the toldos were innumerable dogs of all sizes and breeds, and Mrs. Orkeke rejoiced in the possession of two fowls brought from the settlement, and the all-important possession of the Indians—horses, completed the bustling liveliness of the scene. There were not less than 150 belonging to the various members of the party, Orkeke and Tankelow owning about forty, besides mares and skittish colts of all ages, which ran about so that they could not be counted. The reader can imagine what scene the march and encampment of such a party presents, and the care with which the Indians must select their route so as to be sure of game for themselves and pasture for their animals. Of the dogs and horses in use by the Tehuelches a fuller description will be given hereafter.

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with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stone implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikikh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

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294 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
531 women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
462 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
291 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[294] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[286] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[326] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[281] together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

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terns; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented 462
with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they 441
occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating 857
their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been pre- 534
viously described. In Teckel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonies, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jackechan's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle 533
calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried 173
on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the 262

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse-gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow-bones of the guanaco killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their heads, and then make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kow", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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of old ponchos stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdida, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Figaletta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fueginos, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrow-heads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or chalcedon, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the oldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook,—if the operation should be dignified with that name,—in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot. They are

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462 Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous hunters never unlade their beasts, but lean upon the horses' necks till their wives come out and relieve them of the spoil. They then dismount, unsaddle their horses, and turn them loose.

000 Whilst remaining at our present encampment, strong indications of dissatisfaction were apparent, which manifestly had reference to me. There was a large party that had always entertained hostile feelings towards me; and I now found it necessary to exert myself to the utmost to quell their discontent, by making large promises of presents to men, women and children, "due and payable" on arrival at some white settlement; also, by humoring their caprices, and flattering their vanity with the most honeyed words at my command. The reader, I hope, will not harshly judge of the deceptions which are here and elsewhere avowed in this narrative. I was placed in circumstances which, it seemed to me, made this a legitimate and necessary mode of self-defence. It was plain that my only way of escape would be by some negotiation for ransom, and the Indians had conceived expectations of very large profit to be made out of me. They were told, when we landed, that I was the captain of the ship, — an unfortunate error, but one that I could not repair. I was naturally looked upon as so much the more valuable hostage. My only resource was to act in character: to magnify my own importance, to increase their expectations, whenever I found myself sinking in the scale of their favor, — to make them feel, in short, that they had an immense interest in preserving my life, and getting me to "Holland," or some other white settlement, with the most convenient speed. And if some of the fictions appear gross, it is enough to say that they

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Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground; which if intended to shadow forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garment is now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native tastes require. There is no trial of patience in smoothing obstinate wrinkles. A "genteel fit" is the easiest thing in the world; wherein Patagonian tailors have decidedly the advantage of their fellow-craftsmen in civilised lands.

6

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

302 [531] [556] 301 492 [53] [516] [834] 554 292

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback. 462

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this. In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare, skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing, beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in regard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live. When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent. He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away. The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On arriving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, collect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the following: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

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and sang out, 'Stop! Where are you going?' But, without making any reply, I galloped on, being not further interfered with, and soon joined my old friend. He then informed me that, being utterly disgusted with the late proceedings and general anarchy, he had determined to push forward by himself to meet the Northern Indians, leaving his wife and children under the charge of Cayuke. He therefore wanted the letters which I had written for him, and my own, which he undertook to forward at the same time. So I rode back to the toldos for the letters, which I carried to Casimiro without any one attempting to stop my way.

Having returned to the fire under the bush, I dismounted, and whilst cooking another egg, gave Orkeke a piece of my mind; quietly hinting that I carried ten lives about me. He assured me it was all a mistake, and had happened without any orders from him, the young fellows only wishing to try my mettle by way of joke. I replied that jokes of that sort were sometimes dangerous, and the subject was mutually dropped.

We encamped by the side of a stream, into which many of us soon plunged to take a refreshing bath, always a favourite enjoyment with the Tehuelches, who are powerful swimmers, and dive well. While resting here and sporting in the water a better state of feeling arose, and the mutual suspicion and discord which had so long prevailed was gradually forgotten. Casimiro had left, taking one of the Chilians; and his spouse told me, amid a torrent of abuse of her better-half, that he had gone through fear, the other Indians having determined to kill him; and she added that he had the heart of a skunk, a vulture, and an armadillo. These combined would make a very nice mixture. That he was right in making his escape at this particular juncture was very evident, for the next day two young men were sent out, ostensibly as chasquis or messengers, to look for the Northern Indians, but in reality to try and overtake Casimiro and dispose of him; however, they returned without any tidings of the wily old chief.

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142 Tehuelches, although the Southerners proved generally to be the tallest, I found no reason to alter this average, as any smaller men that were met with in their company were not pure Tehuelches, but half-bred Pampas. The extraordinary muscular development of the arms and chest is in all particularly striking, and as a rule they are well-proportioned throughout. This fact calls for especial mention, as others have stated that the development and strength of the legs is inferior to that of the arms. Even Mr. Cunningham alleges this to be the case, but I cannot at all agree with him. Besides the frequent opportunities afforded me of scrutinising the young men engaged in the game of ball, in which great strength and activity are displayed, or when enjoying the almost daily bath and swimming or diving, I judged of the muscular size of their legs by trying on their boots, which, in nearly all cases, were far too large for me, although the feet, on the other hand, were frequently smaller than mine. The height of their insteps is also worthy of remark, one example of which may suffice. Having negotiated an exchange of an excellent pair of high boots, manufactured by Messrs. Thomas, for some necessary article, with a Tehuelche, the bargain fell through because he was unable to get his foot into the boot, the high arched instep proving an insuperable obstacle to further progress.

481 147 An instance of the walking powers of the Tehuelches came under my particular notice. On my first arrival at Santa Cruz, it will be remembered that the schooner was lying in the mouth of the river waiting for a fair wind. Two Tehuelches, named Tchang and Getchkook, had embarked in order to proceed to the Rio Negro, but their patience becoming exhausted by the delay, they asked to be put ashore, and walked back to the settlement—a distance of over forty miles—in about twelve hours, without food. I saw them on their arrival, and they did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been 'a long walk.'

261 Their powers of abstaining from food are also very re-

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The third is a branch of the great Araucanian race, which has its head-quarters near Las Manzanas, in or about the same latitude as Valdivia, from which it is about sixty miles distant, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. These may be described as the border race, seldom descending much to the south of the Rio Limay, though they cross the Cordillera to Valdivia and Araucania. 101

Of these three races the Tehuelche or Ahonican will occupy the chief portion of the time at my disposal, which will not admit of giving more than a short sketch of their manners and customs, and a few very brief remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the others.

The traditionary gigantic stature of the Patagonians is naturally, as I have learnt by experience, the first point as to which inquiries are made. Of the two divisions of the race, the southern slightly surpass the northern in height, but not in muscular development. The average height of the southern Tehuelches is rather over five feet ten, but I have seen many six feet, and some attaining six feet four; the great breadth of the chest and the muscular power of the limbs cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one seeing them for the first time, and it is easy to imagine that if such men came down to meet the first Spanish voyagers, they would, especially when seen dressed in their long mantles, appear of gigantic proportions. Some of the women whom I saw were remarkably tall. The wife of the cacique "Orkeke" was very little short of six feet, and possessed a corresponding robust form and strength of muscle, but the average female height did not exceed five feet six. I never remarked the weakness and want of muscular power in the legs attributed to them by some travellers. They are very active and good runners, and, in their games of ball, display great quickness and strength; they almost invariably travel on horseback, but as an illustration of their walking powers I may mention that two of them who volunteered to go to Buenos Ayres in the sealing schooner, after waiting for several days in the mouth of the river for a fair wind grew restless, and finally walked back to the trading station, a distance of between forty and fifty miles, without food, in about fourteen hours, and when they arrived did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been a long walk. 142 481 [526]

They usually have large heads covered with long black hair, dark sparkling eyes, which give a bright intelligent look to their oval faces. Their foreheads are generally good (retreating foreheads being rare) with peculiar prominences over the eyebrows. Their noses are often aquiline, but varying as in other countries, but generally with a marked breadth of nostrils. Their natural complexion is reddish brown, scarcely, however, deserving the 142

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night in commending myself to the mercy and good providence of God, praying that he would soften the heart of the savage and open a way of deliverance.

Among other matters that excited my curiosity, I was anxious to know whether the Indians were expert swimmers. The only occasion on which I had seen them attempt it was at the time of the accident in crossing the river. Then two of them swam across, while the others floated on their horses' backs, clinging to the mane. In answer to some questions dropped on the subject, the chief assured me that they were all expert swimmers, and could stretch off a long distance without resting, as they would show me, but that the coldness of the season made the experiment too unpleasant. Others of the tribe told the same story. The question was interesting, for obvious reasons. I had thought a time might come when it would be a very practical one.

Some new specimens of birds made their appearance from time to time. One was a large black bird, resembling the turkey-buzzard, and subsisting on carrion. Another resembled the snow-birds of the north. I had also seen, near the sea-shore and by the lakes, several species of water-fowl,—one not unlike the wild goose, but the chief said they were not good for food.

Our course, the next day, was northward, and the day following turned once more decidedly towards the east, whereat my hopes, varying with the compass, began to revive, though their buoyancy was tempered by experience of the uncertainty of Indian movements. Observing a spot covered with small trees, over which a great number of carrion birds hovered, we approached and found the carcass of a poor old guanaco, which had most likely paid the debt of

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots 291
made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs [492]
are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their fore- 302
heads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves
and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept
upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird.
These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces
of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their 492
horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from
which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually [411]
carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they
allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and be-
ing thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle
as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers
the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur.
Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow
nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed
with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood,
are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat
clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or
down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick
or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end;
it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to
its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the
horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The
reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are 291
the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference
which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins
over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like
the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the
hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This [481]
hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they
gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for any- [834]
thing else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circum-
stance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide,
a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel,
woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of
very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which
those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear [53]
sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots [554]
similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but 302

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quiet. I was employed reading a book, 'Charles Dashwood,' for perhaps the twentieth time, when Juan came in to say that the hunting party had returned. As it was only ten o'clock, my first idea was that the schooner had arrived with Don Luiz. However, this was dispelled by Juan, who had gone out to reconnoitre, rushing in with the news that ten Chilians had arrived on the south side with twenty-one horses. Shortly afterwards Mr. Clarke himself came in and corroborated the intelligence. These men proved to be deserters, who had escaped by night from Punta Arena, taking with them nearly all the horses in the corral. They had left on the 2nd of July, at two A.M. Four of the number were those previously recaptured in Santa Cruz, who had been kept in irons and closely confined at night; but by a supreme effort they had broken their chains, and together with the others, who had everything arranged outside the cuartel, had effected their escape. The sufferings these men must have undergone during the twenty-two days' journey over the Pampas, exposed without shelter to the fierce winds, and sometimes with the snow up to their horses' girths; must have been something frightful, and many of them were frost-bitten. It was out of the question for us to receive them, as our own supplies were failing, and in truth we congratulated ourselves on the horses being secured in the corral, and anxiously watched the movements of the new comers. The party during the afternoon succeeded in crossing the river to the north side, swimming their horses; and disappeared in the direction of the Rio Chico.

484 By this time even the kind companionship of Mr. Clarke failed to reconcile me to the tedious monotony of our life. The game also became scarcer and scarcer, and the chance of the schooner's coming appeared so indefinite, that at the beginning of August I began to think it would be better and more amusing to migrate to the Indian camp, where, at any rate, plenty of meat was procurable. Accordingly, when the Indians came over again on a visit on the 7th of August, I

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bought a horse, or rather exchanged away a revolver for one (a three year old, newly broken), and started in company with Orkeke, Campan, Cayuke, and Tankelow, four Indians, all of whom were previous acquaintances. Casimiro followed with his family, taking one of the horses from Santa Cruz to assist in the transport of his household. This horse was one I had been accustomed to ride in Santa Cruz, and on arriving at the Indian camp was lent me as a second horse. Shortly after passing the first hills on the northern side, our party not being burdened with women and children, started off at a hand canter, which was kept up until a puma suddenly sprang out of a bush, when chase was immediately given; he, however, got into a thick tangle of incense bushes, from which we tried in vain to dislodge him, and although pelted with stones he lay there spitting like a great cat. Cayuke wished to fire the bush, but Orkeke would not waste time, so we mounted and proceeded on our journey. We continued riding over plains and ridges until about four P.M., when we reached a large laguna, close to which grew some high coarse grass and shrubs; here several ostriches were started, and one killed by Orkeke. On reaching the range of hills before described as the southern barrier of the valley of the Rio Chico, we halted, and shortly had the ostrich cooking on a good fire. We looked back for Casimiro, but could not see him, so after supper and a smoke pursued our journey by the soft light of a young moon. We rode on until about nine P.M., when we reached the Indian encampment. We had been previously puzzled by seeing fires burning a considerable distance up the valley, and found that our chief, Camillo, had already marched in that direction. One of the first persons who accosted me was Arica, and I shortly discovered that all the Chilians[1] were installed with the Indians in different toldos, which was rather an unpleasant surprise. I was ushered into Orkeke's toldo with due ceremony, and we took our seats by the fire. I had brought a bag of coffee with me, so we set to work and roasted some, after which one of

[1] [i.e. escaped prisoners — Analyst]

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a huge puma couched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, however, as Arica was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indian with the meat and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of march and method of hunting which constitute the daily routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a loud oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of hunting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonition, by way of a wind up, with a boastful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's 'oration' —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men and boys lazo and bring up the horses, and the women place on their backs the bolster of reeds, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their belts on, or putting their babies

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into wickerwork cradles, or rolling up the skins that form the coverings of the toldos, and placing them and the poles on the baggage horses; last of all the small breakers, which are carried on the march, are filled with water. The women mount by means of a sling round the horses' necks, and sit astride of their bolster-saddles; their babies—if they possess any—and their pet dogs are hoisted up, the babies being stowed in the cradles behind them; then they take their baggage-horses in tow and start off in single file. The men, who generally wait until all are ready, then drive the spare horses for a short distance, and having handed them over to the charge of their wives or daughters, retire to a neighbouring bush, where a fire is kindled, pipes are lighted, and the hunt commenced in the following manner. Two men start off and ride at a gallop round a certain area of country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are despatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use. Pumas are very frequently found in the circles, and quickly despatched by a blow on the head from a ball. On one occasion I saw Waki completely crush, by a single blow, the skull of an unusually large one. The Indian law of division of the game prevents all disputes, and is as follows. The man who balls the ostrich leaves it for

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START FROM THE CAMP AT MOWAISH OR WINDOW HILL.

[facing p. 79]

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551 heads grotesquely on either side to the beats of the drum,
535 retired for a short time to rest themselves, after which they appeared again and danced a different step. When that was over, four more appeared, and so on, until every one, including the boys, had had a fling. Sometimes, to give greater effect, the performers carried a bunch of rushes in one hand. About nine P.M., everybody having had enough, Casimiro gave the sign. The band stopped playing, and all retired to bed. The dancing was not ungraceful, but was rendered grotesque by the absurd motions of the head. It was strictly confined to the men, the women being only allowed to look on.

133 On the second day's march from the scene of my first Indian ball we crossed a rocky ridge abounding with a description of vesicular lava; the ridge ran out from the southern limits of the valley and terminated in precipitous cliffs, round the base of which wound the river. The surface of the ridge was fissured in many places with deep chasms like Alpine crevasses, on the brink of one of which my horse stopped just in time to escape a fall. The caravan had gone a more circuitous route to take advantage of the lowest and easiest crest. On the other side of the ridge the valley suddenly spread out to the extent of several miles, and on the western horizon a line of snowy peaks was visible, their summits capped with clouds: this was our first view of the Cordillera. The low ground was cut up by streams and small lakelets of water, formed by the overflow of a small fork of the river, which glistening in the afternoon sunshine presented a beautiful silvery appearance, very refreshing to the eye wearied with alternate gazing on withered
● 484 grass and black volcanic rocks. However beautiful to look at, this scene would clearly prove difficult travelling, so a halt was called, and our course debated on; ultimately it was resolved to cross the river and encamp on the northern bank, where the ground was higher and free from floods, so loads were carefully adjusted, and children transferred to the arms of the men, to give the women more freedom of action;

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baggage-horses were also taken in tow by the young men, 464
and Casimiro and another volunteering to lead the van and
act as pilots, we proceeded to make our way to the river-bank,
which rose by a gradual elevation from the lower inundated
plain. After much floundering about in water-holes, and
various spills, which caused great merriment, especially when
Mrs. Orkake and all her gear came down by the run, an iron
kettle of which she was very proud clattering down so as to
frighten several of the horses into what threatened to become
a general stampede, the bank was safely reached; the river
was swollen high, and its rapid current running six or seven
miles an hour, was bringing down huge sharp-edged masses
of ice. It seemed almost impossible for the women and
baggage animals to cross. However, Orkake, taking a long
pole to sound with, led the way, and by watching their
opportunity to dodge the floating ice, which cut the horses'
and riders' legs cruelly, all got safely over. A wilder
scene could hardly be imagined—dogs howling on the bank
fearing to pass, women singing out to their various friends
and relations, and here and there an adventurous Indian,
who scorned to go by the ford with the rest, disappearing
for a second in the river, horse and all, but ultimately
emerging some distance down the stream. The water was
bitterly cold, as may be imagined, and the piercing wind be-
numbed our dripping bodies; so on arriving at the north bank,
where there were some small sandy hillocks, we kindled a large
fire, and had a warm and a smoke whilst the women were
employed pitching the tolderia. It had been decided to remain
here some days and then proceed to the vicinity of the Cordil-
leras for the purpose of catching wild horses. But, as will be
seen shortly, 'L'homme propose et Dieu dispose.' Looking 33
up towards the Cordilleras from our encampment, the valley
appeared to expand a few miles up into one immense plain,
and the Indians informed me that before reaching the moun-
tains there is a great drop or basin where the wild horses are
found. This was probably, at the period of our visit, a vast

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civilised appearance of those Indians. We passed several very hungry and disagreeable days in Geylum previous to starting; there was little game in the surrounding country, and the weather was cold and wet, with occasional snow. For two whole days Casimiro, Meña, and myself, who were usually messmates, had nothing to eat but an armadillo and a few fish which I caught in a pool of the stream. Near the Column Rock, whilst hunting, we discovered a 'cache,' belonging to Foyel's Indians, which contained something wrapped and lashed up in hides: although the temptation was great to overhaul its contents, the package was left unopened, and a quiet warning conveyed to Foyel that others were not likely to be so scrupulous. This confirmed what Casimiro had said as to these Indians providently leaving bags of fat and provisions in various places to which they expected to return at no very distant period.

On the day fixed in the council, held subsequent to the return of the chasquis, we all started, fully equipped, on our journey to Las Manzanas, mustering 250 men of the united Indians, without toldos or baggage, and in light marching order with a few spare horses. A few horses were loaded with coverings for toldos, mantles, &c., which the women hoped to sell to advantage to the Araucanians, and a few of the women accompanied the expedition to conduct their barter, while a guard of perhaps forty men remained behind to provide food for the women and children who were to await our return.

We crossed the gradually sloping irregular plains covered with stunted bushes, but scarcely deserving the name of high pampas, which bordered the northern side of the valley of Geylum, and after passing between two parallel walls of rocks, forming a sort of natural street, we emerged into a succession of grassy plains, separated by barren rocky hills covered with scrub, on attaining the summits of which the wooded Cordillera on the western side rose into view some few leagues distant. About eleven A.M., after we had been

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western side by the rocky heights we were descending. The 133
view would have been enjoyable on a fine day, but in such a Patagonian tempest of rain and wind, landscapes were by no means appreciated. Near the lagoon was another herd of guanaco, some three thousand strong, who tempted us to a vain endeavour to encircle them, but they descried us before we could approach within a mile, and were soon lost to sight on the plains leading towards Margensho. Whilst riding down the edge of the hills Casimiro pointed out some 137
thyme, a little of which we gathered to flavour our soup with in the evening. We then descended, and sheltered under the overhanging bank of a dry watercourse leading to the lagoon. The women and remainder of the cavalcade shortly arrived, and loading my page with firewood, to his intense disgust and the extreme delight of every one else, we proceeded a little farther to the south, where the pasture was good, and established ourselves for the night.

The following morning early we all started to hunt, and 132
were more successful than on the previous day, though the wind was blowing a fearful gale from the S.W., with occasional storms of sleet. Towards the afternoon, by which time, having finished our hunting, we were snug enough under the toldo, it rained hard, and with the rain the Indians commenced to arrive, till before dusk a town of toldos occupied the borders of the hills.

Casimiro this evening sent for volunteers to go in with 134
me as messengers or chasquis to Patagones, on our arrival at Margensho, now but one march distant. But of those previously so desirous to go on, not one appeared, nor would any one Indian consent to lend his horses for so long a journey. The chieftain was sadly put out, and cursed the caciquillos all round. He then tried to dissuade me from going myself, saying that it was a great distance, that the desert or travesia was a fearful place, that I should probably lose my horses, that many people had starved, at the same time wishing me to lend my horses to some other Indian.

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He narrated how he himself had occupied twelve days in crossing it, and had been obliged to abandon a horse and the saddle and gear of his remaining steed, and with difficulty, nearly starved, on foot, and driving his almost worn-out horse before him, had made his way to a station.

At the same time a young Indian started to cross the desert, but lost his way, and, quoth the cacique impressively, 'His bones are there now.'

One statement, that the chañals or white thorns grew higher than the horses' heads and tore the unlucky riders' mantles to pieces as they forced their way through them, my own after-experience fully verified. I, however, adhered firmly to my original intention of going, as agreed to by him, and conveying with my own hand the letter I had written: and it was finally settled that Meña, Nacho, and I should, on arriving at Margensho, start on our journey as chasquis. Casimiro's real motive for dissuading me was distrust, as we had on two or three occasions disagreed, and once nearly come to blows; he was therefore afraid that I should, on arriving at Patagones, work against his interests and give him a bad character. Meña, who had taken a great fancy to me, volunteered for the purpose of keeping an eye on Nacho, who was my 'bête noire,' and not to be trusted.

These arrangements having been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, we proceeded to the toldo of a friend and assisted at the ceremony performed by the doctor of curing a sick child, more especially concerning the part of painting with red ochre, killing and eating a white mare.

On this occasion the parents formally invited the principal chiefs and their relations and friends, and the ceremony commenced as follows. All the men were either sitting or standing in a circle, in the centre of which sat the mother holding her infant in her arms. The doctor then came in, and under his direction the mother plastered the infant from head to foot with white clay, the wizard meanwhile mutter-

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took place, and the letter had to be again produced, and another postscriptum added. I then took down in my note-book the immediate requirements of Casimiro and other friends, which, according to agreement, were to be sent back by Meña and Nacho, myself remaining in the settlement until the arrival of Casimiro, when we were to proceed together to Buenos Ayres either by land, *viâ* Bahia Blanca, or by steamer.

At about eight o'clock, when the rime of the frost was just cleared off the grass, we, after bidding adieu to all friends, caught our horses and started. I took with me only my suit of clothes in a bag, and the letters. Each of the party was provided with a piece of meat from the guanaco I had slain the previous day by way of provision, and with two horses apiece we were at length *en route*, the old women chanting melodiously to keep the devil out of our way. My page affected great distress at my departure, but as he had my remaining horses to take charge of, and a legacy of a mantle I had no particular use for, having worn it almost without interruption since leaving Santa Cruz, he was, in all probability, delighted to see, as he thought, the last of me as we disappeared over the ridge.

We travelled slowly for the first half hour, and had just released our spare horses from the lazos, which hitherto had restrained them from rejoining their fellows, when we heard a shout behind us, and an Indian appeared driving a troop of horses. He was from the encampment, and being a Pampa was *en route* to join his tribe, whom he expected to meet somewhere about Valchita, five days' journey on, and from whom we were to get fresh horses wherewith to cross the travesia to the settlements. This addition to our party was unexpected, but we considered the more the merrier, and three at any rate is an awkward number to travel sociably together. Putting our horses to a hand canter, we now regularly started, leaving care behind, and looking forward to bread, coffee, and other long-untasted good things. We

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484 passed the time in talking over what we would get, how we should be received, and in smoking and singing. Our route lay along the barrancas, which changed as we proceeded in a N.E. direction, to higher rugged hills interspersed with sandy valleys covered with scrub and incense bushes.

By nightfall we had arrived at a pointed hill, under the brow of which we encamped. We had seen plenty of ostrich and guanaco, but had not delayed to hunt, only pausing to pick up an armadillo that happened to be basking in our road.

On dismounting we secured all the horses with lazos or manéos, as they might probably be inclined to stray away. After gathering a little firewood, kindling a fire, and discussing the armadillo and a small piece of meat each, we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and lay down to sleep, every now and again during the night getting up to have a look at the horses. The morning star was shining brightly above the horizon when we saddled up, and crossing the brow of the hill mounted to an adjoining pampa, where the rocky nature of the ground obliged our unshod horses to go at a foot pace. Added to this a bitter cold wind and small driving rain were not improving to the temper, until after an hour or two of difficult and slow travelling, the sun rose magnificently and dispelled the mists and drizzle, and restored our cheerfulness. We at length descended into a 484 133 ravine leading to a series of small valleys, containing here and there ponds covered with teal and other water birds. [136] We travelled at a gallop through the same description of country till five P.M., when, after passing a high barren plateau, similar to that encountered at starting, we suddenly came to an abrupt declivity, at the bottom of which, in a plain extending for about five miles, lay a large salina.

484 We descended where it was feasible, and after stopping to get a little salt, proceeded to encamp near a small spring of fresh water. About a mile to the eastward large herds of

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guanaco and several ostrich were visible in the plain, and near our halting-place we found the tracks of a puma, for which we searched diligently, but without success.

After securing our horses, as on the previous night, we dined, minus armadillo, off a piece of scraggy meat, and turned in. The salt from the salina was of excellent quality; it was necessary to remove a little of the upper surface, which had slightly deteriorated by exposure to the atmosphere, and then we cut out cakes of salt like pieces of ice, which served for plates. It is a strange fact that both into this and other salinas small rivulets of fresh water flowed, fed by springs in the neighbouring hills.

The next morning (if it could be so called) at the same hour we were in the saddle, and traversing the plain crossed some ridges of moderate height, and continued passing through a tract of country thickly wooded with incense and other bushes. About two P.M. we arrived at a rivulet of water, near which were marks of a recent encampment; after examining these, we came to the conclusion that a week had perhaps elapsed since the occupants had left. We travelled forward at our utmost speed over ground of much the same description, diversified now and again by ranges of low hills, putting up occasionally a partridge, of which birds we observed two different species, one crested, and nearly as large as a hen pheasant, and the other smaller than an English bird, and which took only short flights and then cowered—and were fortunate enough to kill a couple. The sun went down behind some hills, and still we found no suitable place to halt in; at last, however, we came to some ponds of water, where we all, being pretty well tired, dismounted, and tethering two of the horses allowed the remainder to go loose. We found the water brackish, though drinkable, but the animals would scarcely touch it, and wandered about, necessitating a watch on them all night; this was rather weary work, especially as a sharp frost came on, and with all our care, at starting-time two horses were missing. After a

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search of an hour they were found, having wandered in search of better water, and, wiser than ourselves, found out a spring about two miles to the east.

The sun was up before we got away, after warming and eating the last of our food, which we had cooked overnight it was dry and dusty, and all the washing in the world could not have got the grit out of it; however, we laughed over it, saying we would soon have a bottle of wine to wash away the dirt from our throats. One thing we congratulated ourselves on was being well provided with tobacco, and although we boasted no pipe, mine having been lost at a previous encampment, Casimiro's correspondence with Foyel and Cheoque, which I had carefully kept, provided us with cigarette papers. We rode on accordingly, rejoicing, and passing out of this wooded country traversed a succession of high pampas, set with small blocks of granite exactly resembling paving-stones, and placed as thickly and regularly as if paviors had been at work. The appearance of a London street undergoing repair brought this singular formation vividly to my mind. These pampas terminated in waterworn cliffs thickly strewn with stones, and as our horses scrambled like cats up the slopes, their hoofs sent the stones clattering down, and they found it hard to keep their footing. At the foot of the cliffs were watered valleys, and whilst descending into one of these valleys I noticed for the first time the algarroba thorn, which was in fruit. There were two sorts, one with black fruit, which Nacho warned me not to touch, as it was poisonous, the other bearing yellow pods, which though somewhat dry, as the season was so advanced, we plucked and ate as we rode along, the taste proving something between tamarinds and peach.

Near a lagoon in one of these valleys we halted for a few minutes, and on pursuing our journey espied a horseman with a troop of led horses approaching from the opposite side. I had halted for a moment and saw my companions rein up, and racing up to know the cause, observed him. When within

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200 or 300 yards, all halted; and Nacho rode forward, and 576
ceremonious explanations ensued, followed by formal introductions. He was a Pampa Indian outward bound to join those mentioned as having passed us eastward of Margensho; he gave us news that Jackechan's, Teneforo's, and other Indians were in a place called Trinita, some four hours' gallop only distant. When he found that I was 'Anglish,' he spoke in high praise of my countrymen whom he had met in Rio Negro.

This man was a perfect picture; he was splendidly mounted, and had a troop of horses all as good as the one he bestrode. He was well dressed in ponchos and white drawers, and wore a silk handkerchief round his head. Over his saddle was a poncho containing, as we supposed, a store of yerba, flour, or other luxuries, and he had a bold, careless, good-humoured face, with restless eyes; altogether he gave one an idea of the imaginary generous bandits one reads of in novels, and to make the character complete it turned out afterwards that he had almost certainly stolen the horses from Trinita.

After five minutes' conversation, we started in opposite 484
directions, and our party pressed on at speed. From the steep hill above the valley we saw, to our joy, the smoke of hunting parties apparently not far off. However, it was four o'clock when we arrived in the vicinity of the fires in a green pastured valley. From one of the two toldos pitched there, a man emerged with a matè pot in his hand and a bombilla or reed used for imbibing matè, like straws for sherry cobblers, in his mouth. As these people proved not to be the Indians we wanted, after saluting him we galloped on, and crossing the valley, where we had to jump our horses over a brook, ascended the opposite hill. A new growth of [37]
bush growing sixteen feet high, with long switches like osiers, forced itself unpleasantly on our attention, as, when riding fast, they sprang back into one's face in the most painfully annoying manner. On the hillside we overtook and passed

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464 a caravan of women travelling in the same direction as ourselves, and from the summit of the range saw in the valley below two different groups of thirty or forty toldos each, about half a mile apart. Galloping on we arrived, about 484 five P.M., at the nearest tolderia; but on inquiring for 576 Patricio, to whom we had been directed to go by Casimiro, found that he belonged to the others, to which we proceeded, and were duly received, our horses, &c., taken care of, and ourselves ushered with all ceremony into the presence of Patricio (a half-bred Pampa and Tehuelche). After the hour's etiquette of answering questions, we were each given one rib of a guanaco to eat. I was so hungry that I could have eaten a dozen at least, so, on the plea of washing, started off to look for Jackechan's toldo, which I shortly found, and was received with open arms by my friend and El Sourdo. After his 'missus' had given me some food, followed by the luxury of a maté with sugar, Jackechan related his proceedings subsequent to leaving our party.

203 After a few days' march in the direction of the Chupat, he came across some cattle, which were caught and killed, and then, whilst in the same spot, he despatched the messenger to Chupat with the letter, who returned in fifteen days with an answer, but without any stores.

The letter, carefully wrapped in a piece of old linen which had *served as the envelope to my own epistle*, was ceremoniously handed to me by the light of a blaze produced by some grease thrown upon the fire. I read and interpreted the contents to Jackechan. The writer—Mr. Hughes, if I recollect rightly—expressed his pleasure at hearing of my safety, but regretted his inability to forward any stores or clothing, as the supply in the colony was extremely scanty, owing to the non-arrival of the ship with Mr. Lewis Jones on board, which had been expected for some months. It need scarcely be said that I had been quite unaware of the privations endured by these unfortunate colonists, which the despatches of Commander Dennistoun have made known to

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Everybody at once mounted and went to escort in the new arrivals, who proved to be Teneforo himself and two of his followers. They had brought a hundred head of horses and cattle as far as Valchita, two days' journey from Trinita, and had left them there, bringing on with them only some liquor and yerba, which were at once unloaded. After I had been presented to the newly-arrived chief, who hailed me as a brother, and honoured me by a place among the four caciques, who, pannikins in hand, walked round the lances in due performance of the ceremony of blessing the liquor, already described, the drinking commenced.

When the people arrived the sun had just risen, and by ten o'clock, most of the liquor, which consisted of some gin and caña, or white rum, had disappeared. Many of the Indians were intoxicated, but all after a merry, good-tempered fashion, which it had never been my luck to see before. After imbibing freely enough with my numerous friends—who, if it had been left to them, would have made me as drunk as themselves—I mounted my horse, and after a bathe amongst the tall reeds on the borders of the stream, returned to the toldo, where I found the aged Patricio singing to himself in a very maudlin state. By sundown all were sober again, and Patricio imparted to me that he intended himself to proceed with us, as well as some other friends, his wife, and two or three other women, but that we were to travel by the lower route, which, though longer, was easier and safer than the shorter and upper road, where the thorns grew higher and thicker: the latter is usually selected in summer, when water is scarce, of which at this season there was no danger.

The following morning, bidding adieu to Antonio, Champayo, and Jackechan—whose ration I had promised to procure—we started, eleven men and four women, taking plenty of horses, besides a troop of mares for an Indian called Hernandez, settled near the Guardia Chica, the mares being intended for the purpose of treading out his crop of corn.

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484 We were soon out of sight of the encampment at Trinita, and proceeding at either a gallop or a trot through an undulating country, in which incense, algarroba, and other shrubs abounded, arrived near sunset at a stream, on the north side of which we encamped, amongst some thick bushes. A little distance to the west lay a large salina, from which, several miles across, the place takes its name, being called Hitchin-kaik, or Salt Hill. The stream flows round one side of the salina, and is, I think, the same that we subsequently crossed near Valchita. This time we travelled in great style, the women having brought with them stores of horse-meat and yerba.

263 After dinner we all sat round the fire and took a maté, and some of an Indian sweetmeat, a yellow paste made from the algarroba bean pounded and mixed with water. Old
000 Patricio, who had turned over a new leaf, and grown quite frisky after the drink, said that I was a fortunate man, having a wife with me; alluding to one of the wives of the cacique El Ingles, who was travelling with us to rejoin her husband near Patagones.

484 The following morning at daylight we again started, and
137 travelling over much the same description of country as on the previous day, arrived about midday at the place where Teneforo had left his cattle. Here we dismounted and *refreshed ourselves off the round berries about the size of a* turnip-radish, the fruit of a small plant growing by the margin of the water, which had a very pleasant taste. The river here had a fringe of tussocks of pampa grass, under which we reclined and smoked.

484 The cattle were grouped about amongst these tussocks,
133 and Golwin, Jackeeban's son with the light hair, amused himself by vain attempts to count them. After half an hour's dawdling we proceeded, leaving behind one of Meña's horses which was done up, and, following more or less the line of the river, we arrived, about three P.M., at the encampment of Valchita. As it was early in the day, some of the party

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started to hunt, but returned empty-handed. We filled up 434 ●
the skins and water-bottles, in anticipation of entering the 133
travesia the following day; and, after the usual meal and
maté, sought out each his own particular nest in the pampa
grass, and went to sleep without fear of the horses straying
far, the pasture and water being both of the best quality.
As it was in this encampment that, according to Casimiro,
the defunct Mendoza had discovered gold, I prospected care-
fully for any signs, but only noticed that parts of the
adjoining pampa were strewn, amongst other pebbles, with
pieces of quartz. At the usual hour we started to commence
the ascent to the travesia, or desert, which rose above us
to the north, in a high plateau. On ascending a short
distance, we observed on our left hand (to the westward) a [135]
salina of several leagues in length, which bordered the edge
of the travesia in about an east or west direction. I am
inclined to think that the river Vakhita loses itself in this
salina. This river is subject to great floods, evidences of
which were visible in the drift weeds and rubbish clinging
to the bushes and shrubs throughout the valley, evidently
left there by the spring inundation. By a gradual ascent
we at length reached the level of the plateau, and saw before
us an interminable dreary expanse strewn with small shingle,
and covered with shrubs varying from four to twelve feet, or
even higher, and here and there small tufts of grass. No
signs of life were visible. The sky was bright and clear,
although clouds were gathering in the southern horizon,
and the wind (it nearly always blows in Patagonia) was
cutting. I remarked to Luis Aguirre that it would possibly 521
rain; his reply, 'I hope it will—it will be splendid, then all
the lagoons will be full,' told of the danger of drought, but
found no assent from me, having had enough of wet weather
during the excursion to Las Manzanas. During the ride he
told me that he knew the difference between the Catholic
and Protestant religions, and of the two he preferred the
latter; he also asked me if I had ever been to China, where

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52| the tea came from, and various other questions evincing a considerable amount of information; and wound up by proposing that I should set up a trading establishment near the Chupat; Jackechan—who, if any one can claim it, is the real lord of the soil—having volunteered to cede the ground to me. In the event of establishing a store in that neighbourhood, this astute Indian considered that all the Indian trade would be taken out of the hands of the people of Patagones, who notoriously used false weights, besides charging exorbitantly for all articles supplied to the Indians.

484 About two P.M., as the rough shingle had already begun
133 to tell on our horses' feet, a halting-place was found near a laguna containing rain-water of the colour of *café au lait*. The horses were for the present let loose, to pick up the best meal they could off the stunted grass near the borders of the lagoon. Before dark most of them were tethered, and a careful watch kept all night, lest they should return to Valchita in search of pasture and water. After a lengthened conversation by the fireside—in which I was informed that the track we were travelling was called Pigs' Road, from
[136] wild pigs, or perhaps peccaries, having been killed near one of the lagoons in the route—we wrapped ourselves in our manties and sheltered ourselves like hedgehogs under the bushes, from time to time getting up to look round for the horses. Next day we rode over the same interminable
137 desert of stones, and bushes of the following descriptions: chañal or whitethorn; picayun, furnishing the best firewood; the osier-like switches before described; black bush, which is useless for burning, owing to the pestiferous smell it emits; algarroba, incense, which are, however, very scarce; and some others whose names I was unable to procure. The chañal is the only one that impedes the traveller's progress, as the thorns are large and sharp. In the other road (more to the west), which we had avoided, although the distance is shorter across the travesia, and therefore more used by the Tehuelches, who dread this crossing, especially in summer

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or for small parties, the chañal grows to the height of ten 137
to fifteen feet, and, like the 'waitabit' thorns in Albania, renders fast riding impossible.

This day we were about to start hunting, when a demi- 425
john of rum was discovered in a bush. This put an end to the sport, for, although it was hidden again in another place, enough was taken out to render most of the party talkative, a bottle or two also being reserved for discussion at the camp fire.

At four P.M. we encamped by the side of a lagoon similar 484
to the previous one, and, our Valchita water being finished, diluted the rum with meal and water about the consistency of Spanish chocolate. I forgot to state that in the excitement of the 'find' the horses were not looked after, and on mustering to proceed, one of Nacho's had disappeared, and, although carefully searched for, he was not found again.

The next day, despite the dissipations over night, we 136
were in the saddle at daybreak, and had hardly traversed a 484
league of this wearisome waste when we came suddenly upon seven wild horses. An effort made to surround them failed, owing to the difficult nature of the ground; but the failure was to me fully made up by the magnificent spectacle of these splendid creatures careering in their untamed strength and beauty across the plain.

We subsequently hunted and killed guanaco and ostrich, 133
and also saw some hares and partridges. At about ten A.M. 484
our eyes were gladdened by the sight of the sea, and presently the level plain rose into more undulating country, and from the crests of the elevations at times a full view of the inlet called the Laco de San Antonio presented itself.

Smoke was visible ahead, and we accordingly pushed on, and made a long and rapid march, the surface being here altogether free from the small stones which had previously caused so much damage to the horses' feet. That night we halted, as usual, by the side of a lagoon, the water of which was not more than two inches deep.

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the river. A large troop of horses can scarcely find pasture, 133
and after the rapid journey would not be in a condition for their riders to attack with success, if opposed vigorously by people able to defend themselves.

This district appeared to form a distinct and well-defined 136
limit between the habitats of various animals; as, for instance, the Rhea Darwinii, or smaller ostrich of Patagonia, and the Rhea Americana. The latter, according to my experience, is never found to the south of it, and I am at a loss to understand how Mr. Cunningham could have met with any specimens of it, as he seems to imply.*

The Tehuelches often described the larger Rhea as found north of the travesia, and as distinct from that hunted in their country. They also particularly insisted on the fact that the Gama, or deer—abundant in the Rio Negro valley and the country north of it—is never met with south of the travesia. The same remark is true of the Viscacha and the Aguarra (Lupus manatus), though the latter is probably to be met with in the spurs of the Cordillera.

Patagonia may thus be properly considered as cut off by the Rio Negro and the line of the Cordillera, and possessing its own races and a separate Fauna and Flora.

It may be added that only one species of armadillo, the Quirquincho (Dasypus minutus, Gay), occurs within these limits. The algarroba and other bushes, though found in 137
and near the borders of the travesia, do not occur south of its immediate vicinity.

It was a joyful hour for all when, on the fourth day, after 484
galloping from dawn till ten o'clock, we at length came in sight of the valley, still three miles distant, where large [137]
willows—which, by the way, are unknown in Patagonia, save a few at Chupat, probably introduced by the settlers—marked the winding course of the Rio Negro. We halted at the head of an abra, or lateral opening which ran up [138]
into the barranca from the main valley, and saw in the

* 'Natural History of the Straits of Magellan,' p. 134.
[i.e. the travesia, or desert — Analyst]

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484 distance a solitary rancho, the first civilised dwelling beheld since my departure from Santa Cruz.

After a rest, to enable all to come up, some having lagged behind perforce, their horses being hardly able to limp along, we made our way down the slope, and at length reached the river, in which our thirsty steeds soon drank their fill.

The rancho, which belonged to Hernandez, for whom the convoy of mares was intended, was then visited. The owner was absent, but his Indian wife did the honours, at least as far as serving us with maté, for no food was produced, though all were dreadfully hungry. I wished to stop and don what an American would call my citizen's clothes, thinking that we should immediately proceed to the Guardia I had heard so much of from Luis Aguirre; but he told me not to be in a hurry, so in my dirty mantle I remained for the present.

After half an hour's delay we left the rancho and followed the south bank of the river, which here was a swift stream 200 yards wide, passing the farm of Hernandez, where a man was occupied in ploughing, and mares and cattle were grazing.
[33] The river here made a bend towards the southern barrancas, which so nearly abutted on it as to compel us to ride close along the bank. Small partridges got up frequently, and I made a mental resolution to come and have a day's shooting
[34] at a future period in the magnificent willows bordering the river; blue pigeons were cooing in the trees; and through an opening we caught a glimpse, on the opposite bank, of a well-built, comfortable-looking estancia in the foreground of a wide extent of rich flat land, with corral, galpones, and the usual surroundings, which Luis Aguirre informed me belonged to Mr. Kincaid. The feeling of having safely emerged from the desert into the settlements put us, though
484 very hungry, into the best of spirits; and after a cheerful
153 half-hour's ride, passing on our road a tumbledown, unused rancho, we arrived at Sauce Blanco, or 'White Willow;'

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there the river, sweeping to the northern side, leaves a wide 484 ●
rincon, or expanse of rich alluvial ground. This is con- 133
sidered as belonging to the Indians, some of whom are always
to be found encamped near the rancho, which belonged to
the cacique El Inglés, and three toldos were pitched in its
vicinity.

We presented to the chief his wife, whom we had brought 574
with us, and I was warmly welcomed as a relative, the
cacique being a nephew of Quintabual. This chief derives
his name from his alleged relationship to some one or other
of the officers of Fitzroy's surveying expedition, so that I
was doubly welcome in my English and Indian character.
Here we camped amongst the pajas, or pampa grass, and, 252
having been presented with a mare and some pumpkins, soon
had a good fire blazing and meat and pumpkins cooking:
these latter being dressed by cutting them in halves, taking
out the seeds, and filling the interior with hot ashes, and
then placing them on the ashes, the result being, at all
events as it seemed then to my taste, delicious. I wished 484
to proceed direct to the Guardia, but as Patricio and the
others put it off till the morrow, in my ignorance of the road
and usages of the place, I was forced to 'do at Rome as
Romans does.'

A good wash in the river was one of the first things
indulged in, and the enjoyment of getting rid of several
days' accumulation of the dust and mud of the travesia can
be better imagined than described.

The following morning, before daylight, we all bathed in
the river, and, after taking mate with the cacique El Inglés,
and a warm by the fireside after sleeping in the frosty night
air, we prepared to visit the Guardia. Casting off the Indian
mantle, I assumed the usual dress of an Englishman of the
period, shooting-coat, &c.; and having been provided with
fresh horses by our friend, half an hour's gallop brought us to
the north bank, opposite the Guardia—not, however, without
misadventure, for as we made our way along the narrow,

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uneven horse-path, full of ruts, and hemmed in by pampa grass, Luiz Aguirre's horse stumbled and threw him, rolling over him and crushing his revolver into his ribs.

The mean appearance of the much-talked-of Guardia at once dispelled the ideas of it derived from the imaginative descriptions of the Indians, but some previous experience of Spanish frontier towns saved me from disappointment. The settlement consists of a small fort mounted with one gun, a cuartel or barracks, and a few houses, one or two built of brick and the others of adobe, clustering round the fort. Almost, if not quite all, of these are 'pulperias,' or grog-shops and stores, intended for trade with the Indians, for whose transport a launch is kept. The usual object first seen in frontier towns—an unfinished church—is here conspicuous by its absence, no provision for spiritual wants being made in the Guardia. After about half an hour's delay on the bank, a bustle on the other side was observed, caused by getting ready a large launch, which shortly crossed to our side; and having secured our horses with lazos and maneos, we jumped in, and I was greeted by a non-commissioned officer, who congratulated me on my arrival, stating that the Commandante, Señor Murga, had been expecting me for some months. We crossed over in great pomp, a soldier playing the cornet in the bows of the boat; and, landing, we proceeded to a store kept by a man named Don Fermin, where we were all ushered into a room behind the shop, and the Indians exposed their skins and plumes for trade. My friend the non-commissioned officer had left me, as I declined to surrender my letters to any one but the Commandante in person, and he was at the time at Patagones, distant eighteen leagues from this Guardia. Meanwhile I watched the trade going on between Don Fermin and the Indians.

Now and again people came and contemplated us, as if we were some strange sort of wild animals; but as I was out of the trading, no one bid the stranger welcome, and I formed a bad idea of the politeness of the inhabitants, though per-

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haps my shaggy hair and dress, not altogether of the neatest, may have been against me.

The Indians were soon in full enjoyment of some grog and biscuits, which they naturally asked me to share. After a bite and a sup, finding the proceedings slow, I left the room, and shortly after met Mr. Alexander Fraser and Mr. Grenfell, the owners of an estancia a few miles lower down the river; and after introducing myself, was most kindly received, and supplied with cash, a civilised medium of which I had not a sou to enable me to gratify the desire of treating my Indian friends to a bottle or two of wine and spirits and a few loaves of bread.

Mr. Fraser hospitably pressed me to come on to his establishment at once, but being desirous of handing the letters to the Commandante without delay, I returned across the river with the Indians.

A foretaste of Rio Negro manners was given us at the other side, as one of the horses, saddle, lazo and all, was missing—stolen by some of the civilised inhabitants. The horse belonged to El Ingles, and had been lent to Molia to go down from the encampment to the Guardia; the lazo belonged to me.

At the camp most of the people got more or less drunk, and Nacho received a richly-deserved thrashing for being pugnacious, after which he was lashed down, and left to cool in the frost for an hour.

In the morning I started for Patagones, accompanied by El Ingles and another Indian; but as our horses proved to be too tired to proceed into Patagones, we stopped for the night in a toldo at San Xaviel, the head-quarters of Linares and his tame Indians.

I took up my quarters at the toldo of one Chalcupe, and after supper, being desirous of communicating the political arrangements to the chief, proceeded on horseback behind another horseman, who proved to be a brother of Ronque Pinto, to the chief's residence, a long, low house.

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holding on better than the others, and I hoped she would ride out the gale in safety.

I made my captors understand the reason why no boat had come, as promised; with which they appeared to be satisfied, and we returned as we came. By means of their broken Spanish, which they had picked up from sailors, and in visits to the Chilian or other Spanish American settlements, and by signs, amounting at times pretty nearly to a pantomime, I found myself able to understand inquiries or commands, and to make known my wishes.

Early on the following morning we again visited the shore, and I looked eagerly toward the anchorage, where all my hopes of deliverance centred. Not a vessel was in sight! Whether they had foundered, or were driven upon the shoal and wrecked, or had dragged out to sea in a disabled condition, — or whether my shipmates, the gale having subsided, had deliberately proceeded on their voyage, and left me a prey to cruel savages and all the ills of this inhospitable shore, — I was unable to conjecture. I only knew that they were gone, and that I was left alone to the tender mercies of the Patagonians. No present means of escape appeared. The future, wisely hidden from my view, suggested none to my imagination. I told my captors the worst; that the high winds had probably sunk the ships, and all that were in them. At this intelligence they seemed delighted, and laughed immoderately, as if such a calamity were a consolation for the loss of their expected ransom. Their cruel glee could add nothing to the weight of my desolation. My past life was sealed up as if by an entrance on a new state

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old chief and another of my tormentors! So the scheme came to nothing; but after others more feasible had so dolefully miscarried, it was not in human nature to lay this disappointment very deeply to heart. I made as though I was glad to see the old fellow, though, could I then have had my will of the savages, they would have been safely anchored in the middle of the straits. I told him (Heaven forgive me!) I was looking for them. The chief responded to my greeting only by ordering me to mount his horse. I requested leave to stay a little longer, and was refused. I again requested to be taken to Port Famine;—no, I should be taken to "Holland."

I mounted behind him, and we travelled all day in the direction of Cape Virgin. For two days and nights I had eaten nothing, and drunk nothing but sea-water, and, in fact, had taken very little food for three days. We arrived about dark at an eminence commanding a view of their new squatting ground. Here we halted to take a short survey of the encampment. To them, doubtless, the prospect was beautiful; to me it was heart-sickening, but I strove to keep up cheerful appearances. Down in a valley or deep marshy hollow, covered with tall grass or rushes, an almost innumerable drove of horses were seen grazing; and beyond, at a short distance, the surface was thickly dotted with huts, erected, or in process of erection, by female architects. Children, in swarms like summer flies, and with no more artificial covering than these insects, were capering and shouting in high glee. At length we descended to the rude village; after tacking about, first to the right and then to the left, like a ship against a head wind, we came gallantly into town, and drew up at the

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had been. He succeeded in effecting his escape the next day; but Douglass and Simms were carried off, murdered, and, it is supposed, — I believe with good reason, — that their bodies were eaten. The Avon, after being plundered, fell into the hands of the remainder of the crew, and sailed for Montevideo.

I travelled with this ruffian about ten days. He was a hard master, though I cannot charge him with personal ill-treatment that amounted to cruelty. Our life was monotonous enough. We slept a good share of the time when we rested, drank pure water when we could get it, and ate what fell in our way; though the reader may be assured that we saw some hungry days. At the expiration of ten days, the tribe was reunited at a place agreed upon. Here we continued several days, the natives occupied exclusively with gambling, which was alike their daily labor and recreation. When the demands of hunger became too imperative to be longer postponed, they would go out and hunt, after which they resumed their game.

Gambling is a vice to which they are greatly addicted, and they pursue it with a perseverance and ardor worthy of amateurs in more civilized communities. The implements used are bits of guanaco-skin, about the size of common playing-cards, on which are rudely depicted dogs and a variety of other beasts, with divers mystic marks and scrawls, done with a stick in a pigment composed of clay, blood and grease. Unlike their compeers in more enlightened circles, they put down stakes on only one side, for which the opposite players contend. In this way they rid themselves of their saddles, bridles, knives, and what ever other portable articles they may have to hazard

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have occasional reminders of it to this day. No time was to be lost; and, with considerable effort, and no little pain, I succeeded in remounting. The swelling of my foot soon made my borrowed boots extremely uncomfortable, and I wished myself safely back at the lodge; but, at whatever expense of suffering, I had no resource but to follow the hunters till such time as they should see fit to return. The remembrance of that day's torment will not soon be lost. We arrived at the camp late in the evening; and, having been unsuccessful in the chase, went supperless to bed. On crawling into the hut and removing my boots, a sad sight was disclosed; but there was no present remedy. Dragging myself wearily into my corner, I had just crouched upon the skin, which had served for a saddle during the day and was still reeking from the horse's back, when a great dog came along, and threw his whole weight upon the lame foot, causing me to scream aloud for the pain. I drew back the serviceable foot, and gave him a kick that sent him through the fire and against the front of the lodge. Sleep kept at a distance till near morning, when I gained a brief oblivion of suffering.

Day at last dawned, and with the morning's light came the busy note of preparation for removal. Down came the tents; the squaws packing up the furniture, and the Indians chasing and lassoing their horses. The noise and confusion, disagreeable enough under any circumstances, made the scene no inapt representative of chaos, from which I was glad to be delivered on the most expeditious terms possible; and I was easily persuaded to try my fortune again in the chase, more especially as we had nothing for breakfast. No words can do more than partial

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484 justice to one of these moving scenes. Not only the skin roofs of their wigwams, but the stakes and poles which constitute the frames, are carried along with them. Their furniture gives them little trouble, seldom consisting of more than the skins on which they sleep, an ox-horn tinder-box, a few sticks for roasting meat, and a leathern water-bucket. Tents and furniture are all packed together on
854 their horses' backs. The pappooses in travelling are lashed
484 to a kind of wooden sledge, rounded at the ends like sleigh-runners, and crossed with narrow slats, that bind the parts strongly together. The little brats are bound upon these machines, which are so shaped that their heads and feet are much below the general level of their bodies,—a very uncomfortable position for the youngsters, if they have as much sensibility to pain as other children, of which I incline to doubt, as they are inured from birth to almost every species of hardship. The sledge, with its living burden, is thrown across the horse's back, and made fast to the load. The mother mounts to the top of the pack, resting her feet on the horse's neck, and armed with a cudgel, with which she vigorously belabors the beast, right and left. The pappooses, not liking the quarters assigned to them, set up a general squalling. Mothers and maiden aunts join in full chorus, drawling out, at the top of their voices, "Hŏrī! mutty, mutty! Hŏrī! mutty, mutty!" without the least change, to the thousandth repetition.
484 All these arrangements are made with remarkable celerity —in thirty minutes not a tent is left standing, but the whole tribe, their tenements and chattels, wives and brats, are all packed upon horses, and the motley cavalcade moves off like an army of beggars on horseback.

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484 ●
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854

Breaking up of Camp. Page 83.

[p. 83]
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On the present occasion the movement was delayed, while we rode in search of something to eat. The chase was unsuccessful, scarcely enough being obtained to more than sharpen our appetites for dinner. The scanty meal being over, the whole company began their journey, which in its tortuous windings was not unlike that of the Israelites in the wilderness, but unlike that in the respect that we seemed to have no particular destination or object, except to explore new hunting-grounds, and gratify the capricious restlessness of the Indians. One very desirable end was answered, — we got enough to eat, as we were successful in killing a large quantity of game. The Indians it was noticeable, were never at a loss to find their camps. So familiar did they seem with all their haunts and the general shape of the country, that though the surface presented to my eye scarcely any distinguishable way-marks, they would strike off from any point, however distant, and go with unerring aim straight to their tents. In returning laden with booty to our new homes, I was surprised to observe no indications whatever of water in the vicinity, a singular departure, at first sight, from their invariable custom, so far as I had noticed. Very soon the squaws issued from their huts, each with her leathern bucket. Curiosity prompted me to follow them a little way, when a spring was discovered, from which they had to dip the water with their ox-horn cups till the buckets were filled.

About this time a new phase of life presented itself, to cast light on an important item of the social economy established in Patagonia. Looking out of our wigwam one evening just at dusk, I noticed an unusual concourse of Indians about two hundred yards distant. There were

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492 the matter, put spurs to his horse, and told me to come on —"Bueno caballo, se campo, campo." I tried to comply, but it was hard starting the beast, though I used up considerable wood to that end. The chief having got far in advance, and finding me desperately in arrears, hove to, and waited for me. I toiled on, and succeeded in working a passage to his position. He dismounted, inspected the horse's feet, and, directing me to wait his return, rode off. He soon reappeared with a piece of guanaco-skin, which he tied securely about the hoof of the lame foot. I expressed some surprise at this method of shoeing horses; but he said, "Buenos zapatos,"— good shoes,— and the event confirmed his words. The lameness nearly disappeared, and we jogged on together without any further trouble.

583 578 While at this camping-ground, the chief one morning arose in a towering passion at some words let fall by one of his wives, and exhibited another sample of the rigor of matrimonial discipline, very similar to that which graced the nuptials of his daughter. He gave her a tremendous beating, which seemed enough to kill her outright; but she took it very calmly, as a sort of necessary evil incident to the married state.

484 Once more on the move, the squaws taking charge of the furniture and baggage, including the pappooses, and the men riding in advance as usual, to chase supplies for the larder. Game was scarce; we got a couple of ostriches and a skunk, — or a couple of skunks and an ostrich, I forget which, and it makes less difference to the reader than at the time it did to me. We cooked and lunched on the ground and turned our faces homeward with the scanty remainder. The women were busy erecting the wigwams. The ground

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was frozen, and a large iron bolt, doubtless from some wreck, served as a crowbar to dig holes for the stakes. The encampment was on a hill-side, near a low swamp, which furnished abundance of water, such as it was.

We had scarcely settled down, and I was dreading the stagnant monotony of camp life, when dulness was dispelled in a most unwelcome manner. Knots of Indians could be seen in murmuring conversation, whose glances betrayed the bent of their passions. They were again getting impatient of my life, and caresses and flattery were of no avail to stem the rising tide. On the evening of the third day, I was summoned out of the lodge by the chief, and followed him in silence, with a trembling presentiment of evil. He led me to a spot where twenty or thirty leading spirits in the tribe sat ranged in a circle, — the fatal ring was once more set to ensnare me! Once I had escaped. Was it possible to effect a second escape? Everything said no. The chances seemed a hundred to one against it. What had I left unsaid, to tempt their cupidity, to excite alarm, to make them value my safety or dread the effects of harming me? I could think of nothing, and the dismal prospect benumbed every faculty of my soul. But, as I entered the ominous circle, an access of fresh strength, the courage of desperation, enabled me to bear up with energy against perplexity and fear; to resolve that I would meet them with a steadfast eye and an inflexible mind, — a force which, though springing out of weakness, should prove stronger than their utmost malice.

Having seated myself near the chief, the consultation began and proceeded much as before, but with increased vehemence. Their demonstrations were alarming, but, to

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stern, severe tension of all my mental energies, and a concentration of them into one focus of resolve, I waved a farewell which I hoped might be everlasting, to the accursed gang of robbers who had tormented me so many tedious weeks. "Good-by to Patagonia!" I mentally ejaculated, and struck off with my escort; but had not gone more than an eighth of a mile, when the party wheeled about and ordered me to follow them back to the camp! I remonstrated, but it was of no use, and with a heavy heart I found myself once more in my dirty corner of a wigwam. The horses were turned adrift without a word of explanation, and the Indians sat down to a game of cards, with as much indifference to everything else as if the events of the past forty-eight hours had been a feverish dream. What could be the meaning of it? I questioned the chief. He merely replied that he would go by and by, — by and by; which, being interpreted, probably meant when he pleased, and that convenient season might never arrive! After I had teased him for a long time he took me to the door of the lodge, and, pointing to the river, said it was "no good then;" it would be "good" at night. What the state of the river, which was a shallow stream, a branch of the Santa Cruz, had to do with the matter, I could not divine, and was half inclined to vote myself fairly outwitted by the Old Boy.

The day, a long one, at last wore off, and at night we once more set off. We crossed the frozen marsh, and forded the river, and, after going about two miles, stopped for repose. We took no camp equipage, and had to shelter ourselves for the night under the lee of a clump of bushes. We thrust our feet into the thicket, while our heads lodged out of doors. In this interesting attitude I was made to repeat

133 entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow
[434] most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at
622 50° 12' of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

133 Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the
[312] other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams,
[315] an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite
[136] number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs
[137] these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings
[622] being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses,
[403] which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian.
[484] This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors
229 under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there
136 are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater east since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more
136 southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

4/62 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 281] In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare, skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are collected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing, beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
4/38 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 283] sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

6/22 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in regard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
● 4/84 203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent. He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns a time for rounding up [?1] the horses, for striking the tents and for starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
4/84 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
229 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away. The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco hunt, for which
[122] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
4/87 riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, collect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
[213 4/62] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

*484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they
are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to
which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that
meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as
when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be
brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has
been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and
assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to
[462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being
unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them
[522] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown
622 they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited
to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his peo-
ple, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is re-
721 quired it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When
623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may
have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the ap-
proval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in
the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which
have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease
and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the
council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the pro-
posal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually
the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways
721 and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion
203 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning
hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud
voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war,
the time which has been set for its [70] commencement, the manner in
which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war,
and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol-
423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may
cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from
484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission
[202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other
smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been
answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose terri-
tory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing
through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "ε," "ε," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the ablebodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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useless. Tankelow, however, found an ostrich and nest, the eggs from which, about thirty in number, he, according to Indian custom, divided among those who came up before they were removed from the nest; among these lucky individuals was myself; for, seeing him make to the spot, and the male bird get up, and being moreover, well mounted and exceedingly hungry, I was among the first arrivals. Far away to the right of our track, extending thirty or forty miles eastward, lies a district called by the Indians 'The Devil's Country,' which, they assured me, is never entered, probably from the barren and impracticable nature of the surface, which seems, from description, to be even worse than the wilderness traversed by us. Beyond this district there is a practicable track, sometimes followed by the Indians, leading northward, probably used as a route to the Chupat; but from that line to the sea the country is so impassable that the Indians say it would require two years to proceed by the sea-coast from Santa Cruz to the Rio Negro. The existence of such tracks as these, and the desolate Travisias encountered near the coast, have probably caused Patagonia to be described as an arid, almost waterless country; but, in reality, after passing the coast barrier most of the interior abounds in lagoons, springs, and frequent streams; and, even in the Travisias, the numerous wild animals met with show that water exists.

Towards evening we left the snow behind us; and descending a lofty hill, which had bounded our view all day, came to a large swelling down, from which the prospect was far more encouraging. Rolling plains extended to the north and north-east, whilst the Cordillera rose like a wall on the western side. This hill is called by the Indians 'God's Hill;' and the tradition, as communicated by Casimiro, relates that from this spot the Great Spirit dispersed the animals which he had made in the caverns. But some of the animals must have remained behind, as, out on the lower slope of the downs, two pumas were chased and killed. An hour's ride

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peruse my library, namely, half of the delightful 'Elsie Venner,' which Crimé had picked up on board some ship to serve as wadding for his guns, and sold to me for a little powder. To enable the reader to follow our somewhat devious course and the intricacies of these hills and frequent rivers, the sketch map at page 164 will be found useful; it does not pretend to be exact, but gives a very fair idea of the line of country traversed, and of our migrations between Henno and Teckel.

On the 23rd, Indians having been seen to the north and guanaco hunting proving a failure, Orkeke, to my great delight, proposed a visit to the wild-cattle country. The camp was accordingly struck, and following more or less the valley of the river, which flowed after one turn nearly due east, we shortly came out into an open plain running up between the mountains, at the head of which we encamped by some tall beeches on the banks of the stream. The whole of the latter part of the plain traversed was literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom, the soil being of a dark peaty nature. Young ostriches were now numerous, and every hunt some were captured, and formed a welcome addition to our dinner. The children had several alive as pets, which they used to let loose and then catch with miniature bolas, generally ending in killing them. Our programme was to leave all the women, toldos, and other encumbrances in this spot, named 'Weekel,' or Cheykash—a regular station, and which Hinchel's party had occupied a few weeks previously—and proceed ourselves into the interior in search of cattle. The following morning at daylight horses were caught and saddled, and, after receiving the good wishes of the women, who adjured us to bring back plenty of fat beef, we started off just as the sun was rising behind the hills to the eastward. The air was most invigorating, and we trotted along for some distance up a slightly irregular and sandy slope, halting after an hour or two by the side of a deliciously clear brook, flowing east,

2: Mustero T-5 (1869-1870)1871
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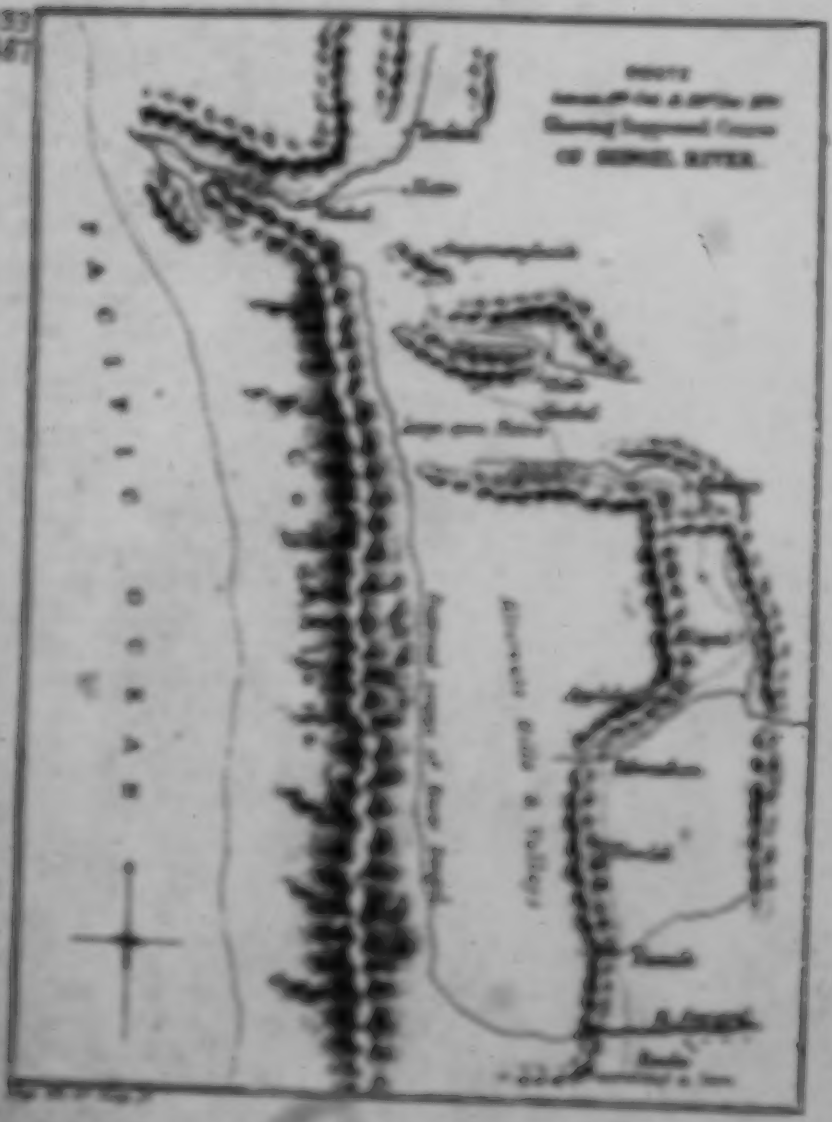

[facing p 164]

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
SHS Tehuelche SHS

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End map A

End map B

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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End map C

133 many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the [136] other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is [312] not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf [313] continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the [487] region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The [422] Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enir.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 48' of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is [320] very high and craggy: there is firewood and in the gullies there are some [313] small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts: [136] there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. [422] The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other [135] colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [86] The [306] earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. [136] There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21' of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest [312] source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which [313 also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost en- 137] tirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

It is improbable that these parts

contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [93]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [70]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 802]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other; beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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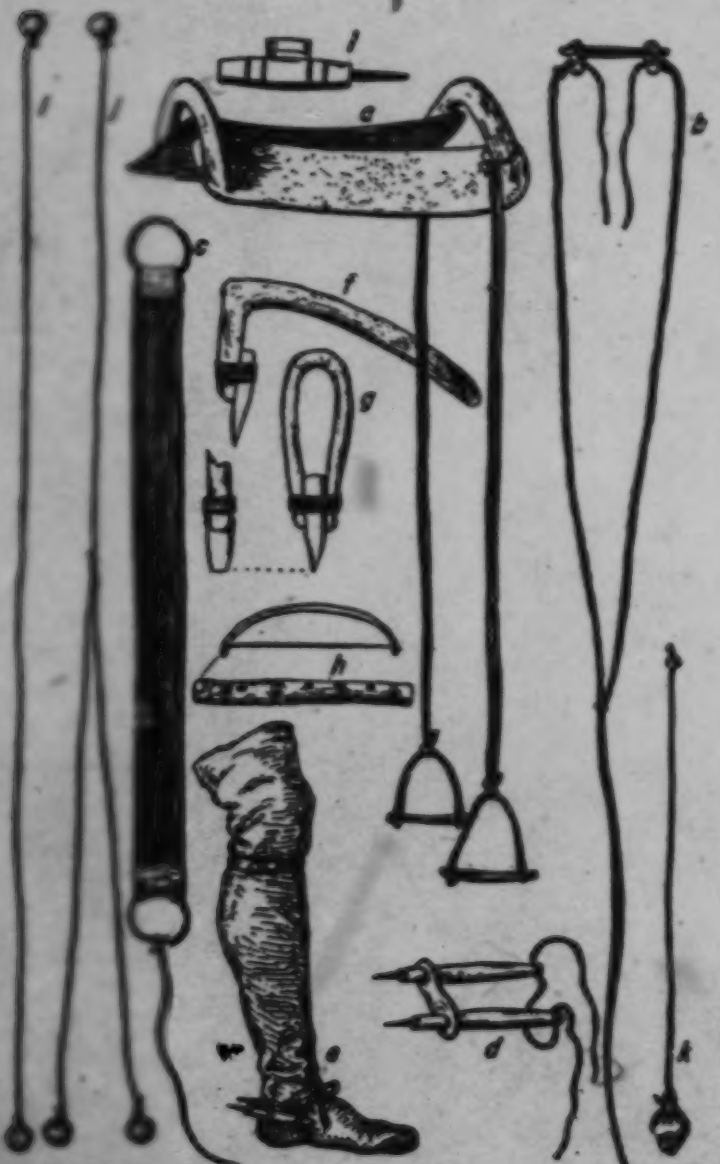

arms and instruments. a, Saddle and stirrup; b, bridle; c, girth; d, spurs; e, boots with spurs; f, ado; g, scraper; h, musical bow; i, ostrich bolas; j, pressure bolas; k, bola pendide; l, pipe. (After Moreno, 1877, opposite p. 196.)

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Ornaments.—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 4 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, in Fletcher, 1854, p. 80; cf. *Poya* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1:18; Boerbohm, 1879, pp. 90-91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 122); facial and bodily depilation with shells. Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1872, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81). Personal adornments (pl. 39, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—brooches, including tupu type, earrings (often of *Arauconian* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. supra Introduction). They did use, at least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or bull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1853, pp. 133–134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 256–257).

With the horse (see supra) came saddles, stirrups, including the toe-stirrup (fig. 18, *c–d*; Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1880, p. 68), wooden bits, and double-goad spurs (Musters, 1871, pp. 167–169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdonall, 1833, p. 79), but usually seated high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 130).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780–83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their toldos (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

MANUFACTURES

Weaving.—No basketry is reported. Fillets were woven, but we have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1880, pp. 193–194).

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Bonacgli, 1894, p. 778; Spegazzini, 1894, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Dependens dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco honours were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 198; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

PUYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Puya* culture are derived from Diego Flores de León (1698), Gerónimo Pietas (1646), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (in Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latcham, 1929–30, 64:280–282).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Flores de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Puya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them!]; Menendez (in Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Puya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Flores de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1698, p. 856)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Tehnicke SM5

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887
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[p. 160 G]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 [illegible] Tabuniche SHS

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[illegible]

[p. 160.H]

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

for the rest of our party. We saw nothing except one ostrich vanishing at great speed towards the valley at another point, and a pair of doves, which I remarked with interest; so we returned to the track, and as night was closing in, pushed on, wishing to cross the ford of the river and encamp on the other side. At seven o'clock, having reached a nice spring flowing from the barrancas, where there was firewood in profusion, Gallegos ordered a halt, although Sam wished to proceed, observing that the moon was so bright it was 'all the same as day.' We accordingly encamped for the night, after making a good supper off guanaco meat, which was a pleasant change after our previous charqui. The valley of
133 the Coluyli slightly indicates the bench formation, though it does not present so distinctly marked terraces as those which border the Gallegos River; but the lowest or river plain, which is nearly two leagues wide in the neighbourhood of the ford, is of a more fertile character, the pasture being luxuriant and good. One or two of the springs—notably the one the water of which, contrary to our guide's advice and example, we drank—had a strong taste of iron, which caused all the party to suffer from internal derange-
384 ment; and Sam stated that near our encampment there was a deposit of the black earth with which the Indians paint over their bodies. Starting early, after a night of severe frost, we soon struck the ford. Our guide had vanished; but while rearranging the packs, we saw a volume of black smoke rising to the east, caused by Sam, who, having thus signalled his countrymen, rejoined us on the march across the slightly ascending plain. We then observed numerous
492 Indians galloping in our direction, and crossing the stream at various parts, as D'aria remarked, quite regardless of fords. We halted, and were soon surrounded by about forty or more, most of them riding useful-looking horses barebacked.
494 As they appeared very friendly, Gallegos gave them some biscuit and charqui; their chiefs—the head cacique being a nephew of Casimiro—forming them into a semicircle, in tolerably good order, to receive the present.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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plaited. Of this leather we also make serviceable bridles, lazos, stirrup-leathers, and, in fact, horse-gear generally. Sometimes we would have a fit of making pipes, and all hands would be busy sawing out wood or hard at work boring the bowls; at others, spurs were the rage, made by the simple Indian method of sticking sharpened nails into two pieces of wood, secured together by thongs fastened under the foot and round the leg; or again, we would work silver, and come out with our knife-sheaths glittering with studs. On non-hunting days, I invariably practised the use of the bolas, and caught almost every shrub on the island.

The evenings were passed in playing the American game of brag. Cash being unknown, and no one being disposed to risk the loss of his gear, the stakes were simply so many black beans to a box of matches; and as much excitement prevailed as if each bean or peseta had been a five-dollar piece.

Both in our hunting parties and in the house which he had been allowed to occupy, though he occasionally visited the camp on the Chico, I sedulously cultivated the acquaintance of Casimiro. Both the missionaries and Her Majesty's surveyors have made frequent, and often by no means honourable, mention of this Indian, who has always evinced a wish to conciliate the friendship of the English visitors to Patagonia. His history, as I learned it from himself, was a very curious one, and aptly illustrates the conflicting claims of Chilians and Argentines, and the confused politics of the Indians themselves, his father having been killed in an engagement with the Araucanian or Manzaneros Indians. His mother was a Tehuelche; being an inveterate drunkard, whilst visiting the settlements of Rio Negro she bartered the child for a cask of rum to the governor of the fort, a Frenchman named Viba, who was connected with the slave-trade, for at that period Indians seem to have been made slaves of as well as blacks. Viba had Casimiro christened—whence his name Casimiro Viba—and brought up at the Estancia, or

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

the Indians. In this dilemma, quite uncertain which of the two valleys to ascend, and feeling extremely cold, we first looked out for a place of shelter. This was afforded us by a little dell or recess in the side of the barranca, which was thickly overgrown with incense bushes. Betaking ourselves thither, we speedily had a blazing fire kindled, and while warming our chilled limbs held a council. It was decided that I should mount, and proceed to hunt for some food; and then, if the weather moderated, we could proceed. Ariza was left in charge of the fire, with a strong caution from me to keep it up, and to make as much smoke as possible, by way of signal to the Indians. After a good deal of difficulty, my horse, which was only half broken, and had a playful way of rearing up and striking with his forefoot, was curbed with the leathern thong which forms the Indian bit. I then proceeded to scale the barranca bordering the river valley, and soon reached the desolate undulations of the higher Pampa. As a necessary precaution against losing my way, I was careful to take two or three bearings of conspicuous hills, visible in the northern limits of the valley; for the monotonous and dreary waste of the Pampa, strewn with boulders and shingle, alternated with tufts of grass, presents no track or landmark to guide the wanderer. It was not long before two or three herds of guanaco were sighted; but the dog, which had probably during the night foraged for himself, and found some half-eaten carcase, would not run, and a gallop of some twelve miles proved fruitless. Just as I was about giving up in despair, I observed a herd in a hollow, which I was able to approach unobserved. Knowing that our chance of food for the day depended on success, I warily approached, and then charged, and to my delight succeeded in entangling one with the bolas. He was soon despatched; and while I was busily cutting off a supply of meat, to my sudden surprise an Indian came galloping up. The new comer proved to be Tankelow, who was in search of me. He brought word that Orkeke had found the strayed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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a huge puma scorched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, however, as Ariza was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indian with the meat and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of march and method of hunting which constitute the daily routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a loud oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of hunting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonition, by way of a wind up, with a boastful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's 'oration' —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men and boys lazo and bring up the horses, and the women place on their backs the bolster of reeds, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their belts on, or putting their babies

2: Musters T-S (1869-1870)1873
SHS Tehuelche SHS

into wickerwork cradles, or rolling up the skins that form the coverings of the toldos, and placing them and the poles on the baggage horses; last of all the small breakers, which are carried on the march, are filled with water. The women mount by means of a sling round the horses' necks, and sit astride of their bolster-saddles; their babies—if they possess any—and their pet dogs are hoisted up, the babies being stowed in the cradles behind them; then they take their baggage-horses in tow and start off in single file. The men, who generally wait until all are ready, then drive the spare horses for a short distance, and having handed them over to the charge of their wives or daughters, retire to a neighbouring bush, where a fire is kindled, pipes are lighted, and the hunt commenced in the following manner. Two men start off and ride at a gallop round a certain area of country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are despatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use. Pumas are very frequently found in the circles, and quickly despatched by a blow on the head from a ball. On one occasion I saw Wáki completely crush, by a single blow, the skull of an unusually large one. The Indian law of division of the game prevents all disputes, and is as follows. The man who balls the ostrich leaves it for

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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[Facing p. 77]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

mon near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as [36]
low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our 224
hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The Northern Indians rode most recklessly, going at full speed 492
down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say, although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunting, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare horses (and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race, make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to 52[illegible]
that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of 525
Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy; if ornaments, bolas, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the winners removing them directly the race is decided. The horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting themselves after cantering side by side for a few yards. Owing to the great care taken in training the horses, very few false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long distances, four miles or a league being the average, although, of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The 231
Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses, and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed, the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

pin with a broad disc, or a nail, or thorn, according to the 291
wealth or poverty of the wearer; and under this is a loose calico or stuff sacque, extending from the shoulders to the ankle. When travelling the mantle is secured at the waist by a broad belt ornamented with blue beads, and silver or brass studs. The boots worn by the women are similar to those described, with the exception that in their preparation the hair is left on the hide, while it is carefully removed from those of the men. The children are dressed in small mantles, but are more frequently allowed to run about naked up to the age of six or eight; their little boots are made from the skin taken from the fore-legs of the guanaco, softened in the hand. The small children generally remonstrated strongly and effectually against wearing this article of clothing; and whatever the severity of the weather, preferred running about barefoot. The cradles for the babies are 854
formed of strips of wicker-work interlaced with hide thongs, fitted with a cover to keep sun and rain off, and made of a convenient shape to rest on the saddle gear of the mother when on the march. They are ornamented, if the parents are wealthy, with little bells, brass or even silver plates. The women are fond of ornaments, wearing huge earrings 301
of square shape, suspended to small rings passing through 306
the lobe of the ear; also silver or blue bead necklaces. The men also wear these necklaces, and adorn their belts, pipes, knives, sheaths, and horse-gear with silver. Those who can [492]
afford it also indulge in silver spurs and stirrups; most of their ornaments, except the beads, are home made, being beaten out of dollars obtained by commerce in the settlements. Both sexes smear their faces, and occasionally 302
their bodies, with paint, the Indians alleging as the reason for using this cosmetic, that it is a protection against the effect of the winds; and I found from personal experience that it proved a complete preservative from excoriation or chapped skin. It proved equally effective against the sun, which in Henno peeled my face completely until I resumed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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bows and arrows, but I am inclined to think that this must 411
have applied either to a tribe of Fuegians or a party of Pampas living in the valley of the Rio Negro. It is certain that no ancient flint arrow-heads are met with south of the Rio Negro, where they abound; also that there is but little, if any, wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses the Indian migrations were confined to a smaller area; besides, although no arrow-heads are found in the interior of Patagonia proper, ancient bolas are not unfrequently met with. These are highly valued by the Indians, and differ from those in present use by having grooves cut round them, and by their larger size and greater weight. The introduction and diffusion of firearms has 713
almost superseded the use of defensive armour; but chain suits, and hide surcoats studded thickly with silver, are still —as instances before given show—possessed and employed: and before going into battle the warriors are often padded like cricketers, coroonillas or saddle-cloths, and ponchos being employed to form a covering, the folds of which will turn a sword cut or lance thrust.

During our long sojourn at Teckel, as hunting was avoided 461
as much as possible, in order to rest the horses, the men occupied themselves in Indian arts and manufacture, some account of which may be deemed interesting.

As the horse is the mainstay of the Indian, let the saddle- 492
gear take precedence. (See figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.)

The saddles are constructed in the following manner. A piece of timber is split in two, and reduced, by means of a small hand-adze, to the requisite size and thickness to form the side boards or flaps, skilfully adapted to the shape of the horse's back; in these boards holes are bored at each end, and the saddle-trees, which are chosen from angular limbs of trees, like knees for boat-building, and reduced to the requisite size, are lashed on by hide. Over this fresh guanaco hide, divested of its woolly coat and carefully cut to the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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492 proper shape, is sewn with sinew, serving, as it dries, to bind the whole securely together. Casimiro was the most skilful workman of the party, and made a saddle for me which, although through having to start in a hurry it was not smoothed down or covered with hide, I used for about five weeks without any chafing of the horse's back. Underneath the saddle a thick mandil, or poncho, is placed; and over the saddle a corconilla, or housing, of puma or yearling guanaco skin, or, which is always preferred if obtainable, a black sheepskin. The Araucanians weave corconillas of most beautiful texture and brilliant blue colour, which are sold for as much as £5 in the settlements. The girths are made of thirteen or fourteen ties of twisted hide from the neck of the guanaco, and fitted with two rings connected by a leather thong. The stirrups are suspended by strips of hide from the holes bored in the foremost saddle-trees. They are generally made of a piece of hard wood fixed into a raw hide thong, or sometimes of wood bent into a triangular shape. The swells, of course, sport silver stirrups, but they are frequently not used at all. The saddle is also taken off when the hunting circle is being closed and the horses ridden bare-backed, but it is replaced to carry the meat back to the toldos. Sometimes it occurs that an Indian loses his saddle at play, when he is perforce obliged to ride bare-backed, and it never appears to inconvenience them. The bridles are made of either plaited or twisted hide. The bits used vary, but the more general is a simple bar of either wood or iron, covered at either end with two flaps of stout hide, from which two thongs extend under the horse's jaw, forming an effectual curb, the reins being also secured to the hide-flaps. The bar is frequently omitted, and a simple thong is placed in the horse's mouth and rove through the piece of hide, which is secured to the bridle and tied under the jaw. I used this simple bit the whole of the journey, and never had reason to find fault with it. The spurs are made of two pieces of hard wood, with nails filed to a sharp

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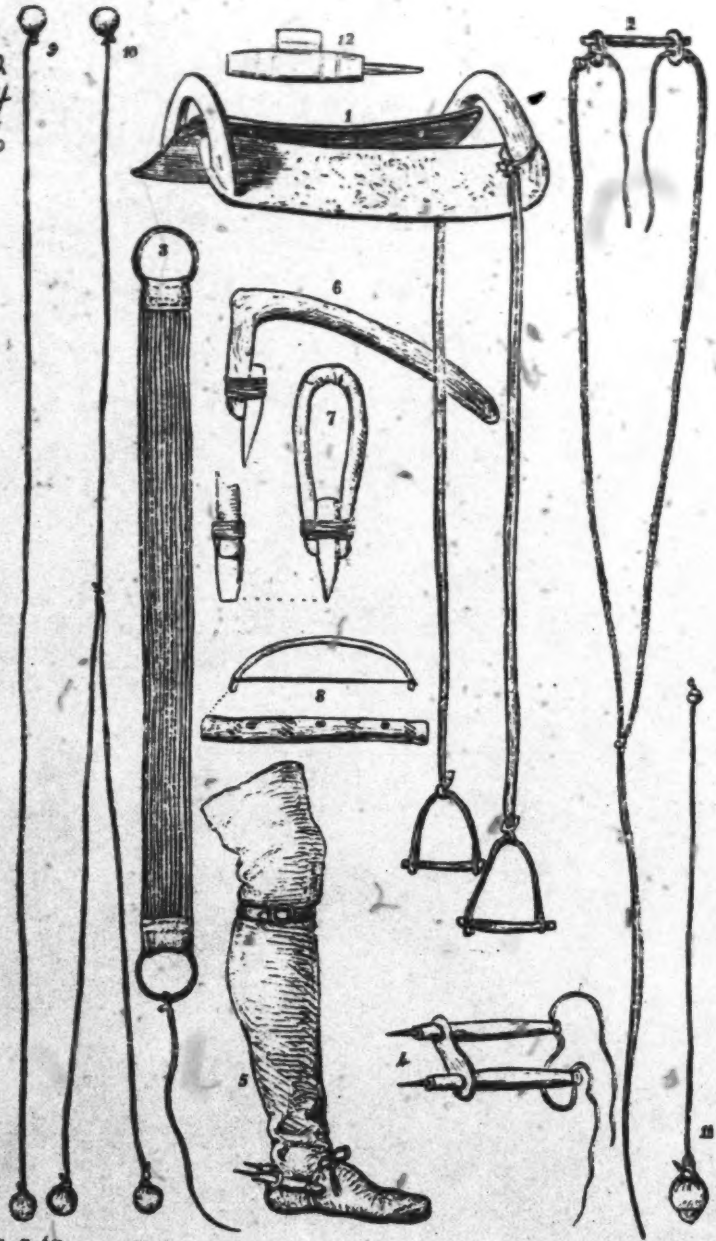

1. Saddle. 2. Bridle. 3. Girth. 4. Spurs. 5. Boot. 6. Adze. 7. Scraper
8. Musical instrument. 9. Ostrich bola. 10. Guanaco bola. 11. Bola perdida. 12. Pipe.

12

[facing p. 176]

[No pg 177]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

point fixed in the ends, for which I once tried to substitute bone spikes, but they required constant sharpening and broke quickly. The spurs are secured to the feet by thongs. Headstalls for breaking horses are made either of plain or plaited hide, with a ring underneath for the Maneador.

Lazos are made either of twisted or plaited hide, similar to those in use among the Gauchos. The only other articles of horse-gear worthy of mention are the 'manèos,' called by the Indians 'caligi,' or straps for securing the horse's legs, in order to teach him to stand when the rider has dismounted; but the horses soon learn to await the return of the rider. Since my return a hunting friend, hearing the chase described, eagerly inquired, 'But who held your horse?' The well-trained Tehuelche hunters hold themselves, and no boy or man is available to render this service to any one unlucky enough to be mounted on an uneducated steed. Our breakers might take a useful lesson from the 'savages.'

Another branch of general industry is the manufacture of pipe-bowls, which are peculiar in shape, as may be seen in the plate (fig. 12). They are made of either wood or stone, fitted with a silver or metal tube, and frequently ornamented with silver. The greatest pains is taken to keep them free from tobacco juice by constant cleaning with an ostrich feather.

Wooden platters are sometimes made, for containing meat or grease; and I have seen wooden or horn spoons constructed, but these articles are rare. Casimiro's toldo rejoiced in one of the latter, and it rather resembled a shoehorn. The men are many of them skilful workers in silver, made from dollars obtained in the settlements, and tempered until they become sufficiently malleable to be beaten out into the requisite shapes, either for buckles, garters, plates, beads, or studs for embossing belts or armour with. These 'cups,' or studs, are generally hollowed out in a suitable cavity, worked in a stone; they are then pierced at the edges

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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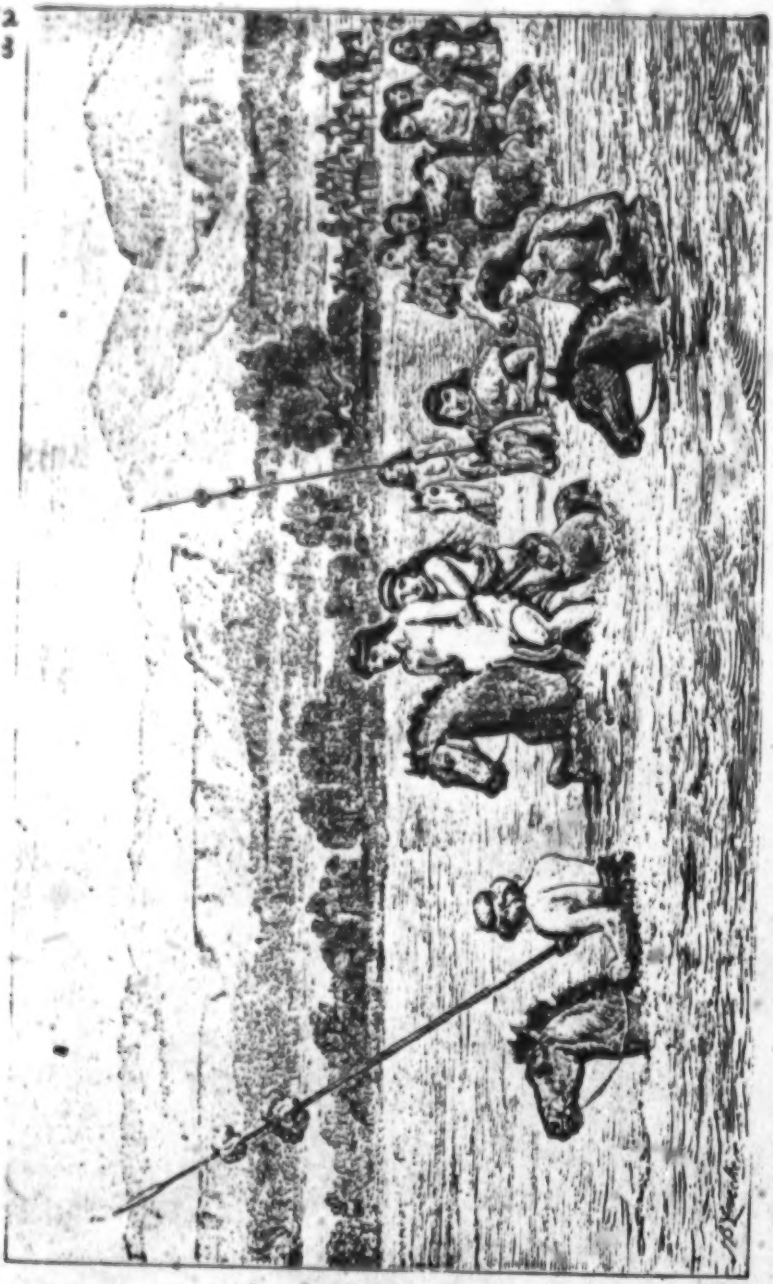

CROSSING THE RIVER LIMAY.

[facing p. 236]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

133 the name. We accordingly proceeded in that direction, and taking off all unnecessary gear, strapping our mantles close up, or wearing them like plaids over our shoulders, descended through the trees and soon plunged into the river.

133 The first part of the ford was deep, but the water then
492 shallowed on nearing the shore, and the velocity of the noisy stream greatly increased. Still we arrived easily enough at the first island, but to pass from that to the smaller one appeared at first to rather daunt even the Tehuelches. The current was running like a millrace, and the waters foamed over the uneven bottom with a rush and roar that rendered all warnings inaudible. It was evident that only strong horses could cross at all; but one or two bolder spirits dashed in, and although unacquainted with the pass, reached the second island some distance down the river in safety, so the remainder shortly followed, the women crossing behind the men; here and there were places in the ford which necessitated swimming, and in others were huge boulders, over which the water
648 swirled in large waves. At last we all reached the bank in safety, and were met by some of Inacayal's Indians. Being among the lucky first arrivals, I came in for some apples and other food that some of these people of Incayal's had thoughtfully brought with them from the toldos.

When all were mustered and had resumed their clothes, we started for the toldos, where we were received by Inacayal, and as it was needful to await those who had remained behind drinking, we bivouacked by the bank of the river, and shortly some cattle and mares were brought up and slaughtered to satisfy the cravings of our hunger. After bathing in the river, I was sitting by the fireside watching our dinner cooking, when I received a message to say that I was required in one of the toldos. In that indicated I found an old Indian, a brother of Quintuhual, who spoke fluent Spanish; he invited me to sit down, and then narrated that an Englishman named Cox had formerly descended the river from Lake Nahuel-huapi in a boat, but in trying to descend

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

reluctance they assented. The old chief ordered me to mount his horse, — this time reversing our relative positions; he made me sit on the rude apology for a saddle and guide the horse, while he took his seat behind, clasping both arms tightly around my body, and spurring his old nag forward. Thus mounted, and wondering what would be the next trick of the savages, I was conveyed to the shore, near the spot where the boats lay off on their oars. Driving as near them as possible, I hailed the men, — told them by no means to fire on the Indians, but to give them all they had promised. They asked what they should do with the articles. I turned to the chief, told him what the boats had brought, and once more asked if it was a satisfactory ransom. He said, Yes; if those articles were laid down, I should be released. But he was plainly resolved to have his pay in advance; he distrusted us too much to let me go first; and I need not say that my confidence in him was far from implicit. But, "Nothing venture, nothing have," — I directed the men to put the things ashore, which they did. The Indians greedily picked them up, and I claimed my release. The old rascal said, "he had not got *plenty* of rum yet, he must have a barrel." I insisted and struggled, but to no purpose. He kept a tight hold of my body, and when I begged that at least he would not squeeze me quite so painfully, he only redoubled his clasp. He obviously suspected, and I more than suspected, that it would not require a very great relaxation of his embrace to prompt a pretty decided movement on my part, for the effectual resisting of which the vicinity of the water was not altogether favorable. He now began spurring his old horse from the scene of action; I drew upon the bridle

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556 horses, the stock of which is frequently replenished by
231 stealing from the Spanish and Chilian settlements. These animals are, for the most part, of small size and inferior quality, half wild, coated with coarse, shaggy hair — lean and woe-begone enough, just "fit for the crows." A few valuable specimens of a superior breed are found among them, doubtless "conveyed" there. The rude saddles in
492 use among them are mostly of Spanish origin, obtained at the settlements. They consist each of two boards, an inch thick, six inches wide, and two feet long, rounded at the corners so as to fit the horse's back, and united by two strips of board passing across the back-bone, the several pieces lashed together with leather strings. A piece of guinaco-skin often serves in default of a saddle. The steed is guided by a single rein, tied round the lower jaw; some of them sport a bit of iron or wood, secured by a string round the jaw, attaching the rein to this. Spurs, like the rest of their riding apparatus, are more efficient than elegant. They are indeed rude and cruel things, — straight sticks, six inches long, with a long, sharp iron inserted into the end, secured by a string or strap around the hollow of the foot, and tied at the top, a second strap nearer the heel, and a third passing round the heel. They are all agile and excellent horsemen.

441 For weapons, the chief, and a few of the principal men, had cutlasses or swords. They had no fire-arms, nor could I learn that they understood their use; bows and arrows, spears and war-clubs, appeared to be equally unknown.
441 All the men carried knives; and the *bolas*, a missile
224 weapon used in the capture of all kinds of game. This consists of two round stones, or lead balls, if they can be

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in a straight line; and, as soon as their course is ascertained, the Indians may be seen running their horses at break-neck pace to plant themselves directly in the course of the living tide. As the game approach, the hunter puts spurs to his horse and rushes across their track. When within twenty or thirty yards, he jerks the bolas from his girdle, and, whirling it violently above his head, lets fly. The weapon usually strikes the head or neck of the animal, and winds itself about his fore-legs, bringing him to the ground. The hunter dismounts, cuts the victim's throat, remounts, and is again in pursuit. The whizzing missile, unerring in its aim, brings down another and another, till the party are satisfied with their chase and their prey. The dogs fall upon the poor animals, when helplessly entangled by the bolas, and often cruelly mangle them before the hunter has time to despatch them. Seldom does any one miss the game he marks. It is the height of manly ambition among them, the last result of their training, to excel in the chase.

The sport being over, then comes the dressing of the meat. The body is split open, the entrails removed, the heart and large veins opened, to permit the blood to flow into the cavity. The Indians scoop up with their hands and eagerly drink the blood. When their thirst is satisfied, the remainder is poured into certain of the intestines selected for the purpose, to become (to their accommodating tastes) a luxury as highly prized as any surnamed of Bologna. The ribs are disjointed from the back-bone, and, with the head, discarded as worthless. The body is quartered, cutting through the skin; the quarters, tied together in pairs, are thrown across the horses' backs, and conveyed to the camp. Arrived at their wigwams, the chivalrous

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Breaking up of Camp. Page 82.

[p. 83]

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Young Cohanaco, the chief's youngest son, appeared to excel all others; he was looked upon as a remarkably smart and very active lad; and, though he was six or eight years old, was not yet weaned! All the tribe fondled and caressed him; he would practise with the boys, often without any covering to his back, till excited and almost exhausted; then he would run into the lodge, take refreshment at his mother's breast, and speedily return to his sport.

All this time *Holland* was not forgotten, but the chief and his liege were continually reminded of the urgent reasons for taking me there without delay; the presents which could only be obtained there, the fearful consequences of suffering me to come to harm, the great ships with the big guns, &c. &c., that would assuredly avenge me upon the whole tribe, — with what effect, beyond allaying present irritations and discontents that threatened me, it was impossible to determine.

A novel example of farriery offered itself to my observation one day, while hunting with the chief; my old horse, on a sudden, began to hobble, and very nearly gave out. I watched him some time, and jolted on, suffering somewhat from his uneven movements, but could not discern the occasion of the difficulty. On dismounting and examining his feet, nothing serious was perceptible, except that the hoofs were worse for wear, and broomed up a little. I remounted, and gave the poor creature a smart drubbing, to overtake his owner, if possible, and consult him on the case, which was one wherein I was content to defer to his wiser judgment. Sufficient steam was raised to bring us abreast of the chief, who, on hearing what was

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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492 the matter, put spurs to his horse, and told me to come on —"Bueno caballo, es campo, campo." I tried to comply, but it was hard starting the beast, though I used up considerable wood to that end. The chief having got far in advance, and finding me desperately in arrears, hove to, and waited for me. I toiled on, and succeeded in working a passage to his position. He dismounted, inspected the horse's feet, and, directing me to wait his return, rode off. He soon reappeared with a piece of guanaco-skin, which he tied securely about the hoof of the lame foot. I expressed some surprise at this method of shoeing horses; but he said, "Buenos zapatos,"— good shoes,— and the event confirmed his words. The lameness nearly disappeared, and we jogged on together without any further trouble.

593 578 While at this camping-ground, the chief one morning arose in a towering passion at some words let fall by one of his wives, and exhibited another sample of the rigor of matrimonial discipline, very similar to that which graced the nuptials of his daughter. He gave her a tremendous beating, which seemed enough to kill her outright; but she took it very calmly, as a sort of necessary evil incident to the married state.

484 Once more on the move, the squaws taking charge of the furniture and baggage, including the papposes, and the men riding in advance as usual, to chase supplies for the larder. Game was scarce; we got a couple of ostriches and a skunk, — or a couple of skunks and an ostrich, I forget which, and it makes less difference to the reader than at the time it did to me. We cooked and lunched on the ground and turned our faces homeward with the scanty remainder. The women were busy erecting the wigwams. The ground

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START FROM THE CAMP AT MOWAISH OR WINDOW HILL.

[facing p. 79]

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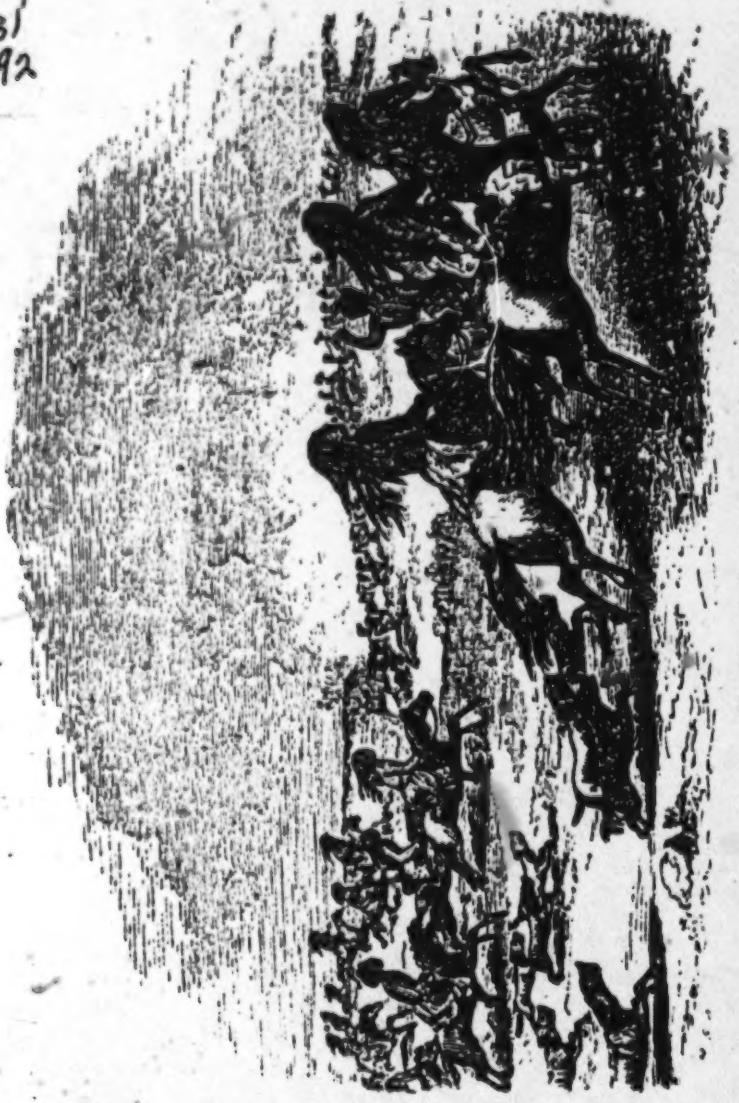

Hunting the Guanacho. Page 70.

[p. 16]
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[No pages before p. 13]

entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at 50° 12′ of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes; and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams, an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses, which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian. This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots 291
made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs [492]
are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their fore- 302
heads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves
and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept
upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird.
These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces
of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their 492
horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from
which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually [411]
carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they
allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and be-
ing thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle
as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers
the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur.
Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow
nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed
with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood,
are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat
clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or
down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick
or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end;
it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to
its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the
horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The
reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are 291
the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference
which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins
over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like
the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the
hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This [481]
hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they
gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for any- [834]
thing else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circum-
stance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide,
a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel,
woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of
very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which
those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear [531
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sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots
similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but 302

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

304 **Ornaments.**—Adornment may be summed up as follows: Head deformation, perhaps not intentional. Pegs of wood or bone, 3 to 4 inches (7.5 to 10 cm.) long, in the perforated nasal septum and lower lip (single early report, Drake expedition, 1578, *in* Fletcher, 1854, p. 80; cf. *Poya* culture, infra, and archeological data in Lehmann-Nitsche. 302 1924). Hair: Early, men tied hair ends up with fillet, and wore tonsure; women, later, coiffure in two braids, also false hair (King, 1839, 1:18; Beerbohm, 1879, pp. 90–91); brush comb (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 122); facial and bodily depilation with shells. [304] Tattooing by puncture method, on forearm (Musters, 1872, p. 197); formerly in other parts. Smearing body and face with grease; earlier, also with white earth (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498). Painting: Body and face, various colors—white, black, red, yellow. Face painting with black on the march or on cold days to protect skin (Viedma, 1837 b, 301 p. 81). Personal adornments (pl. 39, *top*): Men—earrings, objects of silver, brass—earlier, bone, stone, and shell necklaces, and feathers; women—brooches, including topu type, earrings (often of *Araucanian* quadrangular or circular plate type), bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, etc., of hammered silver—earlier, necklaces like men's.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Tehuelche* had no dugouts or canoes, so far as ever observed, although they may possibly have had means of ferrying across the Strait of Magellan to the *Ona* country (cf. supra Introduction). They did use, at least the later *Tehuelche*, a crude type of coracle or bull boat, made of hides for ferrying themselves or their impedimenta across rivers (Bourne, 1853, pp. 133–134; Moreno, 1879, pp. 256–257).

492 With the horse (see supra) came saddles, stirrups, including the toe-stirrup (fig. 18, *a–d;* Viedma, 1837 b, p. 69; Coan, 1880, p. 68), wooden bits, and double-goad spurs (Musters, 1871, pp. 167–169, cuts). The women sometimes rode astride (Macdouall, 1833, p. 79), but usually seated high on the horse's back, with their feet resting on its neck. The *Tehuelche*, when hunting over rocky terrain, often put hide shoes on their horses as a hoof protection (Musters, 1871, p. 130).

At the time of Viedma's sojourn at Port San Julian in 1780–83, one band of *Tehuelche* south of the Río Santa Cruz, who had lost nearly all their horses as the result of a raid by the Port San Julian band, were using dogs to carry their toldos (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68)—the only recorded instance of *Tehuelche* use of dogs as pack animals.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—No basketry is reported. Fillets were woven, but we 285 have no details on the technique. The later *Tehuelche* used an upright loom for weaving guanaco-wool blankets (Coan, 1880, pp. 193–194).

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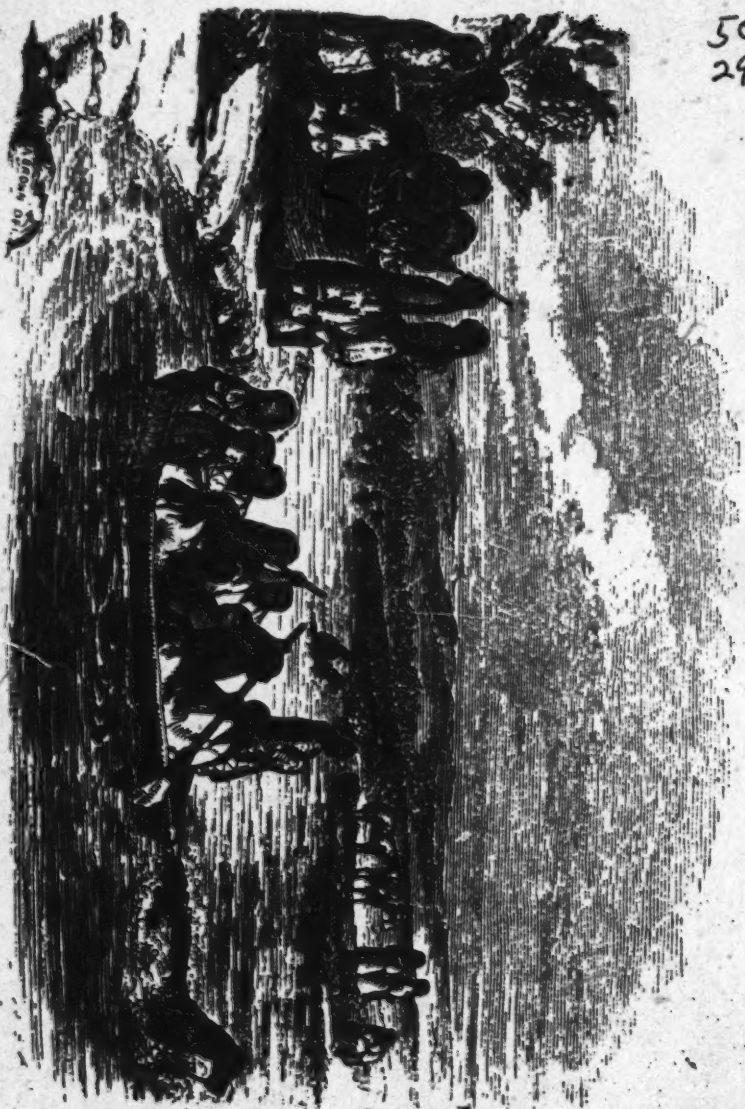

Ferrying the Santa Cons. Page 134.

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in building boats to ferry their families and goods across. Their boats are constructed after a simple fashion. A quantity of bushes are cut and dragged down to the margin of the water. They take four tent-stakes, and lay them so as to enclose an area eight feet square, lashing them firmly together at the four corners. Four Indians then raise the stakes from the ground, while others place the skin covering of the tent over the frame, allowing it to sag down three or four feet. The edges of the skin are brought over the stakes, and fastened on the inside. The bushes, made ready for the purpose, are placed within, tops downward, round the entire circumference, and secured to the stakes, till the boat is completely timbered up. The bushes keep the skin distended, and give to the vessel an oval shape, so that, though square at the top, it bears a striking resemblance to a large iron pot. Its length and its breadth of beam are of course equal. When completed, it is firmly lashed from stem to sternpost, and from side to side, with a lariat, or green hide rope, forty feet long, to keep it from spreading or racking. I had no hand in modelling this witch of the wave, but, like an apprentice, did as I was ordered in forwarding the structure, and, when nothing else was required, "held on to the slack." It was at last completed, like the temple of Solomon, without the sound of axe or hammer; neither bolts, trenails nor caulking-iron, were required. We carried the barge down, and launched her in the stream. Two paddles were made by lashing two bladebones of the guanaco to sticks. Squaws, pappooses and baggage, were stowed away, till the boat was laden to the water's edge. I was directed to take passage with the family and household effects of the chief, and seated myself

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in the centre of the closely-packed craft. One end of a lariat was fastened to the boat, and the other tied to the tail of a horse. A savage mounted, with one rein attached to the wooden bit on the up-stream side. Two others took the oars, one on each side, and a squaw was stationed on the top-gallant forecastle for the purpose of singing, to insure good luck. All is ready. The old horse wades till the depth of water compels him to swim, and the boat is pushed off. The rider floats on the horse's back, kicking the water with his feet, holding the rein in one hand, and grasping the mane with the other. "Chew! chew!" he shouts, at the top of his voice. The black swan in the forecastle opens her capacious mouth and sings, "Yek yah, youri miti! yek yah youri miti!" The two oarsmen dig away with might and main, while the younger fry swell the chorus with a "Yah! yah! yah!" The boat brings some heavy lurches to the windward, then yaws off to leeward; all owing to those lubberly oarsmen not meeting her with the helm in season. At length, after innumerable shiftings we reached the opposite shore, and waded up on dry land.

Several boats were constructed after the same unique model, and succeeded in crossing safely. Some of the horses, being better adapted to towing, were swam back to repeat the process, and our craft returned for a second freight. I watched the proceedings from the bank with intense interest, speculating on the probable consequences of an accident to any of the fleet. Such was their superstition, that, in the event of any ill befalling them, they would be quite likely to ascribe it to me, and serve me worse than Jonah was treated by his shipmates. The swiftness of the current, and the rudeness of their navi-

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gation, made them so liable to mischief, that it seemed wise to prepare for it; and I at once began ingratiating myself with two of the worst fellows in the whole tribe, by professions of special good will and admiration for them, and confidential hints that they would share more liberally in the bounties of "Holland" than any of their fellows. Whilst thus engaged, with cautious glances across the river, to make sure that all was right, I perceived that there was quite a commotion among the people below; some were springing upon their horses, — others, ready mounted, were dashing furiously down the bank. On looking some distance below, a boat appeared to be in distress; the lariat that bound it together had snapped asunder, and the pressure within, and the strain of the horse without, had broken the front stake; the horse, relieved of his freight, pulled for the shore, and could neither be coaxed nor beaten into a return to duty. The horsemen on the banks dashed into the stream, and swam for the wreck, which contained, among other passengers, a young child. It was already filled with water, and was partially turned on her side. The surface of the river was dotted with dark forms, struggling with the mad current; one horseman after another each grasped a floating object, and made for the shore. The craft had drifted nearly half a mile, and nothing could be made out very distinctly. The squaws, on first perceiving the mischance, watched the wreck, and sung in a loud and plaintive strain, all the while casting unfriendly glances at me, and gradually approaching the place where I stood. My apprehensions were so far confirmed by this movement, that I told John (the name I gave one of my present particular friends),

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the Chilians was given the task of pounding it between stones, and we all drank what the Indians not inappropriately term 'potwater.' Many Indians crowded in to have a look at us, and amongst others that I noticed was a remarkably pretty little girl of about thirteen years of age, a niece of Orkeke's, who took some coffee when offered in a shy and bashful manner which was delightful to contemplate. In due time we all retired to rest, and a little before daylight I was woke by the melodious singing of an Indian in the next toldo. Shortly afterwards Orkeke went out and harangued the inmates of the remaining toldos, and presently the horses were brought up, and most of the men started for the chase. Snow had fallen during the night, a biting cold wind was blowing, and Orkeke told me there were very few animals about. I took this as a hint not to ask for a horse, so contented myself with sauntering round and examining the encampment. Some of the men were playing cards, one or two sleeping, whilst the women were almost universally employed in sewing guanaco mantles. About three P.M., Casimiro arrived with his family, and proceeded to the tent of a southern Indian, named Crimè, and shortly afterwards the hunting party returned by twos and threes, but the chase had not been attended with much success. We passed the evening pleasantly enough, making acquaintance with each other, and Keoken, the little girl, instructed me in the Indian names of the various objects about the place. Next morning the order was suddenly given to march. As this was totally unexpected, and I was not prepared for departure, I made up my mind to return at once to Santa Cruz, and fetch my clothes and other small articles; also to take back a colt, promised by an Indian called 'Tchang' to Mr. Clarke. After some little difficulty, as the Indians did not wish me to go alone for fear of getting lost, or any other mischance befalling me, Graviel, the youngest son of Casimiro, started with me. We had to take the colt, what a sailor would term, in tow, that is, drag it for some distance with a lazo. As Graviel's

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combination was universally approved of. Another day we went fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line, voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish, and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood. Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invitation I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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512 party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlemento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

888 Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify [537] for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My 755 compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We 714 greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by strips of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from 'foolish Indians.'

777 His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was 203 often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to
[462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them
[512] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited
622 to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When
721 623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways
721 203 and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [721] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 423 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the following: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from
484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission
[202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

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342 414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly [372] closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; [573] covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended 592 family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with 596 their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did 621 not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 496; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1908, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

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two leagues below the river divided into two branches, which reunited beyond an island of some extent. Looking up river in a north-westerly direction, the valley soon narrowed in, the southern barrancas sloping down to within a couple of miles of our camp; and the view was closed by two remarkable hills resembling fortresses, which seemed to stand on guard on either side. I made a slight sketch of the outlines of the view, which forms the background of the hunting scene.* Having strolled back to the toldo, I was greeted by the women with the usual demand, 'Mon aniwee'—Anglicè, 'Lend us the pipe,' which was duly charged and handed round. We then sat and watched the proceedings of Keoken, Tankelow's pretty little daughter, just budding into womanhood, and a small boy to whom I gave the name of Captain John, who were amusing themselves by catching and riding some of the horses which were tamer than the others. The urchins soon grew tired of their equestrian feats; and, prompted by the spirit of mischief, which seems ever to haunt children, and especially Indian boys, came and begged a match of me. Not suspecting their purpose, I gave them the coveted prize, with which they hurried off in high delight, and in a very few minutes had set fire to the rank, withered herbage, some distance off the toldo, but to the windward. The conflagration was at first unnoticed by us; but at dusk, when Tankelow returned from hunting, with a supply of meat, it was palpably dangerous. So all hands had to set to work, and by dint of tearing up the grass, with great trouble we stopped its progress, which if aided by a breeze in the night would very probably otherwise have consumed the toldo and endangered the inmates. Of the culprits no notice was taken, the occurrence being apparently regarded as all in the day's work. After our supper off guanaco meat, and a smoke, I turned in, and slept soundly on my Tehuelche bed of hides and bolsters which had been carefully arranged by the tall hostess.

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[276]

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[513]

* Frontispiece.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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264 meal with the savages, and a sample of many others; though better viands afterwards varied their monotony, now and then.

271 [H5] The eating being over, a large horn, that had once adorned the head of a Spanish bullock, was dipped into a leathern bucket and passed from one to another. Between the bucket and the horn, the fluid had gained a flavor not found by Adam in his first brewing, and, indeed, not far from nauseating. However, it seemed expedient to "conquer my prejudices" so far as to drink with the other guests, and the ceremonies of dinner were over; for which, "with all other mercies," I felt thankful, and turned to my corner near the expiring fire, to chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies, in which the latter ingredient decidedly predominated. The strange and sudden desolateness of my condition, the doubtful chances of escape, the possible sufferings before me, the uncertainty that rested on the designs of my savage captors, all rushed upon my mind, and suggested to my heated imagination a host of terrors.

513 These painful thoughts were interrupted by an order to prepare for the night's repose. An old skin, about two and a half feet square, was thrown upon the cold ground in the back part of our rookery, and assigned for my couch; I took possession accordingly, and the whole family bestowed themselves in a row near me. The stifling atmosphere was soon vocal with their snoring. My brain was too busy for sleep. Feverish fancies kept me wakeful. I revolved a variety of plans for escape. Could I steal out of the hut unperceived? Could I find my way to the shore? I doubted the first, and more than doubted the

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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stern, severe tension of all my mental energies, and a concentration of them into one focus of resolve, I waved a farewell which I hoped might be everlasting, to the accursed gang of robbers who had tormented me so many tedious weeks. "Good-by to Patagonia!" I mentally ejaculated, and struck off with my escort; but had not gone more than an eighth of a mile, when the party wheeled about and ordered me to follow them back to the camp! I remonstrated, but it was of no use, and with a heavy heart I found myself once more in my dirty corner of a wigwam. The horses were turned adrift without a word of explanation, and the Indians sat down to a game of cards, with as much indifference to everything else as if the events of the past forty-eight hours had been a feverish dream. What could be the meaning of it? I questioned the chief. He merely replied that he would go by and by,—by and by: which, being interpreted, probably meant when he pleased, and that convenient season might never arrive! After I had teased him for a long time he took me to the door of the lodge, and, pointing to the river, said it was "no good then;" it would be "good" at night. What the state of the river, which was a shallow stream, a branch of the Santa Cruz, had to do with the matter, I could not divine, and was half inclined to vote myself fairly outwitted by the Old Boy.

The day, a long one, at last wore off, and at night we once more set off. We crossed the frozen marsh, and forded the river, and, after going about two miles, stopped for repose. We took no camp equipage, and had to shelter ourselves for the night under the lee of a clump of bushes. We thrust our feet into the thicket, while our heads lodged out of doors. In this interesting attitude I was made to repeat

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SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

262 **Food.**—The chief foods of the *Tehuelche* were guanaco and ostrich meat, the latter being generally preferred as less lean. Armadillos, skunks, tuco tucos (*Ctenomys* sp.), and huemuls were also eaten (Roncagli, 1884, p. 771; Ibar Sierra, 1879, p. 54), but dogs were not (FitzRoy, 1839, 2:150). Grease, fat, and marrow were delicacies, as were also ostrich eggs. The later *Tehuelche*, ordinarily at least, avoided fish (Coan, 1880, p. 60; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:100; 4:101; Bourne, 1853, p. 147; Musters, 1871, p. 201; Ibar Sierra, 1879, pp. 54–55; Borgatello, 1924, p. 16), not, apparently, from magico-religious motives; but near the coast the early *Tehuelche* consumed fish and mollusks (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45), the later *Tehuelche* some shellfish (Gervaise, *in* Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:278).

While meat was the basic diet, considerable quantities and varieties of plant food were eaten. By the early *Tehuelche* certain roots, "resembling parsnips," were eaten raw or cooked, and made into flour (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50, 60, 78; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:40, 43, 45); by the later *Tehuelche*, roots, roasted and made into flour; "wild potatoes," dug up from underground and eaten raw or cooked; seeds, "like mustard," ground between two stones; "a kind of spinach" and a few other plants; "wild dandelions"; barberries, wild currants, strawberries, piñoes (*Araucaria* sp.), apples (Juan de la Piedra [1779], 1837, 5:77; Coan, 1880, p. 119; Dumont d'Urville, 1842, 1:154–155, 279; Schmid, 1912, p. 24, with native names of six or seven roots and plants eaten; Musters, 1872, p. 199; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Vignati, 1936, p. 598: cf. Spegazzini, 1884, p. 238; Outes, 1905, p. 253; and especially Vignati, 1936, p. 598, and 1941, for botanical identifications). The later *Tehuelche* chewed the gum which exuded from the incense bush (Musters, 1872, p. 199; Schmid, 1912, p. 28; Spears, 1895, p. 159: cf. details of [545] method of chewing in Hudson, 1926, pp. 125–126), as a pastime and dental cleanser. According to Vignati (1936, p. 602), some of them [276] chewed the leaves of *Chuquiraga avellanedae* "como excitante nervioso."

231 [241] The *Tehuelche* practiced no agriculture at all, and the early *Tehuelche* had no domesticated animals except the dog. They seem to have had at least two kinds of native dog, a larger long-haired one and a smaller one somewhat resembling the Scotch terrier (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91; Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 232–233; Allen, 1920, pp. 476–478); a third kind, resembling the greyhound, was probably a cross between the Spanish galgo and the first of the above two (Cabrera, A., 1934, pp. 88–91). The smaller dogs were used mostly as pets, the larger ones in hunting.

231 177 **Horses.**—The horse was introduced after 1670, and before 1741, probably some time around 1725, from the Argentine *Araucanians*,

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

The band.—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Musters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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markable. When the disturbances and fighting were going on they rarely ate anything: also when travelling as 'chasquis,' or messengers, they will not unfrequently go for two and even three days without tasting food. In our expedition into the Cordillera we remained over forty-eight hours without food except wild fruit, and, although I at first suffered from hunger, my companions did not appear to be in any way inconvenienced. As a Chilian deserter remarked on one occasion, it was all very well for them to go on without eating; 'but we can't—we've not so much fat.' Their strength of arm is very great, and the distance to which they can throw the ostrich bola is truly astonishing: thus I have seen Crimè and some others ball an ostrich over seventy yards distant. When cutting wood in the Cordillera with Hinchel, a Chilian deserter and myself had cut a tree through, and, having fastened a lazo to the top branch, were endeavouring to drag it down, but its branches became entangled in another tree, and we could not stir it. Hinchel, seeing our difficulty, came up, and with one well-directed, vigorous tug cleared it from the branches and brought it to the ground.

Mr. Clarke also informed me that when he was ill with fever, and had to be removed from the Almacen to the lower house on the island, on account of the noise made by the drunken Indians, Wáki mounted, and, taking him in his arms, rode down seemingly unencumbered by the burden. Their faces, of course, vary in expression, but are ordinarily bright and good-humoured, though when in the settlement they assume a sober, and even sullen, demeanour. Wáki and Cayuke, two friends of mine, are particularly present to my recollection as having always had a smile on their faces. Their ever-ready laughter displays universally good teeth, which they keep white and clean by chewing 'maki,' a gum which exudes from the incense bush, and is carefully gathered by the women and children. It has a rather pleasant taste, and is a most excellent dentifrice, worthy to rival Odonto or Floriline, and it is used simply as

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such, and not, as Monsieur Guinnard* says, because their greediness is so great that they must chew something. Their eyes are bright and intelligent, and their noses—though, of course, presenting different types—are as a rule aquiline and well-formed, and devoid of the breadth of nostril proper to the ordinary ideal of savage tribes. The peculiar prominence over the eyebrows has been noticed by all observers, and retreating foreheads, though observable, are exceptional. The thick masses of hair, and the obvious risk, which would deter the most zealous craniologist from endeavouring to measure their heads, must be deemed sufficient excuse for my not being able to state whether they are dolichokephalic or brachykephalic; a point, however, which I confess did not particularly attract my observation; but, for the partial comfort of anthropologists, be it noted that both Chilians and myself interchanged hats with some Tehuelches, especially Orkeke and Hinchel, without finding misfits. The complexion of the men is reddish brown, that is to say when cleansed from paint, and, like an old picture, restored to their pristine tint, which is not quite so deep as to warrant Fitzroy's comparison of it to the colour of a Devon cow.

[302] The scanty natural growth of beard, moustaches, and even eyebrows, is carefully eradicated by means of a pair of silver tweezers, and I was often urged to part with my beard, and undergo this painful operation, but I naturally objected to comply with the request. The men's heads are covered with thick, flowing masses of long hair, of which they take great care, making their wives, or other female relatives, brush it out carefully at least once a day. Very few appeared to have grey hair; though there were a few exceptions, one very old man's hair being of a snowy whiteness, which contrasted strangely with his tawny face. The women have, as far as I could judge, an average height of about five feet six inches: they are very strong in the arms, but seldom walk beyond fetching the supplies of wood and water, all their journeys

* 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 233.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a noble savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is composed of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gelatine being carefully skimmed off and secured. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair enslaver, and confess that the process was rather painful.

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Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanliness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called 'chumè,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachiko,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are generally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are employed, procured in the settlements, which require no covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the oldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook, — if the operation should be dignified with that name, — in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot They are

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 76]
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [756]

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 582
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783

Antonio de Viedma [81]

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133 the N.W. and N. the hills—which almost merited the name of mountains—were peculiarly rugged, more especially towards their summits. About N.N.E. by compass from our camp, there was a pass formed by a dip or break in the range leading north, and through the mouth of the pass we could see the smoke of the hunting parties of the Araucanian Indians, who were, however, many leagues distant. Throughout Patagonia smoke is always visible at a great distance, and the practised eyes of the Indians can distinguish it from the clouds, when ordinary persons would be unable to discern it unless pointed out to them. On the southern and eastern sides of the valley lay a range of hills, the rugged summits of which rose from lower slopes of more regular swell, and presenting more even and down-like surfaces than those on the western and northern sides. Immediately above our encampment the hill of Henno, from which the valley is named, rose from the plain. Near the summit of this hill Orkeke and myself, who for amusement had ridden up to it, one day came across the bleached skeleton of a man, perhaps one of two young Argentines who, as I was subsequently informed, had travelled thus far in company with the Indians, and had been for some—or no—reason killed by them near this spot. In the surrounding hills red porphyry frequently cropped out, and also veins of a red agate, unlike the flint agate so common in all the plains of Patagonia. The rocks near the summit of the hills were generally of igneous formation, and on the slopes of these hills frequent springs gushed out, easily discoverable from a distance by the vivid
361 green of the grass growing round them. As we gazed down from the height of Henno, the valley lay before us like a picture; our few toldos were situated in a group to the east, on the south side of the stream; about a quarter of a mile to the north the thirty or forty toldos of the Northern Indians were pitched, and opposite to them, on the north side of the stream, those of the party commanded by Jackechan
517 or Juan. The scene was animated but peaceful: here might

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be seen a party of young men playing at ball, in another a man breaking a colt, and down by the side of the stream groups of girls bathing, or wandering in the swamps picking the wild spinach, which grew all along the margin of the water in great quantities. One day I went on an excursion with the children to pluck spinach and plunder the nests of wild ducks and upland geese, from which we returned laden with spoil, and in the evening a stew, *à la* Tehuelche, was made with ostrich grease, spinach, and eggs, which combination was universally approved of. Another day we went fishing, and after catching several with a hook and line, voted it slow work, so contrived a net by sewing two ponchos together, and waded into the stream dragged the shallow parts, and, notwithstanding the duck-weed, which rather impeded us, made several good hauls, the take consisting of the perch-like fish and a black species of cat-fish: the Indians, however, except Casimiro, would not eat the fish, and evidently regarded my enjoyment of them much as an Englishman would at first view their appreciation of blood. Another day we went on an expedition to dig up a species of root somewhat resembling a parsnip, but although we grubbed about for an hour our efforts were only scantily rewarded by a few small roots, which were given to the children. One roasted in the ashes, at Mrs. Orkeke's invitation I tasted, and found it rather tasteless and insipid.

During our stay in this pleasant resting-place the weather was bright and sunny, and on calm days warm, and the absence of rain almost made it appear like summer; but whenever the west wind blew, the piercing cold dispelled the passing illusion. The long delay which was necessary to recruit our horses, in anticipation of a campaign against the young guanaco and the wild cattle, was most acceptable to all the members of our party; and after the two preceding months of quarrels, real and suspected dangers, and forced marches, our present peaceable existence, though devoid of adventure, was thoroughly enjoyable. An occasional hunting

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Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny

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heavily up; and shortly about twenty or thirty more spread 224
their huge wings, sailed away, and perched on a neighbouring rock. As for the guanaco, in the short half hour of my absence it had been literally torn to pieces; so, after extracting and eating the marrow-bones, we returned to camp, on our way capturing two armadillos. During the past day or 132
two the temperature had considerably risen; the wind, though westerly, was mild and genial, and the Indians affirmed that farther north it would be so warm that I should require some covering for the head. We found on our return that 005
Ariza during our absence had gone off somewhere on foot. As he had that morning asked and obtained some tobacco from me, it seemed probable that he had determined to attempt to make his way alone to reach civilization at some point or other. During our stay in this valley Casimiro 202
requested me to write a letter for him to the commandante at the Rio Negro, inquiring whether the Argentine Government still allowed him his ration and pay as a lieut.-colonel in their service. I also wrote some letters to my friends, but without much hope of their being 'mailed;' though Casimiro assured me that when we joined the Northern Indians they would forward them to the Araucanos, whence they might go on by the people who went to Rio Negro to fetch the chief's allowance of cattle; remote, however, as were all these contingencies, still it was a pleasure to write. We 133
quitted the valley after three days' rest, during which Ariza had not appeared, and he was concluded either to have fallen a prey to a puma, or to have gone off on his own account. We journeyed all day over a rough hilly country, encumbered with large stones and occasional patches of scrub of considerable height; ostriches abounded, and large quantities of eggs were found. During a long march of about thirty miles no water was seen until we reached the camp at sunset, situated in a ravine; but along the route an occasional patch of snow sufficed to quench our thirst. As I rode along in company 521
with an Indian named 'Tshang,' he began asking me ques-

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tions: first, 'Who is cacique of the English?' I explained to him that it was Her Gracious Majesty. 'Is she married?' 'She is a widow.' 'Has she any children, and how many? Has she lots of horses and mares and silver ornaments?' And so on until I had satisfied him; after which he rode along, repeating, 'A woman cacique! A woman cacique! Four sons and five daughters! Lots of horses, mares, sheep, and cattle!' On the 22nd of September we left the encampment in the cañon about sunrise, and, mounting the ridge on the north side, halted close to the grave of an Indian; the broad and high cairn of stones erected over it denoting him to have been a cacique of importance, which fact was communicated to me in a low whisper by Wáki. Here a fire was made, and a few stones added to the pile. Whilst the Indians were warming themselves the sun rose, and the view of the Cordillera, seen through the clear atmosphere, with the sun's first rays illuminating the snowy mountain summits with a roseate flush was magnificent. We pursued our route over sandy plains, crossed at intervals by shallow streams of water, and halted near some lagoons in a place called by the Indians 'Kinck.'

The following day we marched again, hunting as usual on the way. A fat ostrich at this time of the year was a rarity, but eggs abounded, and formed the main staple of food; and the armadillos were also getting into condition, and assisted to furnish a repast at the camp fire. On the 27th we arrived at a place named 'Gelgel,' situated on the banks of a rapid river, probably that debouching at Port Desire. This was the point of divergence from the northern route to Patagones for any party proceeding to hunt in the western plains. During our stay in Gelgel we hunted in the surrounding country, and on several occasions observed columns of smoke to the south, as if made by a party approaching. These at last appeared nearer, and as no distinct answer was made to our signal fires, scouts were sent out, but returned with no information, one, however, asserting that he had found the

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

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started to hunt, but returned empty-handed. We filled up 484
the skins and water-bottles, in anticipation of entering the 133
travesia the following day; and, after the usual meal and matè, sought out each his own particular nest in the pampa grass, and went to sleep without fear of the horses straying far, the pasture and water being both of the best quality. As it was in this encampment that, according to Casimiro, the defunct Mendoza had discovered gold, I prospected carefully for any signs, but only noticed that parts of the adjoining pampa were strewn, amongst other pebbles, with pieces of quartz. At the usual hour we started to commence the ascent to the travesia, or desert, which rose above us to the north, in a high plateau. On ascending a short distance, we observed on our left hand (to the westward) a [135]
salina of several leagues in length, which bordered the edge of the travesia in about an east or west direction. I am inclined to think that the river Valchita loses itself in this salina. This river is subject to great floods, evidences of which were visible in the drift weeds and rubbish clinging to the bushes and shrubs throughout the valley, evidently left there by the spring inundation. By a gradual ascent we at length reached the level of the plateau, and saw before us an interminable dreary expanse strewn with small shingle, and covered with shrubs varying from four to twelve feet, or even higher, and here and there small tufts of grass. No signs of life were visible. The sky was bright and clear, although clouds were gathering in the southern horizon, and the wind (it nearly always blows in Patagonia) was cutting. I remarked to Luiz Aguirre that it would possibly 521
rain; his reply, 'I hope it will—it will be splendid, then all the lagoons will be full,' told of the danger of drought, but found no assent from me, having had enough of wet weather during the excursion to Las Manzanas. During the ride he told me that he knew the difference between the Catholic and Protestant religions, and of the two he preferred the latter; he also asked me if I had ever been to China, where

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521 the tea came from, and various other questions evincing a considerable amount of information; and wound up by proposing that I should set up a trading establishment near the Chupat; Jackechan—who, if any one can claim it, is the real lord of the soil—having volunteered to cede the ground to me. In the event of establishing a store in that neighbourhood, this astute Indian considered that all the Indian trade would be taken out of the hands of the people of Patagones, who notoriously used false weights, besides charging exorbitantly for all articles supplied to the Indians.

484 About two P.M., as the rough shingle had already begun
133 to tell on our horses' feet, a halting-place was found near a laguna containing rain-water of the colour of *café au lait*. The horses were for the present let loose, to pick up the best meal they could off the stunted grass near the borders of the lagoon. Before dark most of them were tethered, and a careful watch kept all night, lest they should return to Valchita in search of pasture and water. After a lengthened conversation by the fireside—in which I was informed that the track we were travelling was called Pigs' Road, from
[136] wild pigs, or perhaps peccaries, having been killed near one of the lagoons in the route—we wrapped ourselves in our mantles and sheltered ourselves like hedgehogs under the bushes, from time to time getting up to look round for the horses. Next day we rode over the same interminable
137 desert of stones, and bushes of the following descriptions: chañal or whitethorn; picayun, furnishing the best firewood; the osier-like switches before described; black bush, which is useless for burning, owing to the pestiferous smell it emits; algarroba, incense, which are, however, very scarce; and some others whose names I was unable to procure. The chañal is the only one that impedes the traveller's progress, as the thorns are large and sharp. In the other road (more to the west), which we had avoided, although the distance is shorter across the travesia, and therefore more used by the Tehuelches, who dread this crossing, especially in summer

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Schmid—has usually been assigned to them. They certainly 181
do not deserve the epithets of ferocious savages, brigands of the desert, &c. They are kindly, good-tempered, impulsive children of nature, taking great likes or dislikes, becoming firm friends or equally confirmed enemies. They are very naturally suspicious of strangers, but especially those of 648
Spanish origin, or, as they term them, Cristianos. Nor, considering the treatment—treacherous cruelty and knavish rapacity—experienced by them at the hands of the invaders and colonists alternately, is this to be wondered at.

In the southern part of the country, their frequent intercourse with sealers on the coast has rendered them favourably disposed towards Englishmen. This remark, of course, does not extend to the northern Tehuelches, who have not the same opportunities.

In my dealings with them I always treated with fair- 577
ness and consideration, and my few belongings—although borrowed at times, according to their mutual way of acting towards one another—were taken the greatest care of; thus an Indian would frequently ask to look at my arms, and, after examining them, would carefully return them to me. During my whole stay amongst them I only lost two articles: the first, a flint and steel, was, I have reason to believe, stolen by one of the Chilians; the second was a pair of ostrich balls, which were abstracted from the toldo. The Indians, although honest enough as regards each other, will, nevertheless, not scruple to steal from any one not belonging to their party. Thus, when they enter the colonies for trade, they will pick up a stray horse in the most natural manner; and in Santa Cruz, Graviel and others constantly pilfered iron nails and small articles. With regard to their truthfulness, my experience was as follows. In minor affairs they nearly always 577
lie, and will invent stories for sheer amusement; thus, 522
Mrs. Orkake came to me whilst in Teckel with the news that Casimiro's wife was dead. My remark was, 'And a good riddance too!' which was received with a burst of laughter,

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[522] and the information that she was as alive as ever, only her eyes were bad. I could cite many other similar instances of romancing on the part of the Indians. Old Orkeke I never caught out in a direct lie, and he always, when informing me about any subject, added, 'I do not lie.' In anything of importance, however, such as guaranteeing the safety of person, they were very truthful, as long as faith was kept with them. After a time, when they ascertained that I invariably avoided deviating in any way from the truth they left off lying to me even in minor matters. This will serve to show that they are not of the treacherous nature assigned to them by some ignorant writers. Nor are they habitually cruel, even to slaves or captives. The Chilian deserters were always well housed and fed, and lent horses to ride; and nothing but their incurably bad dispositions and constant plots brought on them a fate which, in truth, could hardly be thought ill-deserved, whereas the few good ones of the party rose into high favour.

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152 For my own part, I felt far safer among the Tehuelches, as long as they had no drink or no fights, than I subsequently did in the Rio Negro. Of course when they are drunk their passions become unbridled; they remember old feuds, and at times will fight for mere fighting's sake. It is not necessary, however, to go so far as Patagonia to observe this. The
593
152 finest trait, perhaps, in their character is their love for their wives and children; matrimonial disputes are rare, and wife-beating unknown; and the intense grief with which the loss of a wife is mourned is certainly not 'civilised,' for the widower will destroy all his stock and burn all his possessions: thus Paliki, before the death of his wife, was a wealthy Indian; but when I knew him he was poor and reckless, having destroyed all his property, and taken to gambling and drinking in despair at his loss. Casimiro even declared that his son Sam —whom I certainly should not have suspected of disinterested affection for any human being—had ruined himself, and become careless of his life, after his wife's death.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

shoal water, barely up to the horses' knees. The current was rapid, and masses of floating ice were swept along with it. When half way across, my horse took fright, reared, and, in attempting a sudden turn, precipitated me into the water, and fell heavily upon me. The ducking and the bruise together were severe, and, among other disasters, the crystal of my watch was broken by the shock. This I had kept carefully secreted, as a last resort, to amuse the savages when other expedients should fail, — when memory and invention could yield no more tales, when promises should have become threadbare with repetition, and when pretensions of greatness at home should have lost their power by the every-day disclosure of present weakness and humiliation.

We — that is to say, myself and the old horse — kicked and floundered a while in the cold water, till at last the creature succeeded in rising, and I followed his example. We waded ashore, dripping, amidst the uproarious laughter of the whole troop. Once more mounted on my Rosinante, we resumed our line of march. The chill from my cold bath so benumbed me that I had to dismount and lead the horse, to recover, by brisk walking, some portion of animal warmth. Our course was down the river towards the Atlantic. Being unsuccessful in the chase, we pitched our tents at night, supperless, and without prospect of breakfasting the next morning. A small fire was lighted, which I hugged as closely as possible, to thaw my stiffened limbs; and then, cold, wet and hungry, fagged to extremity, cast myself on the ground, to repose as I might. The next morning was stormy. It cleared up in the afternoon, and the Indians sallied out to find some food. My only refresh-

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them. 857

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point. 861 525 524 526

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the incensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, zerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink. 262 252 262 [[3]] [263] 273 276 177

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately 852

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish), and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported
525

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 a, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1853, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20–22).

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soychu (*Taluhet* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

employed to stroll about and practise. Besides their use, my practical training had enabled me soon to acquire the art of manufacturing them, and our many idle hours were employed in plaiting ostrich sinews, so that I contrived t fit up an extensive assortment, some of which I used to barter for tobacco. The weather during our stay here became worse, rain, sleet, and gales of wind prevailing; and the toldos, from the continuous rain and the marshy nature of the ground, became so wet and wretched as to be almost uninhabitable, so that we marched on the 16th over a level pampa—smoke to the eastward being observed and duly answered during the journey. We encamped at night on the north side of a small rapid stream, in a place called 'Pelwecken,' situated a league from the wooded river, the trees of which were visible from the encampment. I here saw a new game played by the Indians which resembled that known amongst schoolboys as 'knucklebones,' being played with small stones in lieu of the bones, and heavy stakes were lost and won on the chances. On Sunday, the 17th, the Indians started to hunt in the vicinity of the wooded river, and Casimiro proposed that I should accompany him to the woods to cut poles for the toldos, and timber for working saddles. Orkeke, however, for some reason or another, recommended me to stay quietly in the toldos; and as advice is sometimes almost the same as a command, I acquiesced, although longing to enjoy a close view of a tree again after so much wandering over the treeless pampas. As the day was warm and fine, I strolled down the river in search of the eggs of the upland goose (Chloephaga magellanica), yellow-billed goose (Cygnus coscoroba), and other water fowl, and returned about two P.M. with plenty of spoil. The women were superintending the cooking of some of these, when one of them rushed into the toldo and cried out that the Indians were returning and a fight had taken place. A glance at the coming horsemen was at once sufficient to convince us that she was right. They came galloping back by twos and threes, swords drawn,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

mon near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as [36]
low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our 224
hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The Northern Indians rode most recklessly, going at full speed 412
down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say, although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunting, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare horses (and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race, make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to 526
that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of 525
Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy; if ornaments, bolas, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the winners removing them directly the race is decided. The horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting themselves after cantering side by side for a few yards. Owing to the great care taken in training the horses, very few false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long distances, four miles or a league being the average, although, of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The 231
Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses, and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed, the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

He was a great Smoker; and when-

ever I met him invariably said the few English words I had 276
taught him, 'Load and light the pipe—smoke.' The general manner of smoking is as follows. The smoker lights his pipe, and then lies prone on the ground, and after puffing a portion of smoke to each cardinal point and muttering a prayer, he swallows several mouthfuls of tobacco smoke, which produces intoxication and partial insensibility, lasting perhaps for the space of two minutes. During this time his companions carefully avoid disturbing him in any way. When it has passed off, he gets up, takes a drink of water, and resumes his conversation or occupation. I have sometimes observed this intoxication accompanied by convulsions, but only in rare cases. The tobacco used for smoking (for they never chew) is generally obtained from the settlements, but failing this a herb substitute is procured from the Araucanians. This is never smoked pure, being invariably mixed with either wood chopped up small or 'yerba' (Paraguay tea) stalks, if obtainable. The mixture with dung mentioned by M. Guinnard is unknown among the Tehuelches.

The women sometimes are smokers, but the custom is not universal, being generally confined to the old ladies. Most of the men smoke, but there are exceptions. I was very much astonished, however, by seeing El Sourdo on more than one occasion give his pipe to his boy—a precocious three-year-old—who whiffed his 'bacca' with apparently great satisfaction to himself and his fond father.

The chief amusements amongst the Indians (for hunting 525
is a matter of business and not pleasure) consist in horse-racing, card-playing, gambling with dice, made by themselves with mathematical exactness from bones, and thrown from the hand, or with small stones, and playing a game of ball. The horse-racing has been already described. The cards used are sometimes the Spanish pack, obtained in the settlements, but very frequently constructed by the Indians themselves of hide. These, like the ordinary Spanish cards, are marked with the Spanish numerals up to seven; but the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

525 court cards are entirely different, having, instead of figures or pictures, monograms of native origin, the original significance of which, if any, was undiscoverable. The ace, however, is marked somewhat similarly to our own. The usual games played are 'Pantunga,' 'Primero,' 'Siete,' and 'Yaik,' or fire, a sort of 'beggar my neighbour.' The players sit down in a circle, with a poncho or saddle-cloth to represent the board of green cloth; their markers consist of pieces of sticks or grass, and their system of marking is complicated. I generally—if I did indulge in the luxury of a gamble—played in partnership with another who took charge of the marking, but my invariable good luck rendered me unwilling to respond to the invitation to take a hand. When stakes are lost, whether a horse, troop of mares, saddle, lazo, or what not, the winner simply sends a friend for them, or goes himself and takes them; all debts of honour being scrupulously paid at once. Frequently large stakes are lost and won. On one occasion I had negotiated the purchase of a horse from an Indian possessed of a goodly troop, and having given earnest, had started hunting on the animal to test his staying powers. My friend the owner, who remained in camp playing, came to me on my return, and implored me to consider the bargain as nil, as during my absence he had lost nearly all his horses, and some of the articles of his wife's dowry. I of course gave up the bargain, duly receiving back the earnest, and he subsequently won back his horses and riches. The game played with small stones is similar to that in vogue among schoolboys, and known by the name of 'knucklebones.' It is generally played by the boys, but their elders will not unfrequently join. The women play at cards, and also at this game, amongst themselves, staking their mandils, hides, and saddle-gear on the results. Mrs. Orkeke was very fond of play, and on one occasion I have reason to believe that she lost some of her husband's tobacco, and laid the blame on one of the Chilians, who she averred had stolen it. The man

2. Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

nearly lost his life in consequence, and his tears and abject 528
supplications showed the terror he was in, but happily he on this occasion escaped. Strange to say, I was in no way suspected, although I knew where the tobacco was kept, which I doubt if the deserter did.

The game of ball is confined to the young men, and is 526
played as follows. A lazo is laid on the ground so as to form a ring about four yards in diameter; the players, generally eight in number, step into the circle naked, with the exception of the waistcloth. A ball composed of hide stuffed with feathers, about the size of or larger than a tennis-ball, is used by each party, who throw it up from under the thigh, and strike it with the hand at the adversaries', each hit counting a point. Great dexterity and activity are shown by the young men, and although I never joined in any of their regular matches, I frequently watched the parties occupied in the game, in which their splendid muscular development was brought out conspicuously. Besides these amusements, the Indians, when ammunition is plentiful, occasionally fire at a mark; but as their bullets are frequently hammered round with stones, the practice is at times erratic, and the guns are also sometimes more dangerous to the marksman than the mark.

The daily routine of occupations and amusements is varied 552
sometimes by a fight, and more pleasantly by some one or other of the ceremonials which mark—as in all nations—the principal epochs of Tzoneca life, from the cradle to the grave. On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares and horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately given to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins in the temple, fore-arm, or leg, gives the order for the erection of a mandil tent, or pretty house as the Indians call it, and mares are slaughtered, and a feast and dance follow, such as described in Chapter III., page 80, as having taken place in the valley of the Rio Chico. The

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873

SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Araucanians SG4

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Eegel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackschan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackschan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackschan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Chaoque, and the much-praised

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours. A T 525

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her suckling carried in the cradle behind her. A T 525 231

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Mofia, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these A T 222 137 A T [252] T 262 226 177 T [227]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SH

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137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subA sequently lost with other specimens.

567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintuhual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his T desertion.

A
525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A T wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and A 586 another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the incensebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, zerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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had been. He succeeded in effecting his escape the next day; but Douglass and Simms were carried off, murdered, and, it is supposed, — I believe with good reason, — that their bodies were eaten. The Avon, after being plundered, fell into the hands of the remainder of the crew, and sailed for Montevideo.

I travelled with this ruffian about ten days. He was a hard master, though I cannot charge him with personal ill-treatment that amounted to cruelty. Our life was monotonous enough. We slept a good share of the time when we rested, drank pure water when we could get it, and ate what fell in our way; though the reader may be assured that we saw some hungry days. At the expiration of ten days, the tribe was reünited at a place agreed upon. Here we continued several days, the natives occupied exclusively with gambling, which was alike their daily labor and recreation. When the demands of hunger became too imperative to be longer postponed, they would go out and hunt, after which they resumed their games.

Gambling is a vice to which they are greatly addicted, and they pursue it with a perseverance and ardor worthy of amateurs in more civilised communities. The implements used are bits of guanaco-skin, about the size of common playing-cards, on which are rudely depicted dogs and a variety of other beasts, with divers mystic marks and scrawls, done with a stick in a pigment composed of clay, blood and grease. Unlike their compeers in more enlightened circles, they put down stakes on only one side, for which the opposite players contend. In this way they rid themselves of their saddles, bridles, knives, and whatever other portable articles they may have to hazard

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525 Nay, I have seen them inflamed to such a passion as to take the mantles from their women's shoulders, telling them to protect themselves from the cold as they could.

000 But where was "Holland," all this time? They told me at first that we should be only four days reaching it, and already more than ten had passed. On inquiry, they said that the journey would be completed in six days; on we went, for *sixteen* days more, with the same dull routine, the Indians assigning seven or eight days as the minimum time. The place seemed to be all the while receding. I had long since become aware that there was no truth in them; but persisted in questioning them, to call forth fresh lies, which they uttered with marvellous fluency, as if it were vastly easier than speaking the truth.

After the reünion of the tribe, I implored the old chief to take me back to his lodge, and to his especial care; to which he consented, much to my satisfaction. With him I felt a kind of security unknown elsewhere; under God, I relied alone on his protection. He alone of the tribe had the power to defend me, and I spared no pains to secure his good-will. To this end, I made him large promises of such things as I thought would arouse his cupidity, or stimulate his appetites, as well as an abundance of ornaments for his wives and children, if he would only take me to some place inhabited by white people. This policy was extended to his household; disagreeable as the task was, I forced myself to caress his dirty children, and to tell them what pretty things I intended to give them. By these, and such-like demonstrations, I flattered myself it might be possible to keep on peaceable terms with

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of
525 horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish), and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1834, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 *a*, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1853, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20–22).

[illegible]

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 *b*, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soycha (*Tehuhet* and *Dinihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

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cliff rendered it by no means a desirable place of abode, but the pasture skirting the marsh was green and luxuriantly tender. While I was endeavouring to secure some ducks and teal with the bolas, two of the Chilians came up searching for firewood. They bitterly bewailed their lot in having to work and slave for a parcel of savages, but finally forgot their grievances in a slumber under a bush. Not caring to be supposed to have been in their company, I returned to the camp, and examined the rocks, which were different to those previously observed, showing in many places granite, with schistose veins, and what appeared to be a species of grey marble. A stay was made in this place of some four days, and would have been longer, but that on the third day some of the party, chiefly boys, who had strolled away a short distance, balling small birds, came in with the news that Indians were coming from the south. A scout was immediately sent out, horses brought up, and arms got ready. Casimiro came to me for a supply of cartridges for the revolver, saying, 'Now we shall have to fight; for if those Southern Indians beat us, they will spare neither man, woman, nor child.' This was cheering news, seeing that the odds were likely to be about ten to one against our side. However, just as we were mounting, the scout returned with the news that he had found no traces of Indians; the supposed enemy being only a troop of guanaco coming down to water. Cayuke, on its being ascertained that there was really no danger, had one of his horses killed as a thank-offering; the meat of course being distributed for food amongst his friends. There is in this place, which is called by the Indians 'Amakaken,' a large spherical boulder of marble, which it is the custom of the Indians to try their strength by lifting. Casimiro informed me that this stone had been there for many years, and the custom was very old. It was so large and heavy that I was just able to grasp it with both arms, and raise it to the level of my knees, but some of the Indians managed to lift it to their shoulders. The night subsequent to the false alarm,

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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable. 135 [823]

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind. 146 252 133 823

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the 526

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526 speed of our horses to while away the interval; and when the women appeared, proceeded to the chase, over a pampa formed by a bend in the range of hills. During the hunt
136 we found the carcase of a guanaco, which had been killed by a puma, carefully covered up in grass and scrub. It was a fat animal, such as the puma always singles out, although I have read in some accounts that he follows the herds and picks up the weakly ones. That this is not the case was proved on various occasions, by finding the carcases left by these cats, which were always those of animals in good con-
133 dition. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the encampment, by the side of a small river, flowing in an easterly direction from the hills. The women, with the exception of one or two, were not present, and might be seen about two miles off,
[137] grubbing up a description of potato which grew in the neighbouring hill side. The day was warm, and Orkeke invited me to go to the top of one of the hills to see if any smoke or signs of Indians were visible. We accordingly crossed the stream, and while riding along the northern bank I observed fish swimming lazily on the top of the water. After crossing a marshy patch of ground, we ascended the hills, and dismounting near a bank of blue earth, climbed on foot to the summit, which was composed of a description of quartz, with crystalline veins running through it. Scrambling up this formation, we arrived at the top, whence we had a beautiful view of the encampment and the green pasture bordering the stream. To the northward the view was rather shut in by hills rising to a considerable elevation. Just below us lay a valley, in which several guanaco and ostriches were taking their evening meal. We remained here for some time smoking and enjoying the face of nature generally, but could discern no smoke or signs of Indians. Orkeke remarked that the pasture had a fresher appearance lower down the course of the stream, and proposed that we should inspect it. We accordingly descended from our elevated position, mounted, and proceeded to the valley below; in our descent

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mon near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as [136]
low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our 224
hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The Northern Indians rode most recklessly, going at full speed 492
down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say, although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunting, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare horses (and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race, make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to 526●
that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of 525
Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy; if ornaments, bolas, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the winners removing them directly the race is decided. The horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting themselves after cantering side by side for a few yards. Owing to the great care taken in training the horses, very few false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long distances, four miles or a league being the average, although, of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The 231
Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses, and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed, the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

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nearly lost his life in consequence, and his tears and abject 525
supplications showed the terror he was in, but happily he on this occasion escaped. Strange to say, I was in no way suspected, although I knew where the tobacco was kept, which I doubt if the deserter did.

The game of ball is confined to the young men, and is 526
played as follows. A lazo is laid on the ground so as to form a ring about four yards in diameter; the players, generally eight in number, step into the circle naked, with the exception of the waistcloth. A ball composed of hide stuffed with feathers, about the size of or larger than a tennis-ball, is used by each party, who throw it up from under the thigh, and strike it with the hand at the adversaries', each hit counting a point. Great dexterity and activity are shown by the young men, and although I never joined in any of their regular matches, I frequently watched the parties occupied in the game, in which their splendid muscular development was brought out conspicuously. Besides these amusements, the Indians, when ammunition is plentiful, occasionally fire at a mark; but as their bullets are frequently hammered round with stones, the practice is at times erratic, and the guns are also sometimes more dangerous to the marksman than the mark.

The daily routine of occupations and amusements is varied 852
sometimes by a fight, and more pleasantly by some one or other of the ceremonials which mark—as in all nations—the principal epochs of Tsoneca life, from the cradle to the grave. On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares and horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately given to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins in the temple, fore-arm, or leg, gives the order for the erection of a mandil tent, or pretty house as the Indians call it, and mares are slaughtered, and a feast and dance follow, such as described in Chapter III., page 80, as having taken place in the valley of the Rio Chico. The

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After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Esgel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Checoque, and the much-praised

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During our stay (until the 29th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chasquis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Telek, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Foyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaita, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The caciques having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Casimiro, the chasquis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Casimiro. After this function, with my deportment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a mount, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 8, and travelling always north-

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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud, and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in which everybody joined. After dark, when many were sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the toldos, and yelling 'kow-w!' at each blow; firebrands being, at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking, the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect darkness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place, in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a general *mêlée* or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race-course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since leaving the Rio Sengal, was a regular beaten level track of about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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The third is a branch of the great Araucanian race, which has its head-quarters near Las Manzanas, in or about the same latitude as Valdivia, from which it is about sixty miles distant, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. These may be described as the border race, seldom descending much to the south of the Rio Limay, though they cross the Cordillera to Valdivia and Araucania. 101

Of these three races the Tehuelche or Aboriginal will occupy the chief portion of the time at my disposal, which will not admit of giving more than a short sketch of their manners and customs, and a few very brief remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the others.

The traditionary gigantic stature of the Patagonians is naturally, as I have learnt by experience, the first point as to which inquiries are made. Of the two divisions of the race, the southern slightly surpass the northern in height, but not in muscular development. The average height of the southern Tehuelches is rather over five feet ten, but I have seen many six feet, and some attaining six feet four; the great breadth of the chest and the muscular power of the limbs cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one seeing them for the first time, and it is easy to imagine that if such men came down to meet the first Spanish voyagers, they would, especially when seen dressed in their long mantles, appear of gigantic proportions. Some of the women whom I saw were remarkably tall. The wife of the cacique "Orkeke" was very little short of six feet, and possessed a corresponding robust form and strength of muscle, but the average female height did not exceed five feet six. I never remarked the weakness and want of muscular power in the legs attributed to them by some travellers. They are very active and good runners, and, in their games of ball, display great quickness and strength; they almost invariably travel on horseback, but as an illustration of their walking powers I may mention that two of them who volunteered to go to Buenos Ayres in the sealing schooner, after waiting for several days in the mouth of the river for a fair wind grew restless, and finally walked back to the trading station, a distance of between forty and fifty miles, without food, in about fourteen hours, and when they arrived did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been a long walk. 142 481 [526]

They usually have large heads covered with long black hair, dark sparkling eyes, which give a bright intelligent look to their oval faces. Their foreheads are generally good (retreating foreheads being rare) with peculiar prominences over the eyebrows. Their noses are often aquiline, but varying as in other countries, but generally with a marked breadth of nostrils. Their natural complexion is reddish brown, scarcely, however, deserving the 142

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature 857
toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, in- 861
dulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks
or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufactur- 525
ing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two
or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst play-
ing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their
possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their
horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am
bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour
are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with 524
stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys,
and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, 526
within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls
are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws
the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand
at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the 262
statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from
their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood,
and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the 252
ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on
the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag,
enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the em-
bers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast
the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, how-
ever, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow.
Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species 262
of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a de-
scription of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable.
They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently
met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, [137]
apples, and pifiones, when in the parts where they abound. In
fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtain-
able; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient [263]
quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species
of gum which exudes from the incensebush; this, however, is
intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught 273
the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, zerba, and rum; none 276
of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the
exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by 177
a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither
smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty 852
of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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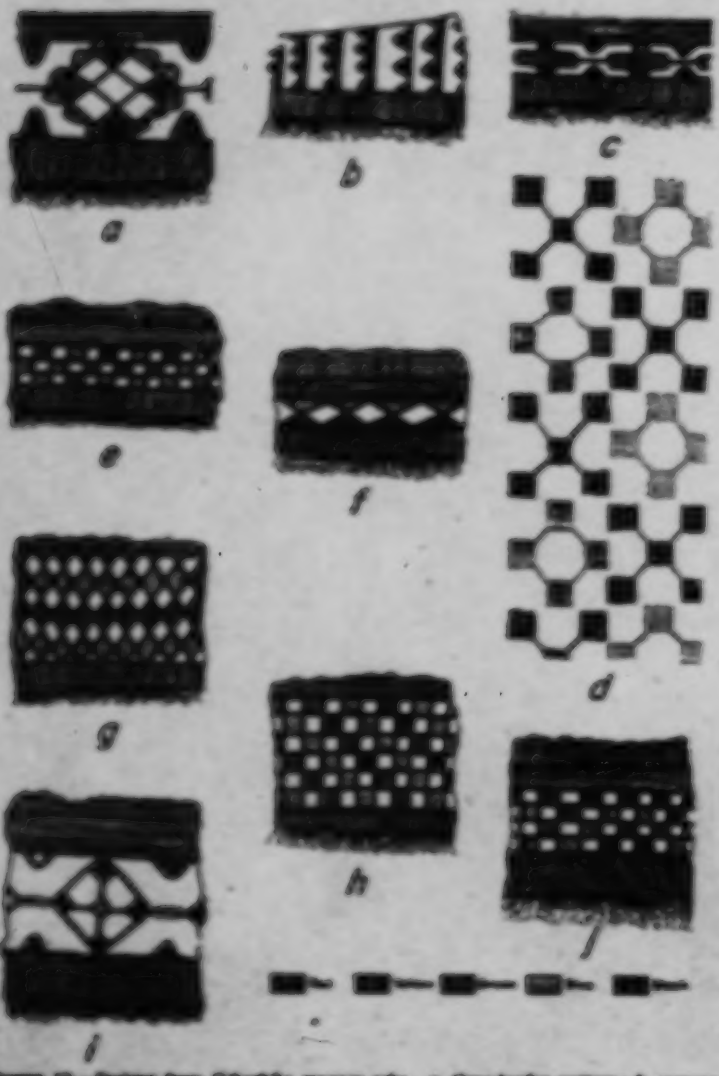

FIGURE 12.—Designs from Tehuelche gaucho robe. a, three-border pattern; b, corner; c, one-border pattern; d, center; e, f, one-border pattern; g, h, corner patterns; i, j, three-border patterns. (After Lothrop, 1930, figs. 8 and 9.)

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish), 525 and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

with a bodkin, and sewn to the hide with sinew. The anvils and hammers for working silver are generally stone implements; flints, however, are only used by the men for procuring fire. The Tehuelches are also very handy workers in iron, and will fashion a knife, or even an adze, out of any piece of metal procured by theft, commerce in the colonies, or from wrecks on the coast. One of the knives frequently used in the latter part of my journey was formed out of one blade of an old pair of scissors forged for me by Hinchel.

Their tools for working silver, iron, wood, &c., consist of files, known by the expressive name of 'Khikerikikh,' or perhaps a rasp, an occasional saw, an axe, the inevitable small adze (fig. 6), a pair of scissors, or an old chisel. Many of these have been obtained from shipwrecks on the coast, others by barter in the settlements.

The women's most important occupation in camp was the making up of skin mantles, which merits a full description.

The skins are first dried in the sun, being pegged down with thorns of the algarroba tree. When dry they are taken up, and scraped with pieces of flint, agate, obsidian, or sometimes glass, fixed into a branch naturally bent so as to form a handle (fig. 7). They are then smeared over with grease and liver kneaded into pulp, after which they are softened in the hand until quite pliable, when they are placed on the ground and cut with a small, very sharp knife into pieces, dovetailed so as to fit one into the other, in order to secure strength of seam, and parcelled out amongst a party of four or six women, with a corresponding quantity of needles and thread, consisting of bodkins formed out of sharpened nails, and dried sinews from the back of the adult guanaco. A whole mantle is never sewn together at once, but when one half is finished it is pegged out and the paint applied to it thus. The surface is slightly damped, and each woman takes a cake or piece of red ochre, if the ground is to be red, and, keeping it damp, lays the paint on with great care. When the ground is finished, the pattern of small black spots and blue

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

294 and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the
531 women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work,
462 and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case,
[437] he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco
291 mantles which are most generally worn, others are made
437 from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter.
462 The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the
[294] head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as
[286] that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of
[326] silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins
[281] together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

386 scum of boiled marrow-bones, and he states that red paint was ocher, black paint an earth, and white paint a gypsum. Bourne[18] says that black was obtained from charcoal, as was the practice among both Foot and Canoe Indians in Tierra del Fuego. No information is available about yellow, blue, and green pigments. We suspect that the green is always of European origin and has replaced blue, frequently mentioned by early travelers but not found on the Museum's specimens, which, by the way, illustrate the use of both native and
413 European pigments. On the methods of applying paints, we have the statement of Bourne that a stick was used for a brush. The Tehuelche made small hair-brushes by binding together a bundle of slender roots,[19] but apparently never used paint brushes. However, it must be remembered that a stick makes a good brush if the pulp has been removed by chewing so that a fibrous end remains.[19a] Certainly Tehuelche patterns have been applied with a neatness and precision perhaps not fully appreciable on existing specimens because the colors have run in the rain.[20]

281 Assemblage of skins we illustrate in fig. 6. This mantle contains
291 twelve skins, placed alternately head to foot, as will be seen if the picture is reversed. From side to side there are five complete rows, two head-up and three head-down, while the sides contain skins which have been split into halves longitudinally. The result of thus piecing together the skins is an alternation of color, the white bellies and the *café au lait* backs of the guanaco succeeding each other in turn. Such robes have considerable commercial value today, and we have been told that more than half a million guanaco-skins were shipped from Patagonia in 1924.

531 Coming now to an examination of the painted patterns, preliminary
291 inspection shows that the decorated surface habitually is divided into

[18] Ubi supra.

[19] One of these is illustrated by Outes and Bruch, fig. 118.

[19a] See Orchard, W. C., Fine-line Decoration of Southwestern Pottery, *Indian Notes*, vol. II, no. 1, 1925.

[20] The colors in pls. LXV and LXVI have been made more intense than on the weather-stained original specimens. The following color-scheme is employed in our line-drawings.

Red Yellow Green Blue Black

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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six fixed and limited portions, each of which is separately adorned in its own fashion. These divisions follow.

1. *Edge.*—A strip of solid color runs completely around the entire edge of the robe. On the Museum specimens this is red in four cases and green in one.

FIG. 6.—Fur side of a Tehuelche guanaco robe. Size, 61 x 63 in. (13/3769)

2. *One-border pattern.*—Along one border, next to the colored edge, is a band of polychrome motives set between black border-lines (fig. 7, *a*).

3. *Corner patterns.*—At each end of the one-border pattern, at the corners of the robe come two identical designs (fig. 7, *b*, *b*). These each are painted on a single piece of skin about a foot long, and they are wider than the one-border pattern.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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4. *Corner tabs.*—Just around the corners from the corner patterns are a pair of tabs painted in solid color (fig. 7, *e*, *e*). They project slightly beyond the straight side of the robe. Musters speaks of these as "wings."

FIG. 7.—Skin side of a Tehuelche guanaco robe, showing distribution of patterns. (13/9769)

5. *Three-border pattern.*—Starting at the corner tabs, a polychrome design encompasses the three remaining sides of the robe (fig. 7, *c*, *c*, *c*). Like the one-border pattern, this is placed between black lines, but it is a little wider, though not so broad as the corner motives.

6. *Central field.*—Inside the patterns we have described, the remainder of the cloak is either painted in solid color or is completely

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

covered with polychrome decoration. Of the Museum specimens, one is painted green all over (fig. 9, *a–c*), while another is red (*d–f*). It will be noted that in both cases the edge of the robe has a contrasting color. The remaining examples here illustrated have the central field completely covered with rather elaborate polychrome motives, which are segregated in three panels by two dividing bands, as seen in fig. 7, *d*.

As the robe is actually worn (fig. 1), the one-border pattern runs across the back and over the shoulders. This brings the corner patterns and corner tabs over the arms, so that roughly they suggest the sleeves and cuffs of a coat. The three-border pattern extends down the front edges and across the bottom.

The patterns themselves consist of extremely simple elements, such as the square, diamond, triangle, and cross, but these are worked into combinations surprisingly complex in view of the cultural poverty of the Tehuelche in general. This complexity arises not only from varied juxtaposition of design elements, but also from the alternation of colors.

One of the favorite border motives is a checkerboard pattern based on three colors, of which one is the natural hide. These patterns are so arranged that successive squares form diagonals or zigzags. Examples of the diagonals are illustrated in fig. 9, *e*; pls. LXV, *c*, and LXVI, *a*; while zigzags appear in fig. 9, *a*, *f*, and pl. LXV, *b*. In each case the zigzags enclose triangles of contrasting color.

Diamond motives are also common. Usually they are boldly drawn, as in figs. 8, *a*, and 9, *c*, *d*, and pl. LXVI, *b*. In one case, fig. 9, *b*, crossed diagonal lines form small diamonds which have been filled with color in the fashion of a checkerboard pattern.

The triangle commonly is a minor pattern employed as a space-filler, as in fig. 8, *a*, *c*, and 9, *c*. In fig. 8, *b*, and pl. LXVI, *b*, however, it occupies a major position in the design.

Central patterns are painted on a larger scale than those on the corners and borders, from which they also differ because the colors stand by themselves, while in corner and border motives colors are used to fill black-outlined designs. Central patterns either are like the large meanders seen in fig. 1 or are based on square and cross in various combinations. In fig. 8, *d*, there are shown four-color alternating groups of four and five squares connected by diagonal lines.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Pl. LXV, *d*, has a much simpler assemblage of alternating squares set between parallel lines of red. Pl. LXVI has the most complicated pattern of the Museum collection, for it contains a four-unit design built up of crosses flanked on all sides by squares.

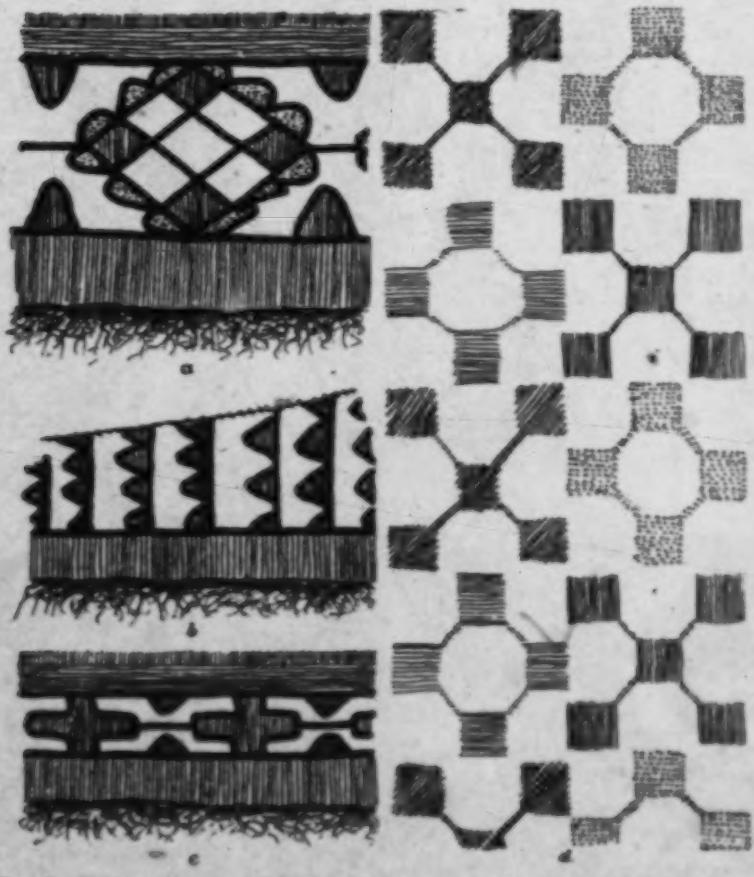

FIG. 8.—Designs from a Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, Three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, center. (13/3769)

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Such, then, are the Tehuelche patterns. To what are they related and where do they belong in the cultural scheme of southern South America? We have already pointed out that the central patterns exhibit a different tradition from the border and corner patterns. The

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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latter consist of black outlines filled with color, a decorative method particularly characteristic of New World pottery. Furthermore, the confinement of design within bands is a pottery characteristic, while

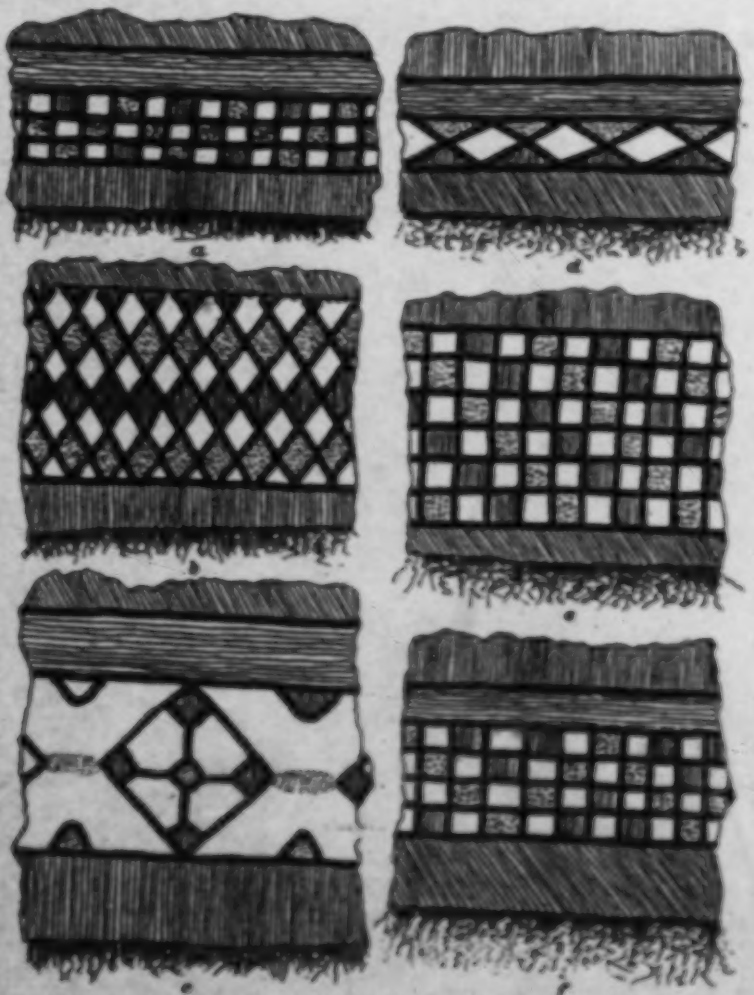

FIG. 9—Tehuelche patterns. *a*, *d*, One-border patterns; *b*, *e*, corner patterns; *c*, *f*, three-border patterns. (*a–c*, 13/3770; *d–f*, 13/3969)

some of the patterns themselves, such as fig. 8, *a–c*, or pl. LXVI, *c*, strongly suggest widespread ceramic motives. Hence to seek comparisons we turn first to ceramic remains.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929

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The painted pottery found nearest to the Tehuelche comes (1) from the coastal region in Chile between Valparaiso and Puerto Montt, (2) from the Calchaquí region in northwestern Argentina, (3) from the Gran Chaco, (4) from the south bank of the Río Luján, and (5) from the islands of the Paraná delta. The Chilean pottery is represented by a few examples in the Museum from Temuco in the province of Cautín, and we have seen also a small collection in the National Museum at Santiago. It is a grayish white ware with black or red designs strongly recalling ceramic remains from our Southwestern states. The patterns afford no ground for comparison with those of the Tehuelche.

Calchaquí pottery exhibits within itself wide variations which we have not space here to discuss. In glancing through museum collections and printed illustrations we have encountered sufficient likeness to Tehuelche art to arouse a feeling that there is some vague relationship, especially with specimens from the province of Mendoza. For instance, from Huasan[21] and many other sites come painted checkerboard designs suggesting Tehuelche art. However, we know little of chronological sequence in the Calchaquí, and it would be unwise to draw conclusion on this or similar evidence which might be presented.

Modern pottery from the Gran Chaco does not suggest to the writer interrelationship with the Tehuelche.

On the south bank of the Río Luján formerly lived the Querandí Indians who attacked and fired the first settlement at Buenos Aires. This tribe has totally disappeared and the only trace of them today consists of archeological remains. A presumably Querandí site on the Arroyo Sarandí, excavated in 1925 by the Thea Heye - La Plata Expedition, yielded both incised and painted pottery. The latter showed no relationship to Tehuelche art, but the incised ware suggests Tehuelche meander patterns, seen in fig. 1.

Painted pottery from the delta islands of the Paraná presumably is the handiwork of Guaraní Indians. A site on the Arroyo Guayracá (Arroyo Malo), excavated by the Thea Heye - La Plata expedition, produced a few vessels decorated with red and black paint. As might be expected of Guaraní ceramics, however, the designs point definitely to the north and show no relationship with Tehuelche art.

[21] Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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A survey of painted pottery in relation to Tehuelche border and corner patterns then yields no very definite connections, although the Tehuelche designs considered suggest in themselves a pottery technique. An examination of basketry decoration from the coast of Chile, from the Araucanian district, and from the Gran Chaco, gives only negative results. At the same time, some of the Tehuelche patterns, especially those in the central field, indicate a basketry prototype.

FIG. 12.—Tehuelche Indians. (After Pernetty)

Araucanian weaving,[10] on the other hand, has certain definite links with Tehuelche robes. In the first place, checkerboard patterns are common and often are arranged to form zigzags. Secondly, when the Araucanian poncho has a border pattern, it is not a unit completely encircling the cloth, as is the case with Bolivian and Peruvian textiles. On the contrary, the border designs are arranged in opposing pairs, which differ from each other in color, pattern, and

[10] Lowie, 1917.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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width. While this ordering of border decoration is not exactly like the Tehuelche arrangement, it is the only suggestion of it that we have been able to find in contiguous territory.

The guanaco robe illustrated in fig. 1 has for its central pattern a series of large meanders and frets, quite different in character from the corresponding designs on the Museum's specimens and on others examined by the writer. We believe this represents an older current of Patagonian art. In fig. 10 we reproduce an eighteenth-century picture of Patagonian robes showing the decorations, probably drawn with some accuracy, as the artist must have had an opportunity to inspect the specimens brought back to Paris by the expedition of Duclos-Guyot.[22] The type of design depicted corresponds with verbal descriptions of contemporary and more recent date. For instance, d'Orbigny speaks of "un manteau de peaux d'animaux, sur lequel, du coté opposé au poil, ils figurent des groques irregulieres et variées,"[23] while the description in Pernetty states that the robes were painted with blue and red figures "qui semblent approcher des caracteres Chinois, mais presque tous semblables, & séparés par des lignes droites, qui forment des especes des quarrés & des lozanges." The description of Musters, already quoted, implies that there were at

FIG. 11.—Charrua Indian. (After Pernetty)

[22] Pernetty, vol. II, p. 125, footnote b.
[23] Vol. II, p. 22.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

the time of his journey two distinct classes of design, and of these one was marked by zigzags like the robe in fig. 10.

In fig. 11 we illustrate a cloak from Montevideo adorned in much the same fashion as ancient Patagonian specimens. This piece must have been made by the Charrúa Indians, who formerly inhabited the western half of Uruguay, for Pernetty [24] expressly states that it was worn by natives who lived only a few leagues from the city. In describing these garments he says that they were "peint en rouge

FIG. 12.—Otter-skin robe. Mataco Indian. (After Nordenskiöld, 1913)

& en bleu gris, par quarrés, lozanges & triangles." The Charrúa Indians have been extinct for many years, and no examples of their perishable handiwork probably are in existence, but the engraving has been executed with such detail that we can feel confidence in its accuracy.

The ancient school of design depicted in figs. 10 and 11 has survived to this day among tribes of the Gran Chaco, not in the

[24] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 256.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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weaving but in painted robes, carved gourds, and facial painting. In fig. 12 we show an otter-skin robe made by the Mataco Indians. Each of the fifteen skins in this garment has been decorated with its own individual pattern, painted in two distinct manners, which perhaps indicates that two individuals coöperated in its manufacture. At any rate, the thin-line designs are based on a series of squares, lozenges, and zigzags obviously suggestive of old-time decorations of the Charrúa and Tehuelche.

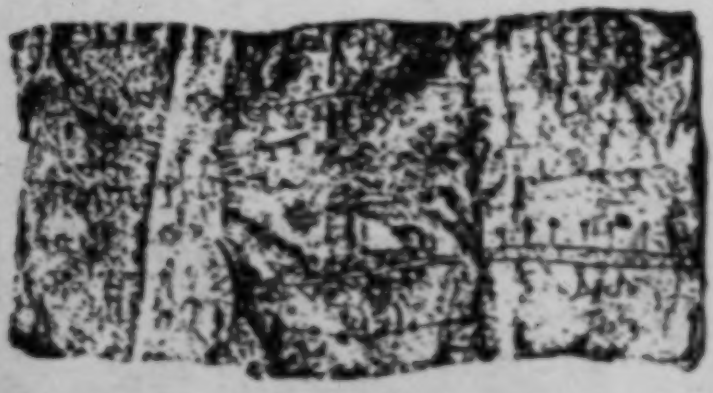

FIG. 13.—Shirt with painted decoration. Lengua Indian. Length, 37 in. (14/600)

Skin robes, as already stated, were in general use throughout the Chaco until recently. They embraced the kind seen in fig. 12, marked by geometric decoration, and also a second class, painted with crude life forms (fig. 13). The second group apparently is totally unrelated to Tehuelche mantles, on which zoömorphic patterns are completely absent, but this type of design is ancient, for it reflects pictographs found in the Chaco and farther to the west and south.

Incised or burned designs on gourds are common throughout the Chaco,[29] and these patterns at times suggest early Tehuelche motives. Similarly facial painting also recalls the art found farther to the south.[30]

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[29] The technology and distribution have been discussed by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 222-230.

[30] Lehmann-Nitsche, 1904.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

What we have called the ancient Tehuelche school of design has archeological affiliations over a very wide area. Nordenskiöld[27] published the Mataco robe reproduced in our fig. 12 because he recognized a connection with designs on incised pottery excavated near the San Francisco, a tributary of the Bermejo river. Incised pottery with patterns exhibiting local variations but in general recalling Tehuelche designs is found along the course of the Paraná river (fig. 14), especially in the provinces of Santa Fé, Entre Rios, and

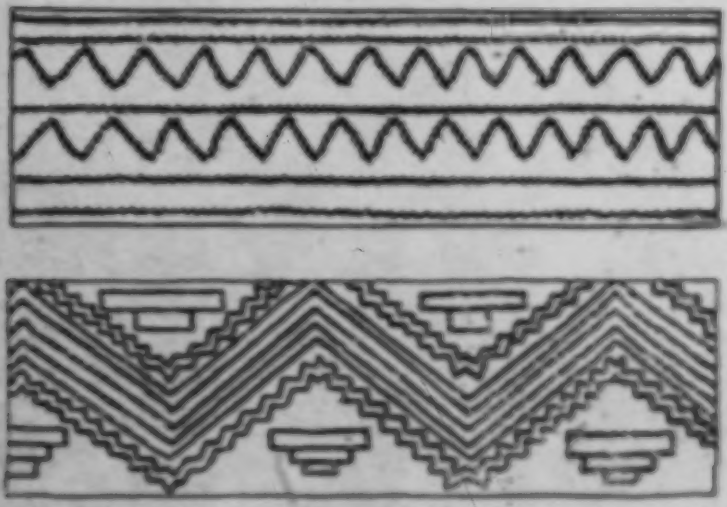

FIG. 14.—Designs incised on pottery vessels. El Cerrillo, Paraná Guazú river, Argentina. (14/7117)

Buenos Aires. This incised ware indeed extends southward along the Atlantic littoral[28] into Patagonia well beyond the Desnado river, that is, to south latitude 48°.[29] Burial grounds and refuse heaps in the Paraná delta yield comparable designs scratched on bone and antler objects.[30] Incised decoration on pottery from northwestern

[27] 1910, fig. 13.

[28] See Outes (1908) and Holmes (1912).

[29] Incised designs from Patagonia have been published by Outes, 1904. This important archeological paper, as well as historical sources from Pigafetta to d'Orbigny, have not been utilized in distributional maps published by Spinden and Winsor, for they draw the southern limits of pottery at the Rio Negro.

[30] Torres, 1911.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Argentina, especially from the province of Mendoza,[illegible] at times is strikingly like Tehuelche motives.

Aside from fur robes, the most elaborately decorated objects from Patagonia are ceremonial axes, plaques, and labrets, and, as might be expected, the patterns on them show the closest resemblance to the old-style embellishment on skin.[illegible] In fig. 15 we illustrate a stone

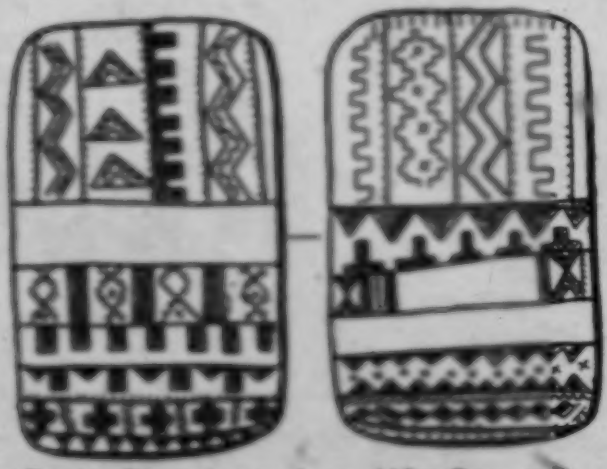

FIG. 15.—Engraved stone plaque. (After Outes, 1916)

plaque engraved with fine-line designs, unusual though not unique in their elaboration. These consist of triangles, lozenges, zigzags, and meanders, executed in a manner very suggestive of the cloak in fig. 10, as well as some of the recent border patterns. The purpose of the engraved axes and plaques has been the subject of controversy, but there can be little doubt that they have an antiquity of several centuries.

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Our survey of Tehuelche robes has shown that this kind of garment once was in general use throughout southern South America.

[illegible] For example, the Chaquiago incised wave, published by Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

[illegible] Axes and plaques have been illustrated by Ambrosetti (1901, 1902, 1904), Gigliolli (1905), Holmes (1912), Lehmann-Nitsche (1909, 1909a, 1916), Outes (1905, 1908, 1916, 1916a), Verneau (1903), and Verneau and Vaulx (1902). Lehmann-Nitsche (1904) has described labrets.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Painted decorations on specimens collected in recent years, though based on simple elements, exhibit a complexity of rhythm scarcely to be expected among people of such general cultural poverty. A study of the designs has shown that they can be divided into two major groups. The more recent of these shows apparent connection with textile patterns of the Araucanians, although the relationship is too vague and the available material too scanty for exact demonstration. The Araucanians, it will be recalled, in the sixteenth century occupied only a few small valleys east of the Andes, but in the eighteenth century they overran most of the Pampas, thus coming into contact with the Tehuelche.

We also have given reasons for believing that the Tehuelche formerly adorned their robes with designs of a different type, related to the art of other nomadic tribes, such as the Charrúa, and until recently found in the Chaco. This school of decoration we believe is basic over a large area in South America, for it is typical of archeological remains not only from Patagonia but as well from the Pampas, from the Calchaqui region, the lower Paraná, and from the Gran Chaco.

The absence of such decorative motives among the Ona and Haush of Tierra del Fuego implies that they had been separated from their mainland kinsmen for many centuries, and it raises the question whether the Tehuelche carried this type of design with them when they populated Patagonia or whether it reached them by infiltration at a later date.

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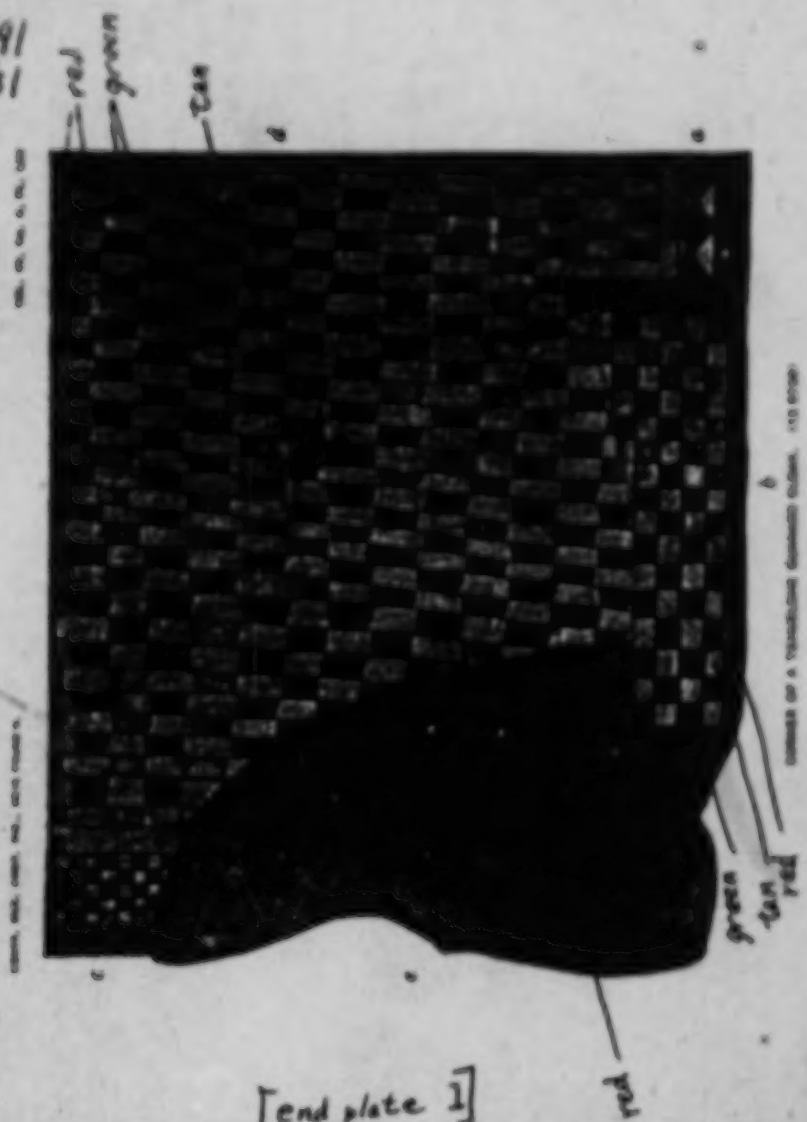
4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929

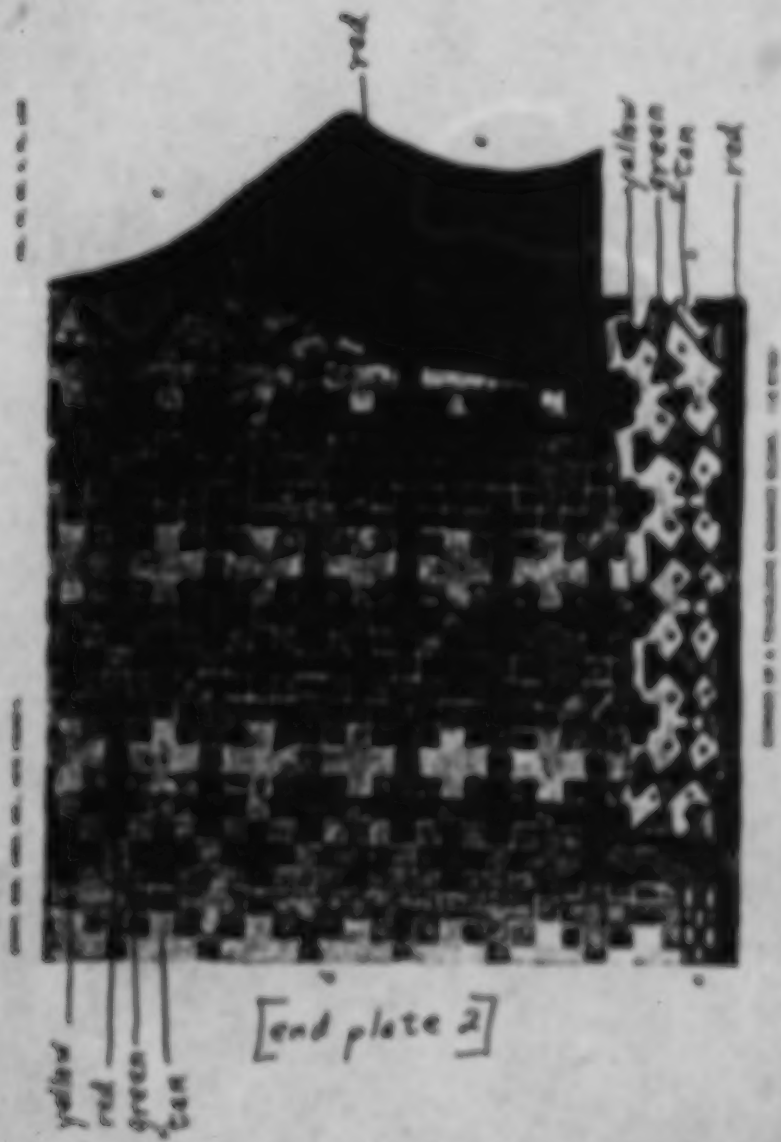
SI15 Tehuelche SI15



[end plate 1]

[Colors written in represent those of original plate -Analyst]

6: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SHS Tehuelche SHS



[end plate 2]

[Colors written in represent those of original plate —Analyst]

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Two pieces of skin are cut to fit each other. The tailoress (for all the work, from the curing of the skins to the last results, is done by the squaws) holds the edges together with the left hand, and drills them for sewing with a sharpened nail, held between the first two fingers of the right hand; the pointed thread, held between the finger and thumb, is inserted and drawn through, and so the work goes on. The stitches are tolerably fine, and a very neat seam is made. Other pieces are added, and when the whole is finished the seams are rubbed smooth with a bone. The fur being worn inside, there remains the work of outside decoration. With a due quantity of clay, blood, charcoal and grease, amalgamated for the purpose, the artist arms herself with a stick for a brush, and executes divers figures in black, on a red ground, which if intended to shadow forth men, require a vigorous imagination to detect the purpose. They might pass for unhappy ghosts (if a little more ethereal in composition), or for deformed trees. They bear a rude resemblance to a chair in profile, or a figure 4; and are thickly disposed over the whole surface, in the attitude sometimes vulgarly termed "spoon-fashion." The garment is now complete; the edges are carefully trimmed with a knife, and the fabric is thrown over the shoulders, with the infallible certainty of fitting as closely as the native tastes require. There is no trial of patience in smoothing obstinate wrinkles. A "genteel fit" is the easiest thing in the world; wherein Patagonian tailors have decidedly the advantage of their fellow-craftsmen in civilized lands.

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[139] 142 The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall, their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[194] 195 537 [542] Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not interrupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

94 ●63 The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet wide. - Ed.]

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their foreheads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird. These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and being thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur. Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood, are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end; it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for anything else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circumstance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide, a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel, woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

had been. He succeeded in effecting his escape the next day; but Douglass and Simms were carried off, murdered, and, it is supposed, — I believe with good reason, — that their bodies were eaten. The Avon, after being plundered, fell into the hands of the remainder of the crew, and sailed for Montevideo.

I travelled with this ruffian about ten days. He was a hard master, though I cannot charge him with personal ill-treatment that amounted to cruelty. Our life was monotonous enough. We slept a good share of the time when we rested, drank pure water when we could get it, and ate what fell in our way; though the reader may be assured that we saw some hungry days. At the expiration of ten days, the tribe was reünited at a place agreed upon. Here we continued several days, the natives occupied exclusively with gambling, which was alike their daily labor and recreation. When the demands of hunger became too imperative to be longer postponed, they would go out and hunt, after which they resumed their games.

Gambling is a vice to which they are greatly addicted, and they pursue it with a perseverance and ardor worthy of amateurs in more civilized communities. The implements used are bits of guanaco-skin, about the size of common playing-cards, on which are rudely depicted dogs and a variety of other beasts, with divers mystic marks and scrawls, done with a stick in a pigment composed of clay, blood and grease. Unlike their compeers in more enlightened circles, they put down stakes on only one side, for which the opposite players contend. In this way they rid themselves of their saddles, bridles, knives, and what ever other portable articles they may have to hazard

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 *a*, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1833, pp. 94-95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1904, pp. 20-22).

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 *b*, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. [illegible]; Borgatello, 1904, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soychu (*Tehuhet* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

tolerably good order, to receive the present. There were undoubtedly some very tall men amongst them, but what struck me particularly was their splendid development of chest and arms. Although the wind was very sharp, many of them had their mantles thrown back in a careless way, leaving their naked chests exposed in the air, and appeared not the least incommoded. They readily recognised me for an Englishman, coming and examining me closely, and asking for tobacco with a broad grin on their faces, exposing a wonderfully clean and regular set of teeth. My gratifying their importunate requests for tobacco made Sam very jealous, and for some time he bothered me with remarks such as 'Me very cold, no got poncho,' 'Me no got knife, me no got "pellon"' (saddle-cloth), until, finding it useless to beg, he relapsed into sullen silence. A smoke of the pipe, however, brought him back to his usual cheerful temper, and as we galloped along he chanted an Indian song, which consisted of the words 'Ah ge lay loo, Ah ge lay loo,' expressed in various keys.

After a ride of some leagues in a rather more open but still undulating country, a break in the Pampas was reached. Hills of irregular and picturesque outlines, with labyrinthine valleys or ravines, not running in parallel order, but communicating with each other, occupied an extensive district, and though travelling was considerably more difficult, yet the change in the aspect of nature was grateful after the barren monotony of the plains.

We halted in an Indian encampment, situated in a valley underneath a peaked hill called 'Otiti,' where there were pools of fresh and salt water in close proximity. Amongst the incense and thorn bushes, which grow at intervals in these regions, we passed to-day another description of shrub with a thick rough bark, which is readily detached, and leaves a long rattail-like sort of twig. From the Rio Gallegos the soil had become generally of a yellower colour than on the south side of that river, although in the valleys and hollows

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some of the blood mixed with grease. When the mess was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagists—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat. On this occasion everybody ate where they liked, in their own toldos. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The orchestra consisted of a drum made by stretching a piece of hide over a bowl, also a sort of wind instrument formed of the thigh-bone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is placed to the mouth and played, or with a short bow having a horsehair string. When all was ready, some of the old hags all the time singing in their melodious way, the band struck up, and four Indians, muffled up in blankets, so that their eyes only were visible, and their heads adorned with ostrich plumes, marched into the ring, and commenced pacing slowly round the fire, keeping time to the music. After two or three promenades, the time gradually quickened, until they went at a sort of trot; and about the fifth round, dancing fast to the music, they threw away their mantles, and exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from the shoulder to the hip, which jingled in time to their steps. The first four consisted of the chiefs Casimiro, Orkake, Crimo, and Camillo, who, after dancing with great action (just avoiding stepping into the fire), and bowing their plumed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

terns; make the holsters of reeds (often also ornamented with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature tolderias and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been previously described. In Tecknel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonica, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jackaiban's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

502 in the centre of the closely-packed craft. One end of a lariat was fastened to the boat, and the other tied to the tail of a horse. A savage mounted, with one rein attached to the wooden bit on the up-stream side. Two others took the oars, one on each side, and a squaw was stationed on
●[533 the top-gallant forecastle for the purpose of singing, to
777] ensure good luck. All is ready. The old horse wades till the depth of water compels him to swim, and the boat is pushed off. The rider floats on the horse's back, kicking the water with his feet, holding the rein in one hand, and grasping the mane with the other. "Chew! chew!" he shouts, at the top of his voice. The black swan in the forecastle opens her capacious mouth and sings, "Yek yah, youri miti! yek yah youri miti!" The two oarsmen dig away with might and main, while the younger fry swell the chorus with a "Yah! yah! yah!" The boat brings some heavy lurches to the windward, then yaws off to leeward; all owing to those lubberly oarsmen not meeting her with the helm in season. At length, after innumerable shiftings we reached the opposite shore, and waded up on dry land.

Several boats were constructed after the same unique model, and succeeded in crossing safely. Some of the horses, being better adapted to towing, were swam back to repeat the process, and our craft returned for a second freight. I watched the proceedings from the bank with intense interest, speculating on the probable consequences of an accident to any of the fleet. Such was their superstition, that, in the event of any ill befalling them, they would be quite likely to ascribe it to me, and serve me worse than Jonah was treated by his shipmates. The swiftness of the current, and the rudeness of their navi-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

502 gation, made them so liable to mischief, that it seemed wise to prepare for it; and I at once began ingratiating myself with two of the worst fellows in the whole tribe, by professions of special good will and admiration for them, and confidential hints that they would share more liberally in the bounties of "Holland" than any of their fellows. Whilst thus engaged, with cautious glances across the river, to make sure that all was right, I perceived that there was quite a commotion among the people below; some were springing upon their horses, — others, ready mounted, were dashing furiously down the bank. On looking some distance below, a boat appeared to be in distress; the lariat that bound it together had snapped asunder, and the pressure within, and the strain of the horse without, had broken the front stake; the horse, relieved of his freight, pulled for the shore, and could neither be coaxed nor beaten into a return to duty. The horsemen on the banks dashed into the stream, and swam for the wreck, which contained, among other passengers, a young child. It was already filled with water, and was partially turned on her side. The surface of the river was dotted with dark forms, struggling with the mad current; one horseman after another each grasped a floating object, and made for the shore. The craft had drifted nearly half a mile, and nothing could be made out very distinctly. The squaws, on first perceiving the mischance, watched the wreck, and sung in a loud and plaintive strain, all the while casting unfriendly glances at me, and gradually approaching the place where I stood. My apprehensions were so far confirmed by this movement, that I told John (the name I gave one of my present particular friends),

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

731 as he loved rum and tobacco, and expected to get any, not to leave me. John saw at a glance what was in the wind, and appreciated both the immediate danger and the ultimate reward of averting it; namely, the privilege of being gloriously drunk at my expense. He told me to go into his hut, and pointed me to the farthest corner; where, I being duly ensconced, he took his station, cutlass in hand, directly in front of me. The singing grew louder, and the voices more numerous about the door; the song was their regular powwow strain, which invariably preluded the killing of a horse. The Indians began to enter the lodge, and looked unutterable things in the direction where I was crouching; the wigwam was soon filled with them, and they were beginning to crowd towards me, when old John opened upon them, and told them they ought to be ashamed of themselves, to come in there in that manner; they did not even know what had happened, — they did not know whether any lives were lost. They were threatening on account of the death of a child, when, for aught they knew, the child was alive; they had better wait patiently, till they knew more about the matter, before they made any further uproar about it. In this strain he parleyed with them for some time, till they concluded to retire, uttering, as they went, the most horrible sounds. I felt less relief from their absence than if John had not, by implication, fully asserted that if the brat was drowned, my life should answer for it. News soon came that the children were all safe, but that the boat was lost.

000 An instant change ensued: the fire appeared to be quenched, but I feared it might break out at any moment afresh. Knowing their treachery, I kept a pretty sus-

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe. 771

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soychu (*Tabahet* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer, 776

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

On the occasion

of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 205; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76). 755

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 82), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 156; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 125) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives. 756 [838] [534]

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1903, 1:58; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1384 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 356), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it. [755]

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story. 773

LOSS AND LEARNING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183; [804] [202] 278

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

175 the name of the country, Patagonia. These men used bows and arrows, and had with them four young guanacoes, with which they decoyed the wild ones within shot. Two young men were treacherously seized and carried off, howling and calling on their god Setebos. The natives naturally resented this return for their ready friendliness, and, attacking a party sent after them, killed one Spaniard with their arrows. Enough, however, was seen of them to furnish Pigafetta [36] with some details. 'Their tents were light movable frames, covered with skins; their faces were painted; they were [202] very swift of foot, had tools of sharp-edged flints, and ate [412] their meat nearly raw.'

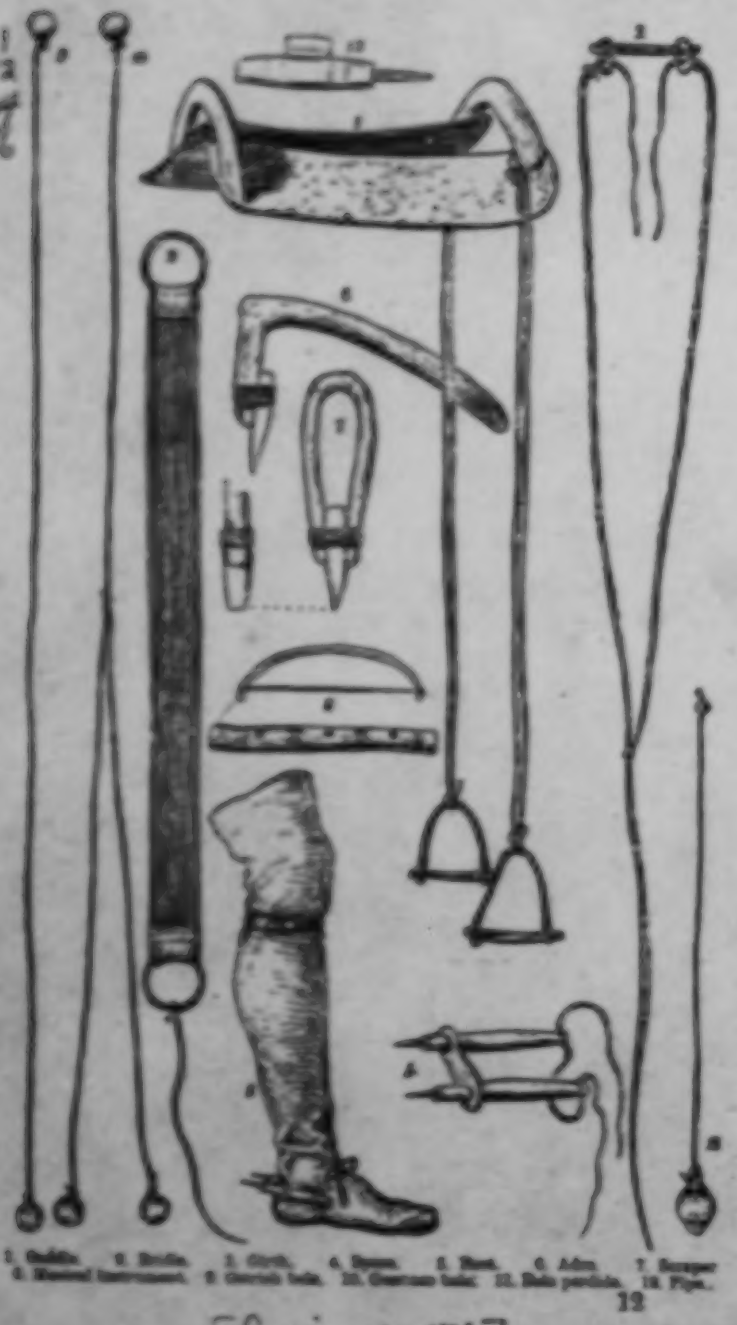
That the first knowledge of Patagonia was diffused in England by Pigafetta's narrative is suggested by Caliban's lines in the 'Tempest': 'He could command my dam's god Setebos;' but it was not till 1578 that the newly-discovered country was visited by Englishmen.

Sir Francis Drake in that year anchored in Seal Bay—probably a little to the south of Port Desire—and saw several Indians. His chaplain narrates their method of stalking [228] the ostriches: 'They have a plume of ostrich feathers on a long staff, large enough to hide a man behind, and with this they stalk the ostriches.' He further says: 'They would have none of our company until such time as they were warranted by their god "Settaboth."' They never cut their [302] hair, which they make a storehouse for all the things they [418] carry about—a quiver for arrows, a sheath for knives, a case for toothpicks, a box for fire-sticks, and what not; they are [536] fond of dancing with rattles round their waists; they have clean, comely, and strong bodies, are swift of foot, very active, a goodly and lively people. Magellan was not alto-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

881 wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some
252 of the blood mixed with grease. When the mess was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagists—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat.
881 On this occasion everybody ate where they liked, in their
535 own toldos. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The
[534] orchestra consisted of a drum made by stretching a piece of hide over a bowl, also a sort of wind instrument formed of the thigh-bone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is placed to the mouth and played, or with a short bow having a horsehair string. When all was ready, some of the old
[533] hags all the time singing in their melodious way, the band struck up, and four Indians, muffled up in blankets, so that
[301] their eyes only were visible, and their heads adorned with ostrich plumes, marched into the ring, and commenced pacing slowly round the fire, keeping time to the music. After two or three promenades, the time gradually quickened, until they went at a sort of trot; and about the fifth round, dancing fast to the music, they threw away their mantles, and
[302] exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from
[301] the shoulder to the hip, which jingled in tune to their steps. The first four consisted of the chiefs Casimiro, Orkeke, Crimo, and Camillo, who, after dancing with great action (just avoiding stepping into the fire), and bowing their plumed

2: Mustere T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5



[facing A 176]
[No pg 177]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

terns; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal.

The children generally employ themselves in imitating their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles.

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been previously described. In Teckel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonies, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jackechan's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case.

There is little to add to the details already given of the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

852 sent to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins, and painting himself white, gives the order for the erection of a tent called by the Indians "the pretty house". The women immediately collect together their mandils, a description of wove blanket, obtained from the Araucanians, and sew them together to form the covering of the toldo; some of the women then place the necessary stakes in the ground to form the toldo, and the young men, taking the mandils, march several times round the stakes to frighten away the devil, the old women singing and crying in a discordant manner, and then draw the covering over the stakes; lancepoles, with brass plates and streamers attached, are placed in front, the whole forming a gay-looking toldo. The men then mount their horses, and after a short interval, mares are brought up and knocked on the head in front of the tent, after which the meat is either portioned out to the several families, or cooked on the spot, all being free to come and eat. To-
852 wards evening a fire is kindled in front of the mandil-tent, and
535 a dance takes place after the following manner: The men and women sit down at the opposite sides of the fire, except the musicians, who sit in the tent; their instruments consist of a
[34] small drum formed by a piece of hide stretched over a bowl, and played on with two sticks, and a wind instrument, formed from the thighbone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is applied to the mouth, and played on with a small wooden bow, having a horse-hair string, after a preliminary tune and howling on the part of the old women. Four Indians, muffled up to their eyes in their mantles, wearing on their heads plumes of the so-called ostrich (*Rhea Darwinii*), step on the scene; they first of all pace majestically round the fire, then quicken their pace to a sort of little trot; after two rounds the time is quickened, they throw aside their mantles, and appear with their bodies naked, except the waistcloth, painted all over, each one wearing also a strap studded with bells, extending from the shoulder to the thigh. At the moment that the mantles are thrown on one side, they dance in quick time to the music in not ungraceful steps, at the same time bowing their plumed heads most grotesquely, in time to the taps of the drum on either side. When tired, they resume their mantles, retire for a drink of water, and then come on again dancing a different step. When they are fatigued, four more take their places, and so on, till all present have had their turn. When many Indians are present, these performances often last until a late hour of the night. The women, who only participate as spectators, mark their applause of any particularly good dancer by a howl which may be considered a sort of encore. I have on one or two occasions known these dissipations carried on for two or three evenings in succession.

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo-holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [78] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all 755
the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she [539]
takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those
within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of
the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or [762]
sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but
this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is 764
a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the
favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all
the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on
the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is
lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over
the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the
horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's
trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the
funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has
on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and
friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment
which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they
take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to
the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate
greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they
disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all
those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains
in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives [765]
and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they
cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over
their foreheads up to their eyebrows; they claw their faces, scarify their
cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge
in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending
that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take
over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the
whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and
from all others, and if the old women are asked to reveal the place
where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourn-
ing goes on for fifteen days, with the same moaning, and every day 765 768
horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left,
as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone,
and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was
dead because this is a sacred matter [77] for them, and inviolable. 766

[i.e., any sick virgin.—Pawlyst]

1 Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
Tehuelche SH5
Chiquito SF9
Mbaya SK11

A 123 747 (77) former customs, raved when they found their medicines laughed at, and the fountain of their gains dried up. The jugglers, who had sucked the bodies, and drained the property of the sick, were despised by their countrymen as a set of worthless drones.

T 753 756 The Patagonians, and other southern savages, think the body of a sick person to be possessed of an evil demon. Their physicians carry about T [534] drums, with horrible forms depicted on them, which they strike by the sick man's bed, either to consult the demon concerning the nature of the disease, or to drive it from the body of their patient. If any one dies of a disease, the relations persecute the physician most terribly, as the author of his death. If a Cacique dies, they T [766] put all the physicians to death, that they may not fly elsewhere. Actuated by an irrational T [763] kind of pity, they bury the dying before they expire. Father Strobl pulled one man alive from the grave. The Guaycurùs call their physicians Nigienigis. A gourd filled with hard M 756 seeds, and a fan of dusky emu feathers are their chief insignia, and medical instruments, which they always carry in their hands that they may be known. I must not omit to speak of the physicians of the Chiquitos. A juggler physician, C 756 when he goes to visit the sick, fills his belly with the most exquisite dainties, chickens, hens,

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were so bandaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73-74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

[551]

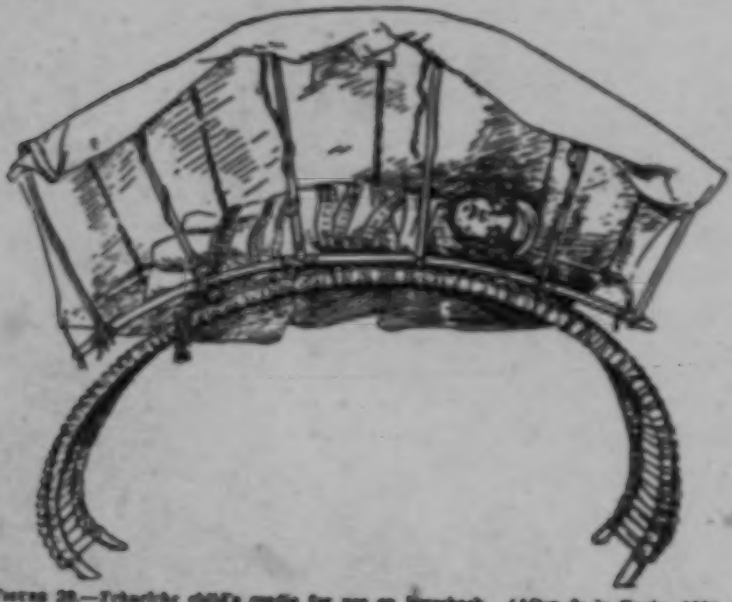


FIGURE 20.—Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Vaux, 1901, p. 288.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199-200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201-202).

[301 535] [155]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche SHS

Education.—Children were indulged and seldom corrected. Whether the *Tehuelche* ever had the Elel bugaboo rite (cf. infra under *Puelche*, Education) is uncertain. Gusinde (1926 a, p. 310; 1931, p. 1063) was told by the *Tehuelche* of the upper Río Gallegos, to whom he paid a very brief visit in 1924, that they had a rite called, as among the *Ona*, klikneten; the rite was held in a tent covered with guanaco skin, and face covers of feathers were used instead of the *Ona* masks. Field work on the point here raised is imperative, to gather details, and to determine, if possible, whether this rite is an ancient *Tehuelche* one or one introduced more recently by immigrant *Ona*. (Cf. supra Introduction, on *Ona* immigration into Patagonia.)

Girls' puberty rite.—The *Tehuelche* had a simple puberty rite for girls. This first menses rite, as described in detail by Musters from personal observation (1871, pp. 76–78), followed the general pattern of the birth rite as regards painting and bleeding by the medicine man, erection of the "pretty house," slaughter of mares with feast, evening bonfire, dancing in fours by plumed and girdled men to instrumental accompaniment (pl. 39, *bottom*). The main differences were: The girl was placed in seclusion in the "pretty house," and the old women sang while the men danced.

D'Orbigny (1833–47, 2:177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Pozo (1780, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordoves (1903, p. 47), tent(s) painted red.

Muñiz (1917, p. 266) reported two small huts, with the girl seated in one, and a young man with the title of "king" armed with a whip and bolas, who castigated the men or women who executed poorly the dance around the fire between the two tents. Muñiz ascribed this rite to the Pampean Indians in general, not specifically to the *Tehuelche*. The role of the "king" in it suggests that it may have been exclusively *Puelche*, or else *Tehuelche* influenced by *Puelche*. (Cf. Elel first menses rite, pp. 165–166.)

Marriage.—See page 149.

Death observances.—The most common form of disposal of the dead in the Patagonian area was cairn burial on a hilltop, the body resting on the surface of the ground with knees to thorax; other forms were sand interment and cave and crevice disposal. Some belongings were buried with the dead.

1: Cooper X-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehnolche S45

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[p. 160 G]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

881
535
346

THE "PRETTY HOUSE" AND DANCE.

[facing p. 61]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

881 wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some
252 of the blood mixed with grease. When the mess was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagists—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat.
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535 own toldos. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The
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[302] exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from
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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

881 heads grotesquely on either side to the beats of the drum,
535 retired for a short time to rest themselves, after which they appeared again and danced a different step. When that was over, four more appeared, and so on, until every one, including the boys, had had a fling. Sometimes, to give greater effect, the performers carried a bunch of rushes in one hand. About nine P.M., everybody having had enough, Casimiro gave the sign. The band stopped playing, and all retired to bed. The dancing was not ungraceful, but was rendered grotesque by the absurd motions of the head. It was strictly confined to the men, the women being only allowed to look on.

133 On the second day's march from the scene of my first Indian ball we crossed a rocky ridge abounding with a description of vesicular lava; the ridge ran out from the southern limits of the valley and terminated in precipitous cliffs, round the base of which wound the river. The surface of the ridge was fissured in many places with deep chasms like Alpine crevasses, on the brink of one of which my horse stopped just in time to escape a fall. The caravan had gone a more circuitous route to take advantage of the lowest and easiest crest. On the other side of the ridge the valley suddenly spread out to the extent of several miles, and on the western horizon a line of snowy peaks was visible, their summits capped with clouds: this was our first view of the Cordillera. The low ground was cut up by streams and small lakelets of water, formed by the overflow of a small fork of the river, which glistening in the afternoon sunshine presented a beautiful silvery appearance, very refreshing to the eye wearied with alternate gazing on withered
484 grass and black volcanic rocks. However beautiful to look at, this scene would clearly prove difficult travelling, so a halt was called, and our course debated on; ultimately it was resolved to cross the river and encamp on the northern bank, where the ground was higher and free from floods, so loads were carefully adjusted, and children transferred to the arms of the men, to give the women more freedom of action;

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our toldo in due form amidst a curious crowd, all eager to 498
look at him, while he preserved a grave and stolid demeanour. 576
After the usual ceremonious formalities, he sat down, and by means of an interpreter stated himself to be a son of Quintuhual, a chief residing at present about four marches to the north. His father had with much pleasure received the courteous message sent by Casimiro, and it would give him equal gratification to welcome the Tehuelches; but he signified a desire first to meet Casimiro alone. This the latter monarch did not appear to see in the same light—if I may be allowed the expression—as it seemed to forbode no good intentions; but he replied evasively, and thus the colloquy terminated.

This Indian was about the middle height, dressed in 555
coloured ponchos, with a silk handkerchief round his head. His features were regular, with restless sparkling black eyes, and complexion about the same as that of the Gauchos of the Rio de la Plata. He wore his hair cut short, and his general cleanly appearance afforded a strong contrast to the flowing locks and paint-bedaubed bodies of the Tehuelches.

Giving up my sleeping-place to him, we soon made him at 535
home, and, after he had had some dinner, we proceeded in 852
company to watch the dancers, who were vigorously stepping out round the fire in front of the mandil tent. Here we were joined by Jackschan, whose knowledge of the Araucanian language enabled us to maintain a conversation. Presently, by particular request, I joined Golwin (White) and two others in the dance, coming out in full costume of ostrich feathers and girdle of bells, and properly painted, to the great delight of the Indians. My performance elicited general applause; and at last all retired for the night, myself taking my saddle-gear and sleeping under a bush near the toldo.

After a delicious breakfast of fried fish, cooked most 557
skilfully by Meña, we prepared to march again, the chasqui bidding us farewell for the present, and by nine A.M. the

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852 sent to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the caciques and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins, and painting himself white, gives the order for the erection of a tent called by the Indians "the pretty house". The women immediately collect together their mandils, a description of wove blanket, obtained from the Araucanians, and sew them together to form the covering of the tolde; some of the women then place the necessary stakes in the ground to form the tolde, and the young men, taking the mandils, march several times round the stakes to frighten away the devil, the old women singing and crying in a discordant manner, and then draw the covering over the stakes; lancepoles, with brass plates and streamers attached, are placed in front, the whole forming a gay-looking tolde. The men then mount their horses, and after a short interval, mares are brought up and knocked on the head in front of the tent, after which the meat is either portioned out to the several families, or cooked on the spot, all being free to come and eat. To-
852 wards evening a fire is kindled in front of the mandil-tent, and
535 a dance takes place after the following manner: The men and women sit down at the opposite sides of the fire, except the musicians, who sit in the tent; their instruments consist of a
[534] small drum formed by a piece of hide stretched over a bowl, and played on with two sticks, and a wind instrument, formed from the thighbone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is applied to the mouth, and played on with a small wooden bow, having a horse-hair string, after a preliminary tune and howling on the part of the old women. Four Indians, muffled up to their eyes in their mantles, wearing on their heads plumes of the so-called ostrich (*Rhea Darwinii*), step on the scene; they first of all pace majestically round the fire, then quicken their pace to a sort of little trot; after two rounds the time is quickened, they throw aside their mantles, and appear with their bodies naked, except the waistcloth, painted all over, each one wearing also a strap studded with bells, extending from the shoulder to the thigh. At the moment that the mantles are thrown on one side, they dance in quick time to the music in not ungraceful steps, at the same time bowing their plumed heads most grotesquely, in time to the taps of the drum on either side. When tired, they resume their mantles, retire for a drink of water, and then come on again dancing a different step. When they are fatigued, four more take their places, and so on, till all present have had their turn. When many Indians are present, these performances often last until a late hour of the night. The women, who only participate as spectators, mark their applause of any particularly good dancer by a howl which may be considered a sort of encore. I have on one or two occasions known these dissipations carried on for two or three evenings in succession.

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Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Koue' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel, usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

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512 party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlemento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

886 Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify
● [537] for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My
755 compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We
714 greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by stripe of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from 'foolish Indians.'

777 His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was
203 often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

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CHAPTER VI.

The chief's oratory — A case of sickness novelly treated — The captive commissioned as physician to the chief — Dr. Bourne's first and last patient — Murder — Cannibalism — Another assassination, showing the perils of medical practice among savages — Sports of the children — Patagonian farriery — Slender success in the chase — A second struggle for life.

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THE chief occasionally made a speech to his subjects from the door of his lodge, wherein he invariably inculcated the duty of hunting industriously to procure meat, and a due supply of grease, for their families. He never had an auditor in sight, for his faithful lieges considered the speech from the throne a decided bore, and, if one happened to be passing, he was sure to dodge into the nearest hut till the infliction was over; but the leathern lungs of the orator could not fail to make him audible in many of the wigwams. In length his performances more resembled the official addresses of our republican rulers than those of his royal cousins of Europe, seldom falling short of a full hour. In style, they came nearer the proclamations of a crier. He would proceed in a monotonous rumble to the end of a sentence, and then defy contradiction by repeating several times, "Comole! comole! comole!" after which he paused, as for a reply. No one having the audacity to

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take up his challenge, he would go on croaking the same things with tedious iteration. After listening very patiently to one of his harangues, I inwardly applauded the taste of his subjects in getting as far as possible out of the reach of his voice.

One forenoon, as I was beginning to feel impatient to move, — for every movement seemed to fan the flickering hope that we would soon reach a place affording some avenue of escape, and this restlessness always made camp-life doubly dismal, — the chief informed me that we should decamp that day. Preparations had commenced, when one of his daughters came in with a child crying at a tempestuous rate. The version which she gave of his complaints arrested the marching orders. A messenger was forthwith despatched for one skilled in the healing art. The physician soon arrived, armed with two small packages rolled up in pieces of skin, about a foot long and three or four inches in diameter, which I took to be his medicine-chest. He walked gravely in, laid down the packages, and squatted beside the mother, who held the little patient in her arms. Whatever his ailment might have been, his lungs could not have been impaired, for he was roaring like a young buffalo. Not a word was spoken for some time. the doctor all the while looking him very steadily in the eye. Then came a sudden calm, importing that the little fellow experienced some relief, or, more probably, that he was exhausted. The doctor ordered an application, — not of hot water, according to the prescription of Sangrado, but of a mortar made of clay. The clay was brought, the anxious mother worked it over with her two hands, spitting upon it to give it the requisite moisture, and having re-

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[49] 142 The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall, their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[194] 195 537 Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not interrupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others [562] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

291 [53] The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet nine inches. - Analyst]

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "a," "a," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the ablebodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

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as to what there could possibly be in that place to write about, as although the Tehuelche mind can comprehend writing letters to friends or officials, it by no means understands keeping a journal; and 'some untutored Indian' might probably, if suspicious that 'i'faith he'll prent it,' instead of waiting to cut up the book, anticipate all reviewers by cutting up the intended author himself. 203

On the 18th of November the camp at Henno was broken up, and all marched a few leagues to the west, crossing successive rocky ridges running parallel to the Cordillera, and divided by well-watered valleys, and encamped near a valley watered by the same river, which between this place and Henno makes a considerable bend. This station was named 'Chiriq,' from a description of bush, with a leaf somewhat resembling that of the sloe, which grows abundantly on the banks of the stream. The wood of this shrub is soft and of little value, but burns well when dry. At this time neither flower nor fruit was visible, but it was described to me as bearing a berry resembling the currant. Since our departure from the wooded river Sengel, a description of cactus, or, as the Spaniards call it, tuna, bearing a tasteless fruit something like the ordinary prickly pear, had been met with occasionally, and found very troublesome, for as it grows close to the ground its spines are very apt to lame the horses if not carefully avoided in the chase. From Chiriq a large plain appeared to extend for some leagues to the westward, bounded north and south by a wooded range of hills, and extending apparently to the bases of the lofty snow-covered peaks of the Cordillera, which appeared to form a complete barrier. 133 137 133

During our stay here an incident occurred which led to the collection and comparison of the traditions concerning the hidden or enchanted city which still are current and believed among the Indians and Chilotes. 538

One day while hunting we were startled by a loud report, as of the discharge of a cannon, and looking to the west saw a black cloud of smoke hanging above the peaks of the Cor-

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dillera. My companion Jackechan told me that on several previous visits to this station the Indians had observed similar columns of smoke in the same direction. On one occasion so convinced were they that it was caused by human agency, that a party set out to endeavour to penetrate the forests and reach the dwellings of the unknown residents, which the smoke was believed to point out. They proceeded some distance into the recesses of the mountain forests, but the extreme difficulties of travelling compelled them at last to abandon their purpose and retrace their steps. It is of course most probable that both the explosion and the smoke proceeded from some unknown active volcano in the range; but the Indians firmly believe in the existence either of an unknown tribe, or of an enchanted or hidden city. The Araucanians when met with farther north had a story current amongst them of having discovered a settlement of white people, who spoke an unknown tongue, in the recesses of the mountains in the same vicinity. The Chilotes and Chilians from the western side fondly cherish the belief in the existence of La Ciudad Encantada, and the mythical people Los Cesares, to the discovery of which, according to De Angelis—to whose research is due the collection of all the records on the subject—the attention of Buenos Ayres, Lima, and Chili was so long directed. A Chilote or Valdivian, name Juan Antonio, narrated to me that he knew a man who was acquainted with another who had heard from a third that the last-named deponent was one of a party who visited the coast opposite to Chiloe for the purpose of wood cutting. They ascended in their boat a river, which as described was probably the upper course of that which we afterwards struck in the Cordillera. Having reached the woods, they separated to cut timber. One of the number was missing at the evening camp-fire; his comrades, however, waited for him, but gave him up at last, and were already preparing to return, when he rejoined them, and recounted a strange adventure. Deep in the forest he had come upon a path, which he followed

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for some distance, till he heard the sound of a bell, and saw clearings, by which he knew himself to be near a town or settlement. He soon met some white men, who made him prisoner, and after questioning him as to the cause of his being there, blindfolded him, and led him away to an exceedingly rich city, where he was detained prisoner for several days. At last he was brought back, still blindfolded, and when the bandage was removed found himself near the place of his capture, whence he made his way back to his comrades. Juan Antonio, the narrator, and Meña, one of the Chilian deserters who was present, fully believed this story, which, however, bears a suspicious resemblance to one told a hundred years before; and both declared that it was all caused by witchcraft or enchantment. 538

Another curious story was related to me, the hero of which was a mischievous imp of twelve years old, who was afterwards attached to my service as page, and for impudence and uselessness might have been a page of the court of Louis Quatorze. He had been in company with Fayel's tribe of Indians and Valdivians in the neighbourhood of the Cordillera. One day the hopeful boy was missed, and although careful search was made, no traces of him were discoverable. Three months afterwards he turned up again, dressed in the same clothes and in remarkably good condition, his spirits and impudence undiminished. My friend Ventura Delgado, a white Valdivian, who was in the camp at the time of his absence and return, vouched from personal observation for so much of the story. When questioned as to his whereabouts and with whom had he been, he answered with confidence, 'With the man on the island in the lake.' There was no known lake nearer than Nahuel-huapi, thirty miles distant, though a chain of lakes must from old accounts exist within the Cordillera; and it certainly was strange how, if he had wandered in the forest for so long a period, subsisting on roots, strawberries, and the plant named talka, he should have preserved his well-fed condition; it was equally

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538 puzzling to imagine why if made a captive by strangers he should have been allowed to return.

Another curious fable was told by my guide J'aria, when we were travelling from Punta Arena, *apropos* of the wild animals in Patagonia, on which Lieut. Gallegos was enlarging. J'aria asked if I had ever heard of the Tranco, or Trauco, which the Chilotes aver inhabits the western forests of the Cordillera. Gallegos declared that there was no doubt of its existence, and described it as possessing the form of a wild man, covered with a fell of coarse shaggy hair. This nondescript—a specimen of which would no doubt be invaluable to, though not met with on those coasts by Mr. Darwin—is said to descend from the impenetrable forests and attack the cattle on which it preys. This is possibly a pure invention, emanating from the aguardiente muddled brain of a Chilian, but it seems to have a certain relation to the vague stories of unknown wild tribes dwelling in the unexplored and wooded mountain regions. It is hard to convey the sense of mysterious space and undiscoverable dwelling-places impressed on the spectator by the vast solitudes of the mountains and forests of the Cordillera. The inexplicable sounds of crashing rocks, or explosions from unknown volcanoes, and the still stranger tones which resemble bells and voices, all suggest to the ignorant and superstitious natives confirmation of the strange circumstantial stories handed down for several generations, and it is hard for any one, even with the assistance of educated reason, to resist the powerful spell of the legends told in sight of these mysterious mountains. My readers will perhaps laugh at the narration of these vagaries of imagination, or will inquire what is the legend of the Cesares, and of the enchanted city. If they have read the delightful pages of 'Westward Ho,' they will not be unacquainted with the shifting mirage of that rich city; which, from Mexico to the Magdalena, mocked the search of so many eager adventurers. The Gran Quivira of New Mexico, the fabled Iximaya, the El Dorado

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of Guayana, and El Gran Paytiti of Brazil, the baseless 538 ●
fabrics of many a golden vision, are found repeated with
change of place and circumstances in this city of Los Cesares.
There is a curious combination of three distinct strands of 538
legends in the chain which connects the marvellous stories 177
of the Northern Indians and Chilotes with the accounts so
circumstantially deposed to, and firmly believed by, the
Spaniards of the last century. The first is the conquest of
Los Cesares in 1539. Sebastian Cabot, from his settlement
of Carcarañal on the Parana, sent his pilot Cesar with 120
soldiers to explore the river, 60 being left to garrison the
fort;* this expedition proceeded as far as the junction of the
Parana and Paraguay, which latter river they ascended to
the Laguna Sta. Anna, on the way defeating the hostile
Indians. They reached the boundaries of the Guaranis,
with whom they made friendship and returned. They next
set out to proceed overland to Peru, and crossed the Cor-
dillera. After making their way against incredible difficul-
ties, they reached a province, the inhabitants of which were
rich in cattle, vicuñas, and gold and silver. The ruler of the
province, 'a great lord,' at whose capital they at last arrived,
received his Spanish visitors kindly, and entertained them
with all honour, until at their own choice they were allowed
to return enriched with presents of gold and precious stuffs.
The Spaniards regained their fort on the Parana only to find
it a deserted ruin; the Indians having surprised and mas-
sacred the garrison. Cesar thereupon led his party to the
settlements, and thence started on another expedition, in
which he again crossed the Cordillera, and from a height
beheld, as he imagined, the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic
on either hand, probably mistaking some large lagoon for the
distant Atlantic. He then made his way up the coast to
Atacama, and thence to Cuzco, at which city he joined the
conquerors just at the period of the capture of the ill-fated
Inca Atahuallpa.

* Fte. S. Espiritu.

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177 This marvellous traverse of all the country was spoken of
538 ever after as the conquest of Los Cesares, and the whole account was set forth by Ruy Diaz Guzman in 1612, whose authority was one of the Conquistadores of Peru, named Arzon, who had learned all the particulars from Don Cesar himself in Cuzco. It does not seem, however, that more than this name, and perhaps the tradition of the rich Indian city, were preserved in the romantic rumours that began to obtain currency in the seventeenth century, and continued to gain credit till 1781, when the Fiscal of Chili, having been charged to make inquiry, summed up in an elaborate state paper all the evidence in favour of the existence of a rich and strong city, situated somewhere between 45° and 56° south, and urged the Spanish Government to authorise an expedition to discover and take possession of it. The city was described by various veracious (?) authorities as 'defended by walls, ditches, and ravelins, the only entrance being protected by a drawbridge, besides which cautious sentries were always stationed on an adjoining hill to detect intrusive strangers. The buildings were sumptuously constructed, the houses being of wrought stone with azotea roofs; and the churches were covered with glittering roofs of silver, and gorgeously furnished within. Of silver, too, were all utensils, knives, and even ploughshares made; and the inhabitants used golden stools and seats. They were light-complexioned, with blue eyes and thick beards, and spoke a language unintelligible to both Spaniards and Indians. They wore jackets of blue cloth, yellow capes, and blue wadmal drawers and loose silk trousers, with large boots and small three-cornered hats! They possessed numerous cattle, marked with brands similar to those of the Spanish colonists; but their principal article of cultivation was pepper, in which they traded with their neighbours, maintaining withal a complete system of exclusive isolation.' By one account the population was composed of the descendants of the crews of several ships which had been wrecked in the Straits of

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Magellan from 1523 to 1539, the survivors of which had made their way overland and founded a settlement. A wandering padre was said to have received the news of its existence from some Indians, accompanied by a knife as a token, which was recognised as having belonged to the captain of a stranded vessel. The padre set out to discover his countrymen, but lost his life on the road. Another more precise tradition declared that the surviving inhabitants of Osorno, after having maintained a heroic defence against the Araucanians, under the victorious chief Caupolican, in 1589, made good their escape with their families and cattle to a peninsula in a great lagoon thirty miles long and seven or eight wide, situate near Reloncavi, or the volcano called Osorno, where they built a city strongly defended on the landward side by a fosse and drawbridge raised every night. This lagoon was by others said to be that of Payeque, near a rapid stream named Llanqueco. An explorer named Roxas, in 1714, who started from Buenos Ayres, and whose route lay south-west from Tandil and the Volcan, gives most precise distances and landmarks to define the position of the Cesares. He mentions especially a river with a ford only passable during one period of the year, and a hill on which is found much magnetic iron ore. These landmarks, and the rest of his description, point to the locale of that remarkable rock formation mentioned in page 105, which, seen from a distance, might well cheat a traveller into the belief that he beheld a fortified town. Wáki pointed it out to me, and said, jokingly, 'Perhaps Christians live there.' The 'Indians of veracity,' so frequently quoted in these accounts, who were, however, all bound to keep secret the access to the city, doubtless confused their recollections of different settlements visited in their migrations; and the Spaniards, prepared to receive any new wonder, wove into the marvellous tale all the stories told them, and regarded the joint fiction as undoubted fact. But two more remarkable phases of this legend, and then we return to practical Indian life. A military

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177 party, who set out in 1777 from Rio Bueno, and marched to
538 Lake Llanquechue, crossed the passes of the Cordillera, under Osorno, and passed the night near the snow line. They heard distant artillery, and beheld the head of a great Laguna on the eastern side; they brought back the astounding intelligence that two distinct towns existed, one peopled by a race of Spanish origin, the Auca-Huincas, at war with the Tehuelches; and the other by Englishmen, or Moro-Huincas, who lived in amity with the Indians. And the Fiscal of Chili, in his report, insisted strongly on the necessity of rooting out these audacious islanders who had dared to plant themselves in the dominions of 'our Lord the King.' Just as the jealous fear of the encroaching English were thus mixed up in the Spanish version of the mysterious Cesares, so the Indians connected them with the traditionary glories of the great Inca race, and spoke of the Indian Cesares; and the potency of the fable was shown by a proclamation put forth by the heroic and ill-starred Tupac Amaru, who headed the unsuccessful rebellion against the tyrant Christians in 1781, styling himself 'Inca, Señor de los Cesares y Amazonas, con dominio en el Gran Paytiti.' But success mocked his grasp, and he perished by the hand of the executioner, just as the rich and coveted city whose lordship he claimed has eluded many an explorer who has sacrificed his life in the hopeless search. But the patient reader is probably weary of enchanted cities, and glad to return to the daily routine of our Indian life, though it was at this time
224 butcherly enough. It was the all-important season of young guanaco hunting; and though the chase afforded plenty of riding, it could hardly be said to offer sport; but to the Indians it was a matter of business, as their clothing and stock of skins to trade with depended on the number of young guanaco killed at this time. Some notes of the habits
136 of the guanaco and rhea, or ostrich, which furnish the Patagonian Indians with food and clothing, may not be out of place, though all critics are warned that they are not those

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:179) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*. 372 [439]

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini. 114

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:182) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique. [836] 582 583 585 [777] 591

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:182), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poyo*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate. 595

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for. 593 [837] 586 606 588

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard. [551] 576

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness. 575 356

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were so bandaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73–74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

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[551]

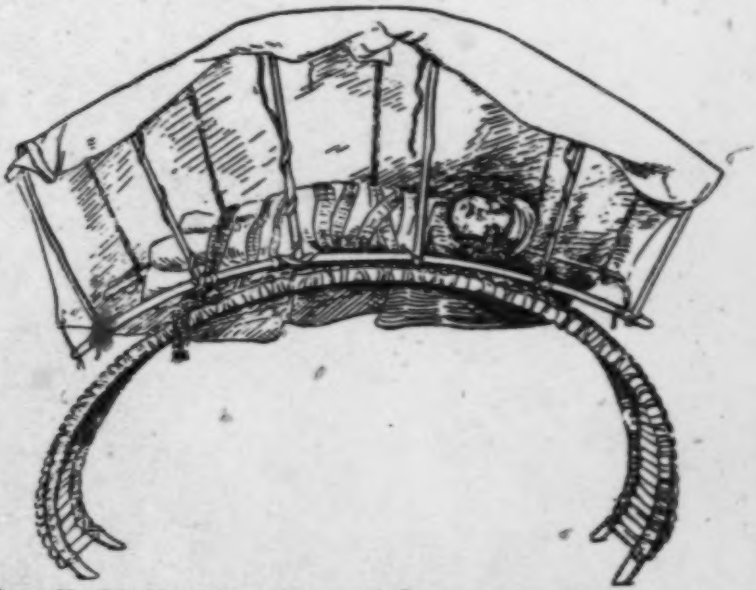

FIGURE 20.—*Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback.* (After de la Vaulx, 1901, p. 169.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199–200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202).

[301 535]

[755]

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577 [551] their company this evening was 'Pedro el Platero,' mentioned in Mr. Gardener's mission book; also an old squaw rejoicing in the name of 'La Reina Victoria' (Queen Victoria), who was the occasion of much chaff, my Chilian friends declaring I ought to salute the sovereign of the Pampas in due form; but having obtained a charge and a light for her pipe, all she required, she was soon lost sight of in the dark. We gladly left the camp early the ensuing morning, the cold continuing unabated; the wind blew strong in our faces, and though from the northward, was so keen that Sam and myself kept galloping on and kindling fires at intervals.

133 Thus we rode on over a tract of country surpassing in desolation all the districts hitherto traversed. As far as the eye could reach stretched a level waste unrelieved by even an eminence or hollow; the aspect of the low withered shrubs, coarse parched grass, and occasional patches of pebble-strewn ground which for thirty miles wearied the eye with dreary sameness, produced an extraordinary feeling of depression, which was afterwards recalled when journeying through the Travisia, bordering on the Rio Negro, which this district resembles, though on a smaller scale. Occasional frozen lagoons, doubtless supplied by rainfall, only added to the desert aspect of this trackless wilderness. The situation was not improved by Sam pulling up and remarking that he was by no means sure that he had not lost himself. The only variety was afforded by an unlucky fox which we chased till he escaped, as he thought, on the ice of a lagoon, but the treacherous surface gave way, and poor Reynard, after a vigorous struggle, sank out of reach of a lazo. At last, about two o'clock, the desert terminated in a cliff rising from the valley at our feet, and we looked down upon the winding river of the Santa Cruz.

Having waited till the rest came up, we descended by a gorge to the valley, when, after refreshing ourselves by a drink of water, we struck into a trail which followed the river downwards. We were all in high spirits at the prospect

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The child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum. The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted, which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child, nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

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726 retreating fight, and convinced me that they got a sound drubbing for their pains. He said he killed one Indian, with an air that would have done justice to the slaying of a regiment. Shocking to relate, there were found persons who slanderously reported to me that Old Boy's legs had the unhappy propensity of Pat O'Flaherty's, whose heart was as brave as any man's, but his cowardly legs ran away with his body; and they scrupled not to affirm that in this same hard-fought battle he crawled into the bushes, and there secreted himself till the cessation of hostilities enabled him to rejoin his tribe.

101 The reader has doubtless noticed that "the tribe" has been all along anonymous. The explanation comes rather late, but, in point of fact, I never could learn that they had any distinctive name; they never used any. Indeed

•551 proper names were very seldom heard. Even in conversation concerning each other, they managed to avoid "naming names" as strictly as so many honorable senators, though for no reason that I could discover. By signs and gestures, and other hints, they indicated the personal subject of remark, and seemed to suffer no inconvenience from what would be felt among us as a serious want.

224 While out hunting one day with the chief, we ascended a slight eminence, commanding a view of an extensive plain. The chief suddenly stopped his horse, and looked steadily forward. I bent my eyes in the same direction, and saw two or three mounted Indians moving towards a common point. There was nothing unusual to be seen, but Old Boy seemed to discover something. I inquired what it was. He answered by pointing; and, on a second view, I observed a horse loose, which I took to be that of some

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The children are indulged in every way, ride the best 155
horses, and are not corrected for any misbehaviour, I was 152
always astonished that the youths and young men did not grow up more headstrong and wilful, as a result of want of training. People who have no children of their own sometimes adopt a little dog, on which they lavish their affections, and bestow horses and other valuables, which are destroyed in case of the owner's death.

It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the 153
missionaries should have been so unsuccessful in their efforts to teach these children of nature to read and write, for they are naturally very intelligent (though of course there are exceptions). As a proof of their quickness in imitations, with very little trouble I taught Hinchel's son to write his father's name and those of two other Indians in a very short time. I also used to draw ships on a board with a piece of charcoal for the children's amusement, and they readily copied them. Hinchel himself, wishing to explain a part of the course of the Rio Negro, drew out a rough chart on the board, showing the bends of the river, which I afterwards found to be perfectly correct.

Whilst in their native wilds, I observed little immorality 273
amongst the Indians; in the settlements, however, when debased by intoxication, they are, no doubt, depraved and loose in their ideas. But it must be recorded that, on the entry of the Indians into the settlements of the Rio Negro, at a subsequent period, most of the young women and girls were left with the toldos in Valchita, outside the Travesia, to be out of the way of temptations. There are many Tehuelche youths now growing up who have the greatest abhorrence of liquor; and I hope that in time this abstinence will spread further among them, for they possess no intoxicants of their own, and the rum is an import from the Christians, the ill effects of which they are well able to discern.

One word of advice to the future traveller may conclude 554
this imperfect sketch. Never show distrust of the Indians;

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554 be as free with your goods and chattels as they are to each other. Don't ever want anything done for you; always catch and saddle your own horse. Don't give yourself airs of superiority, as they do not understand it—unless you can prove yourself better in some distinct way. Always be first, as you are not likely to be encumbered by a wife or gear, in crossing rivers, or any other difficulties; they will learn by degrees to respect you; in a word, as you treat them so they will treat you.

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots 291
made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs [492]
are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their fore- 302
heads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves
and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept
upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird.
These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces
of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their 492
horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from
which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually [411]
carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they
allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and be-
ing thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle
as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers
the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur.
Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow
nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed
with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood,
are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat
clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or
down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick
or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end;
it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to
its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the
horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The
reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are 291
the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference
which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins
over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like
the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the
hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This [482]
hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they
gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for any- [834]
thing else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circum-
stance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide,
a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel,
woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of
very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which
those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear [531]
sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots [554]
similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but 302

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives.

All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife, although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

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556 horses, the stock of which is frequently replenished by 231 stealing from the Spanish and Chilian settlements. These animals are, for the most part, of small size and inferior quality, half wild, coated with coarse, shaggy hair — lean and woe-begone enough, just "fit for the crows." A few valuable specimens of a superior breed are found among them, doubtless "conveyed" there. The rude saddles in 492 use among them are mostly of Spanish origin, obtained at the settlements. They consist each of two boards, an inch thick, six inches wide, and two feet long, rounded at the corners so as to fit the horse's back, and united by two strips of board passing across the back-bone, the several pieces lashed together with leather strings. A piece of guanaco-skin often serves in default of a saddle. The steed is guided by a single rein, tied round the lower jaw; some of them sport a bit of iron or wood, secured by a string round the jaw, attaching the rein to this. Spurs, like the rest of their riding apparatus, are more efficient than elegant. They are indeed rude and cruel things, — straight sticks, six inches long, with a long, sharp iron inserted into the end, secured by a string or strap around the hollow of the foot, and tied at the top, a second strap nearer the heel, and a third passing round the heel. They are all agile and excellent horsemen.

441 For weapons, the chief, and a few of the principal men, had cutlasses or swords. They had no fire-arms, nor could I learn that they understood their use; bows and arrows, spears and war-clubs, appeared to be equally unknown. 441 All the men carried knives; and the *bolas*, a missile 224 weapon used in the capture of all kinds of game. This consists of two round stones, or lead balls, if they can be

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Now, it came to pass, at this critical turn of affairs, that a certain widow, of pretty ripe years for a Patagonian, was taken suddenly ill. Her husband had been murdered many years before by one of the tribe. She was possessed of several horses, and, in virtue of this wealth, held an aristocratic position in society. A messenger brought the tidings to the chief, who ordered me forthwith to set the watch, and go with him to her residence. I again assured him I knew nothing of sickness or medicine. He told me he knew better, and bade me come along without delay. There was no resisting his will, and I armed myself accordingly with the "ticking machine," and followed my master on my first professional visit. On approaching the widow's lodge, our ears were greeted with a hideous clamor, which momentarily increased as we neared the spot. A great crowd of Indians, of both sexes, surrounded the wigwam, severally and collectively making the most villanous noise ever heard. The crowd was dense, both within and without, but gave way for the chief and the great foreign physician to enter. The first order I gave was to stop their singing, whereat there was a silence so blank that the fall of a pin would have been audible, — that is, if there had been a floor for it to fall upon. With what dignity I could command, I walked up to my patient. There she lay, crouched on a bit of horse's skin, so withered, shrivelled and contracted, that it seemed as if a bushel-basket might have covered her, bed and all. I knelt by her side, drew forth the watch, grasped her by the wrist, and felt for her pulse. But, to my surprise, I could not feel it. I fussed and fumbled a long time, and finally arrived at the mortifying conclusion that I was so ignorant as not to know the

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the oldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook,—if the operation should be dignified with that name,—in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot They are

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treated as slaves, but made, in most respects, as comfortable in their servitude as the condition of their rude masters will admit. When, however, their lords are excited by gambling, or enraged for any or no cause, the fury of passion is visited upon their defenceless heads, which they bear uncomplainingly, with a meek submissiveness worthy of better treatment. They are passionately fond of trinkets and clumsy ornaments, such as bits of brass and copper, beads, and the like, which they wear suspended from their necks. A few of them had their ears pierced, and wore brass or copper ear-rings; and many of them decked out their children with similar rude finery which is valued more than anything else, except rum, tobacco and bread. The men paint or bedaub their faces and breasts with a kind of red earth. Charcoal is also used as a cosmetic. A broad line of red alternating with a stripe of black, in various fantastic figures, is a favorite style of decoration. The women make themselves, if possible, still more hideous, by the application of a pigment made of clay, blood and grease. Some of them would be very comely, if only cleanly, and content to leave nature less strenuously adorned.

The people are as deficient in the morals as in the refinements and courtesies of domestic life; their licentiousness is equal to their cruelty, — the filth of their persons only too faithfully represents the degree in which "their mind and conscience is defiled." I saw no person, of either sex, that appeared to have attained advanced age, though it was difficult to judge of this. The oldest Indian I remember to have seen did not seem to be above sixty.

Their only wealth, aside from their huts, consists of

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[129] The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall,
142 their height varying from six feet to nine spans[!] for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[194] Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating
195 the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not inter-
537 rupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others
[562] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

391 The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six
[63] feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet nine inches. - Analyst]

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—evengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56-57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 135-136, 242-243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:133; Spegazzini, 1864, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 178). According to Moreno (1873, pp. 445-446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1868, p. 91) states that children's heads were

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hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards. 526 525

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1894, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 a, and Fischer, 1908.) [533] 534

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 28; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1913, pp. 94-95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100). 273 276

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20-22). 574 533 579

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe. 771

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 73, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnes (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Seyclen (*Tahuhet* and *Dúsihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Debrizhoffer, 776

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side of the valley, and shortly a line of mounted women and children descended the slope in front, making for our fire, which Sam informed me was their intended camping-place. We advanced to meet them, and Sam conversed in their tongue; interpreting to me that they had left Santa Cruz two days previously, and that Don Luiz P. B. had quitted his settlement on the island to sail in his schooner to Buenos Ayres; while the Northern Indians, encamped to the north of Santa Cruz, with whom I hoped to proceed to the Rio Negro, had no intention of marching until the ensuing spring. On leaving those ladies, amongst whom was a young and rather pretty girl, I lifted my hat in salute, which called forth a burst of laughter from the whole group, and cries of 'Anglish, Anglish!' amidst which we rode off to join the remainder of our party, who were crossing the valley to the eastward, having intentionally deviated from the straight route; and although Sam used every effort to induce Gallegos to stop at the Indian encampment, the latter wisely determined to proceed about a league farther, knowing that a halt here would cause considerable inroad to be made in the stock of provisions, which, in view of the return journey, with perhaps an increased party, it was desirable to avoid. We accordingly left the sheltered valley and encamped on the plateau in an exposed situation near a lagoon, the ice of which had to be broken to secure a supply of water. The frost was keen, and the tent afforded but a partial protection from the biting wind; so that the economical foresight of our leader resulted in all the party spending the coldest night hitherto experienced by us.

During the evening we were visited by several Indians, [431] bringing presents of ostrich and guanaco meat. I was pre- 574 sented by the soldier with a piece of the gizzard (the tid-bit), which he had cooked on the end of his ramrod; but I must confess I did not appreciate it at the time, though later on in my journey I learnt to relish this and other strange delicacies. Amongst the Indians who gave us the benefit of

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574 [551] their company this evening was 'Pedro el Platero,' mentioned in Mr. Gardener's mission book; also an old squaw rejoicing in the name of 'La Reina Victoria' (Queen Victoria), who was the occasion of much chaff, my Chilian friends declaring I ought to salute the sovereign of the Pampas in due form; but having obtained a charge and a light for her pipe, all she required, she was soon lost sight of in the dark. We gladly left the camp early the ensuing morning, the cold continuing unabated; the wind blew strong in our faces, and though from the northward, was so keen that Sam and myself kept galloping on and kindling fires at intervals.

133 Thus we rode on over a tract of country surpassing in desolation all the districts hitherto traversed. As far as the eye could reach stretched a level waste unrelieved by even an eminence or hollow; the aspect of the low withered shrubs, coarse parched grass, and occasional patches of pebble-strewn ground which for thirty miles wearied the eye with dreary sameness, produced an extraordinary feeling of depression, which was afterwards recalled when journeying through the Travisia, bordering on the Rio Negro, which this district resembles, though on a smaller scale. Occasional frozen lagoons, doubtless supplied by rainfall, only added to the desert aspect of this trackless wilderness. The situation was not improved by Sam pulling up and remarking that he was by no means sure that he had not lost himself. The only variety was afforded by an unlucky fox which we chased till he escaped, as he thought, on the ice of a lagoon, but the treacherous surface gave way, and poor Reynard, after a vigorous struggle, sank out of reach of a lazo. At last, about two o'clock, the desert terminated in a cliff rising from the valley at our feet, and we looked down upon the winding river of the Santa Cruz.

Having waited till the rest came up, we descended by a gorge to the valley, when, after refreshing ourselves by a drink of water, we struck into a trail which followed the river downwards. We were all in high spirits at the prospect

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tracks of many horses, but his known character as an incorrigible liar made his statement valueless. Still everybody became at last convinced that the Northern Indians were at war with the Araucanos, and consequently preparations to fight were commenced. After a watchful night, all fires out, and silence strictly observed, all armed, and mounting their best horses, sallied out. After a while the cause of the whole disturbance turned out to be Arica, who had wandered for eleven days on foot, following our track, subsisting on birds' eggs, and narrowly escaping the pumas, though he had been more than once attacked by them in broad daylight, and had killed one with his knife, his story being vouched for by the boots he had contrived to manufacture out of his deceased enemy's skin. He looked worn and haggard, his feet were sore, and he told me that another night would have finished him. The Indians, who—owing to his desertion and subsequent pursuit of us—had been kept on the alert all night, without fire, and prohibited from conversing, were naturally indignant, and wanted to kill him. But Casimiro and Orkeke interceded for him, and he was brought back to the toldos behind another horseman. Casimiro, *apropos* of these signal fires, related to me a curious story, as follows. 'Many years ago, when I was quite young, I was travelling a few leagues to the northward, under my mother's charge. The party encamped near a large lagoon not far from the Sengel river, and were occupied in hunting in the neighbourhood. On several days in succession smoke was observed in different directions, which approached nearer and nearer each time. Being naturally supposed to be caused by the Indians, it was answered, and scouts were at last sent to ascertain the cause, as no messengers appeared. They returned, however, stating that they could discover nothing. At the end of four days an Indian, tall, gaunt, and emaciated, mounted on a very thin *mule*, arrived in the camp, and asked for a chief whose name was unknown. The stranger was taken, as is customary, to the chief's toldo, and his mule turned loose; but,

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574 164 strange to say, it never moved from the spot where it was unsaddled, and the Indian during the time he remained in the toldo neither ate nor drank. At the end of three days he mounted his mule, which appeared as fresh as when he arrived, and rode away to the northward. On the following day, whilst hunting, a sickness struck the Indians—some falling dead from their horses, while others, though able to return home, only survived a short time. As is usual when [361 disease breaks out, the toldos were removed to some distance 751] from each other, to escape infection, but many men, women, and children died.' Of the fact that a plague or sickness did cause the death of many Indians within a few days at some encampment in these plains, I received further and reliable confirmation, my informant, who was in the party, stating that the Pampa tribe was decimated.

133 In the cliffs above the river on the eastern side of our encampment I observed many balls of sandstone of various sizes. On breaking one in two, a piece of what seemed to be ironstone formed a nucleus, around which layers of sand appeared to have been aggregated. By what process these balls could have been formed was to me a mystery; but they proved very handy for bolas, only requiring to be slightly reduced in size. Hunting to the westward from the encampment, we came across several muddy, or rather clayey bogs, into one of which, when in full pursuit of an ostrich, I rode, and my horse sank deep, throwing his rider a complete summersault; and with much ado I first picked up myself, and then with greater difficulty extricated my horse from the tenacious morass.

000 After Arica's return, the Chilians manifested a restless spirit, and frequently asked me the direction of the Chupat settlement. I replied that it lay about 150 leagues to the E.N.E. from this point, as far as I could judge; but that it would be better for them to remain with the Indians, and do the women's work of providing wood and water, &c., than to start off into a wild and dreary pampa, where they

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621 only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and
221 for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of
439 mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the
622 Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three
231 head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still
291 also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos,
411 chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we
574 were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the
[431] cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One,
727 however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards,
525 and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

622 Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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[136] thickness of the wood they escaped. Some of the Indians
137 took the opportunity to cut fresh poles for the toldos. The sight of woods and trees was so refreshing that I spent several days consecutively among them, very often alone, or with one companion. Nobody, except a sailor after months on the sea, can imagine the pleasure of wandering under trees to one who had passed so long a time in the barren and monotonous plains. The weather, however, still continued wet and inclement. On the 5th of December,
202 some of us wandering on the heights above, made out smoke to the N.E., and Campan went off at speed on horseback to reconnoitre. He returned towards nightfall very drunk, and riding straight to our toldo, proclaimed that El Sourdo, the Indian left behind in Santa Cruz, had arrived at a place close to us, bringing grog in two small barrels, and letters for me: when he had delivered his news, he, with some difficulty, dismounted without coming on his head; then produced a bottle half full of rum from under his mantle, which he dispensed to the attendant company.

● 574 Our toldo was soon crowded, and it was proposed that on the following day we should march and meet the visitor, all being eager for a drink. Accordingly, on the morrow we started, in a storm of sleet and rain, and prepared to hunt *en route*. While hunting, just after Jackechan and myself had killed an ostrich, the former perceived a single toldo, which he knew must be El Sourdo's, so we galloped towards it, accompanied by two other Indians, and were received with open arms by El Sourdo and his two wives,
574 Jackechan being a very old friend. We were made to sit
273 down, and the olla, or boiling-pot, was brought out by the two wives, who acted as Hebes by producing the rum, with which our host filled the pot, and dispensed the liquor in a pannikin. One of the wives then produced my letters, which proved to be from Mr. Clarke and Don Luiz P. B., the schooner having arrived on October 5, all safe. El Sourdo then gave me all the news verbatim—how a fight had taken

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place at the settlement between Gonzalez and Antonio, in 574
which the latter had been killed or mortally wounded, and 273
the former had escaped to the Pampas, but had subsequently been captured and taken as a prisoner in the schooner to Buenos Ayres; and other news of trivial importance. Meanwhile the grog was fast disappearing, and the pot had to be replenished. This in turn was about half-emptied by the time the other Indians and women arrived, and Jackechan, very inebriated, was vowing eternal friendship to me, while Tchung was howling in my other ear a lovely Tehuelche ditty. As I had drunk in moderation, I thought it about time to clear, so, on the plea of looking after my horse, retired and re-read my letters, which any one may imagine, although not coming from my relations, were of great interest. After my departure no more liquor was given away, El Sourdo selling two bottles for a young horse or a [437]
silver-sheathed knife, so that he soon found himself a rich man. By midnight all the liquor was exhausted and many drunk, but no disturbances occurred worthy of mention, all arms having previously been stowed away safely. I was roused from my first sleep by a lady from a neighbouring toldo, who wished to embrace me, and, with feminine curiosity wanted to know the contents of my letters. She was, I am sorry to say, in an advanced stage of intoxication, so after giving her a smoke, Orkeke, who had roused up and was dying of laughter, politely showed her the door. Most of the party went out hunting in the morning, the ride no doubt proving beneficial to those suffering from headache, though little game was killed; but the Sourdo, whom I had joined in a morning bowl of coffee, remained at home, as his horses were very much used up, one of his boys going on a friend's mount to procure meat. For four days after this 782
drinking bout we did nothing but slaughter and eat mares, somebody's child having been slightly hurt in some manner. Although I have read in various books that the Indians have a religious festival at which mares are slaughtered as a

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was where I came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches term it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women, similar to the poncho, except, instead of two parts with an opening for the head to pass through, it consists of an entire piece. It was perfectly new, having been just completed by his daughters.

After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lenketrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Cheoeque—A Mounted Parlemento—Apples and Piñones—Graviel's Madness—Las Manzanas—Cheoeque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolutions of Peace—A Grand Banquet—Power of Cheoeque—Araucanian Customs—Farewell Presents—Invitation to Return—Orkeke's Generosity—Return to Geylum—Outbreak of an Epidemic—My Pretty Page—Departure from Geylum.

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THE day after our arrival at Geylum, Manzaneros or Araucanians arrived from the north with cider of their own manufacture stored in sheep skins, apples, and piñones, to trade; and a scene of debauchery ensued, as usual. At night an attempt, nearly successful, was made to rob our toldo: one of the women, however, was awake, and heard the thief endeavouring to get into the back of the sleeping places where some newly-finished mantles were stored; she gave the alarm to two of the men, and they endeavoured to catch the would-be intruder, who, hearing the alarm raised, started off at speed, not without receiving a cut from a knife which marked him deeply on his shoulder; and, what was worse, being recognised as he ran off.

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Foyel invited me to drink at his expense, but I merely stayed in his toldo long enough for the observance of

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Cheoeque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Cheoeque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of those Indians.

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carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

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the public during the preparation of these pages for the press, and to which reference will be made in the ensuing chapter. Jackechan, after the return of his messenger, proceeded to Margensho, in the vicinity of which he met the parties under Teneforo, Patricio, Antonio, and other petty chiefs. These all united, and, sending into Patagones, obtained liquor and other stores, with which, as before mentioned they had a drink for ten days, but no quarrels or fights took place—a fact which redounds to the credit of the chiefs. After waiting a month for our party, they, owing to the scarcity of game, had come by easy stages to this place (Trinita). Jackechan then explained that the first toldos were those of the Pampa Indians, under Teneforo and Champayo, the former being absent in Patagones, getting his rations of animals; his Indians are pure Pampas, and are often called Kerekinches,* or armadilloes, for some reason unknown to me. Some of them are in the service of the Argentine Government, and liable to be called upon by Linares, chief of the tame Indians. The remaining toldos were those belonging to the Indians under Antonio and Patricio, who were composed of mixed Tehuelches and Pampas. The two encampments were situated about half a mile apart, separated by a winding stream, in some places concealed by most unusually high reeds. The position was entirely surrounded on the eastern, southern, and western sides by high rocky eminences; but to the north the valley apparently continued for some miles; its breadth was about three miles, and everywhere in the vicinity of the stream, which in some places had overflowed its banks and formed a marsh, the most luxuriant pasture was growing.

On returning to Patricio's toldo, I formally asked for the necessary horses to prosecute our journey, but was refused on the grounds of his having none to spare; so we determined, as our horses showed symptoms of fatigue and one was lame, to give them one day's rest before proceeding. We passed

* Quirquincho.

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574 the following day with our friends, and I made acquaintance with the petty chief Champayo, for whom I wrote a letter requesting a ration which was due to him. He was very civil, and presented an Indian to me named Luiz Aguirre. This man had been brought up in Patagones, whence he had received his names, his parents, I believe, having been killed. He was a very intelligent man, and had formerly been in the troop of Linares, but had left disgusted with the quarrelling and generally mutinous state of those Indians, and taken to the Pampa, where he could live a free and happy life with his wife—at least so he affirmed.

After we had taken various matès together, Champayo, on my mentioning the cause of our not proceeding that day, said, 'Your people shall not want for horses. I will supply them, and send Luiz Aguirre in with you, and you can give him the answer about my ration.' I afterwards visited, at his own request, the cacique Antonio, for whom I also wrote a letter requesting that his ration should be sent to him at the Guardia of Sauce Blanco, as, owing to having lost his troop of horses in a storm, he could scarcely reach the Upper Guardia. This was true, as at the first toldos we had visited in the neighbouring valley in Trinita we had been informed of Antonio's loss, which was most probably a gain to our well-dressed bandit friend; but he had some enemies on the road to Patagones, which was the real reason of his not going as far as the Upper Guardia.

After dinner, having asked me all about our proceedings, he commenced to give me advice as to what I should do on arriving at Patagones. He assured me that I should get employment readily, but especially cautioned me against drink, as the commandante disliked drunkards, and would not encourage them!

At a late hour I retired to Patricio's toldo, and coiled up in one corner. The next morning we were getting our horses ready for a start, when a boy galloped into camp with the news that people were coming in from Patagones.

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Everybody at once mounted and went to escort in the new arrivals, who proved to be Teneforo himself and two of his followers. They had brought a hundred head of horses and cattle as far as Valchita, two days' journey from Trinita, and had left them there, bringing on with them only some liquor and yerba, which were at once unloaded. After I had been presented to the newly-arrived chief, who hailed me as a brother, and honoured me by a place among the four caciques, who, pannikins in hand, walked round the lances in due performance of the ceremony of blessing the liquor, already described, the drinking commenced.

When the people arrived the sun had just risen, and by ten o'clock, most of the liquor, which consisted of some gin and caña, or white rum, had disappeared. Many of the Indians were intoxicated, but all after a merry, good-tempered fashion, which it had never been my luck to see before. After imbibing freely enough with my numerous friends—who, if it had been left to them, would have made me as drunk as themselves—I mounted my horse, and after a bathe amongst the tall reeds on the borders of the stream, returned to the toldo, where I found the aged Patricio singing to himself in a very maudlin state. By sundown all were sober again, and Patricio imparted to me that he intended himself to proceed with us, as well as some other friends, his wife, and two or three other women, but that we were to travel by the lower route, which, though longer, was easier and safer than the shorter and upper road, where the thorns grew higher and thicker: the latter is usually selected in summer, when water is scarce, of which at this season there was no danger.

The following morning, bidding adieu to Antonio, Champayo, and Jackechan—whose ration I had promised to procure—we started, eleven men and four women, taking plenty of horses, besides a troop of mares for an Indian called Hernandez, settled near the Guardia Chica, the mares being intended for the purpose of treading out his crop of corn.

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there the river, sweeping to the northern side, leaves a wide 484
rincon, or expanse of rich alluvial ground. This is con- 133
sidered as belonging to the Indians, some of whom are always to be found encamped near the rancho, which belonged to the cacique El Ingles, and three toldos were pitched in its vicinity.

We presented to the chief his wife, whom we had brought 574
with us, and I was warmly welcomed as a relative, the cacique being a nephew of Quintahual. This chief derives his name from his alleged relationship to some one or other of the officers of Fitzroy's surveying expedition, so that I was doubly welcome in my English and Indian character. Here we camped amongst the pajas, or pampa grass, and, 252
having been presented with a mare and some pumpkins, soon had a good fire blazing and meat and pumpkins cooking; these latter being dressed by cutting them in halves, taking out the seeds, and filling the interior with hot ashes, and then placing them on the ashes, the result being, at all events as it seemed then to my taste, delicious. I wished 484
to proceed direct to the Guardia, but as Patricio and the others put it off till the morrow, in my ignorance of the road and usages of the place, I was forced to 'do at Rome as Rome does.'

A good wash in the river was one of the first things indulged in, and the enjoyment of getting rid of several days' accumulation of the dust and mud of the travesia can be better imagined than described.

The following morning, before daylight, we all bathed in the river, and, after taking maté with the cacique El Ingles, and a warm by the fireside after sleeping in the frosty night air, we prepared to visit the Guardia. Casting off the Indian mantle, I assumed the usual dress of an Englishman of the period, shooting-coat, &c.; and having been provided with fresh horses by our friend, half an hour's gallop brought us to the north bank, opposite the Guardia—not, however, without misadventure, for as we made our way along the narrow,

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574 After a little delay I was ushered into the Sala, where the two wives of the chief were sitting sewing. The usual matè was served, and I waited long in vain for the chief, who was away collecting his followers for an intended pursuit of some of Calfícura's Indians, who had recently driven off cattle from the valley.

177 At last I bade good-night to my fair hostesses, and summoning my companion, who had been taking matè in the kitchen, set out to return. We had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards, when the tramp of approaching horsemen was heard, and my companion enjoined strict silence, for fear of 'accidents,' and reined up our steeds under the shadow of some trees till we heard the people pass. When their voices had died away in the distance, we proceeded, and resumed our conversation, in the course of which he informed me that it was unsafe to meet people at night in this vicinity unless when well armed. I rather opened my eyes at this, and moralised considerably on the benefits conferred by civilisation on Indian races. At Chaloupe's toldo I found Antonio
574 Linares, brother of the chief, who had brought with him a bottle of brandy, over a glass of which I told him my business, which he promised to forward, and after a nightcap he left in search of more boon-companions. This young fellow
[291] was very well dressed in cloth ponchos and chiripas, leather boots and clean linen, and wore a revolver in his belt. He playfully informed me that he had been in search of some one he had quarrelled with all the afternoon, and would have shot him if he had found him.

574 Mrs. Chaloupe made me up a luxurious bed with ponchos and my own saddle gear, and indeed all the inmates of the toldo showed me the greatest civility.

000 At an early hour in the morning I started on my now jaded horse in the hopes of seeing Linares, but on arriving at his house was informed that he had already left for Carmen, to have an interview with the Commandante, Señor Murga.

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great. I saw myself 1,000 head of cattle pass on their way to Ronque, and Checoque was expecting 1,200. The cattle were brought down from the Tandil by purveyors, whose business must be as lucrative as that of the American army contractors; for the Indians are sometimes when sober, or oftener when intoxicated, induced to part with their newly-acquired possessions for a mere trifle, and the cattle, reverting to the dealer's hands, thus do duty over again as a ration perhaps to the same cacique. Thus the Indians benefit but little, while the Government pays a large amount, and the purveyors and other agents grow rich, Indians and Government being esteemed apparently as lawful and natural pigeons, to be plucked by any safe means.

The Commandante's reply had been duly forwarded to Casimiro, together with some liquor and presents for my friends; and the morning following my return from the country I was awoke early by a knock at the door, and on opening it found five or six Tehuelches who had made their way over the river to my quarters. After giving them a maté, we all proceeded to the store, and I gave one or two some small presents. Among these first arrivals was my friend Jackechan, the cacique from the Chupat, who confided to me that he had been very drunk the night before. The Tehuelches had not, however, waited till they reached the settlements for an opportunity of abandoning themselves to the pernicious enjoyment of 'lum.' It soon came out that their delay at Valchita had been necessitated by a prolonged debauch on liquor procured from the Guardia. Casimiro had of course set the example, and the drink had, as usual, also led to quarrelling, which resulted in a general fight; several had been killed, including Cayuke, so often mentioned as a staunch friend; and I was greatly grieved at being unable to get any accurate tidings of my Herculean comrade the good-natured Wáki, who had, beyond doubt, been killed at the same time.

Such common occurrences were little regarded by my visitors, all of whom were caciquillos, and whom I presently

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dismissed rejoicing, with a promise to visit them on the south side in the evening. But my troubles had only just commenced. All day long Tehuelches kept arriving, and not knowing what to do with themselves, followed me about wherever I went, much to the amusement of some of my acquaintances.

In the evening I crossed to the other side, and remained for the night with my old hosts. All were in a great state of delight, as their rations were to be given them without delay—the yerba, sugar, and spirits from Aguirre's stores, and the cattle and mares from the Guardia in front of Sauce Blanco. Old Orkeke, who had not expected to receive rations, had been allowed, in consequence of my urging his claims, the same as other minor chiefs, and was consequently in high delight.

They were, on the other hand, very dissatisfied at the extremely low prices which their feathers and peltries had realised, and abused the dealers very roundly as a lot of rogues. False weights and other tricks of trade had been freely employed to cheat the Indians; and the storekeepers also charged exorbitantly for necessaries supplied to them. Their custom is to bivouac in the yards or corrals at the back of the stores, where they light fires and cook as in their own country, and pay in the end as dearly for their accommodation as if in a West End hotel. I delighted the heart of Mrs. Orkeke by presenting her with a long-promised iron pot and a shawl; and to Hinchel's son I gave a promised pack of cards, and to the children raisins, sweets, or bread.

Jackechan's wife and daughter, who had always showed me great kindness, I took into the store, and told them to choose whatever they fancied most; whereupon they both, without hesitation, selected two small bottles of scent to put on their hair. I must remark, *en passant*, that all this family were exceptionally clean in their habits and persons, and I promised, if I returned to Patagonia, to travel in their toldo, as I had then some idea of journeying by the sea-coast to

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche SR5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:178) reported that the *Alaculuf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:182) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–179; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:182), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Feye*, p. 150); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1833, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–186). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 256) contrasted with Araucanian etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toilet cleanliness;

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252 In the hunt not less than pumas were killed, which were, as usual at this time, very fat, and were duly boiled in the iron pots, furnishing an excellent supper, the meat closely resembling boiled pork. 576 During the day seven of the Chilians were missed, and on our arrival at the toldos, it transpired that they had determined to try and find their own way to the Chupat settlement; and as they had left in an underhand manner, which the Indians look upon as tantamount to a declaration of war, some of the people wished to pursue and kill them, but this 133 proposition was overruled by Orkeke and Casimiro. The en- [136] campment was sheltered by a hill named 'Téle,' close to a large lagoon covered with waterfowl, into which flowed a beautiful spring issuing from the hill; along the margin of the clear pure water grew a profusion of a sort of green cress, and at sunset flights of flamingoes (Phœnicopterus tgnipallo) and rose-coloured spoonbills (Platalea ajaja) came to the lagoon to feed. One day's hunting was done in the surrounding plain, which to the west presents several of the remarkable drops, or basin-like formations described by Darwin as existing on the eastern side of the Cordillera. On October 5th we broke up the camp and marched in a northerly direction, until a stream of considerable size was arrived at; this some of us crossed at once, although it was deep and the banks rotten and unsound. The women and remainder of the party diverged to a ford, old Orkeke sending one of the Chilians to take care that his little dog (on whom he lavished his paternal affections) did not get wet. In half an hour's time the whole party—Ako included—had crossed in safety, and the camp was pitched on a peninsula between this river and another which joined it lower down. The united streams may or may not form a tributary of the Chupat, as the Indians disagreed on this point, some averring it to be so, others stating that the river flowed into a large lagoon. The weather had changed into drizzling rain, and the wet and sloppy state of the toldos was very disagreeable. It 291 did not, however, much affect our clothing, as it is easy to

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CHAPTER IV.

HENNOKAIK TO TECKEL.

Ceremonial of Welcome—Hinchel's Indians—Tehuelches and Araucanos—Jackechan and the Chupat Tribe—My Examination—Encampment at Henno—Peaceful Occupations—The Oldest Inhabitant—Chiriq—The Hidden Cities—Modern Legends—Mysteries of the Cordillera—Los Cesares—La Ciudad Encantada—Its Whereabouts—The Indian Cesares—The Guanaco—The Patagonian Ostrich—Neighbourhood of Chiriq—Horseracing—Indian Horses—Indian Dogs—Dog and Lover—Plaiting Sinews—Windy Hill—Surrounded by Fire—Young Guanaco—Arrival of Grog—News from Santa Cruz—Gisk—Romantic Scenery—A Pleasant Neighbourhood—Fairy Glen—Breaking a Horse—Female Curiosity—The Wild Cattle Country—The Forests of the Cordillera—The Watershed—Among the Mountains—Wild Flowers—A Bull Fight—The Bull Victorious—No Christmas Beef—Teckel—Change of Quarters.

AS we were whiling away the next forenoon in fishing and disporting ourselves generally in the water, smoke was described at various points to the westward, and about two P.M., the head of the heavy column of women, children, and innumerable horses came into view on the northern side of the valley. All instantly repaired to the toldos, accoutred ourselves, and got up the horses in preparation for the arrival of the visitors; the meeting of any number of Indians after a separation being recognised as an affair of considerable importance. Shortly after our horses were caught and saddled, and, indeed, before some of our party were ready, the men who had been hunting *en route* appeared, and the ceremonial of welcome was duly observed.

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[p. 113]

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576 Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and [537] down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Koue' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, [537] each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

621 These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel,
221 usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro
439 and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the
622 settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

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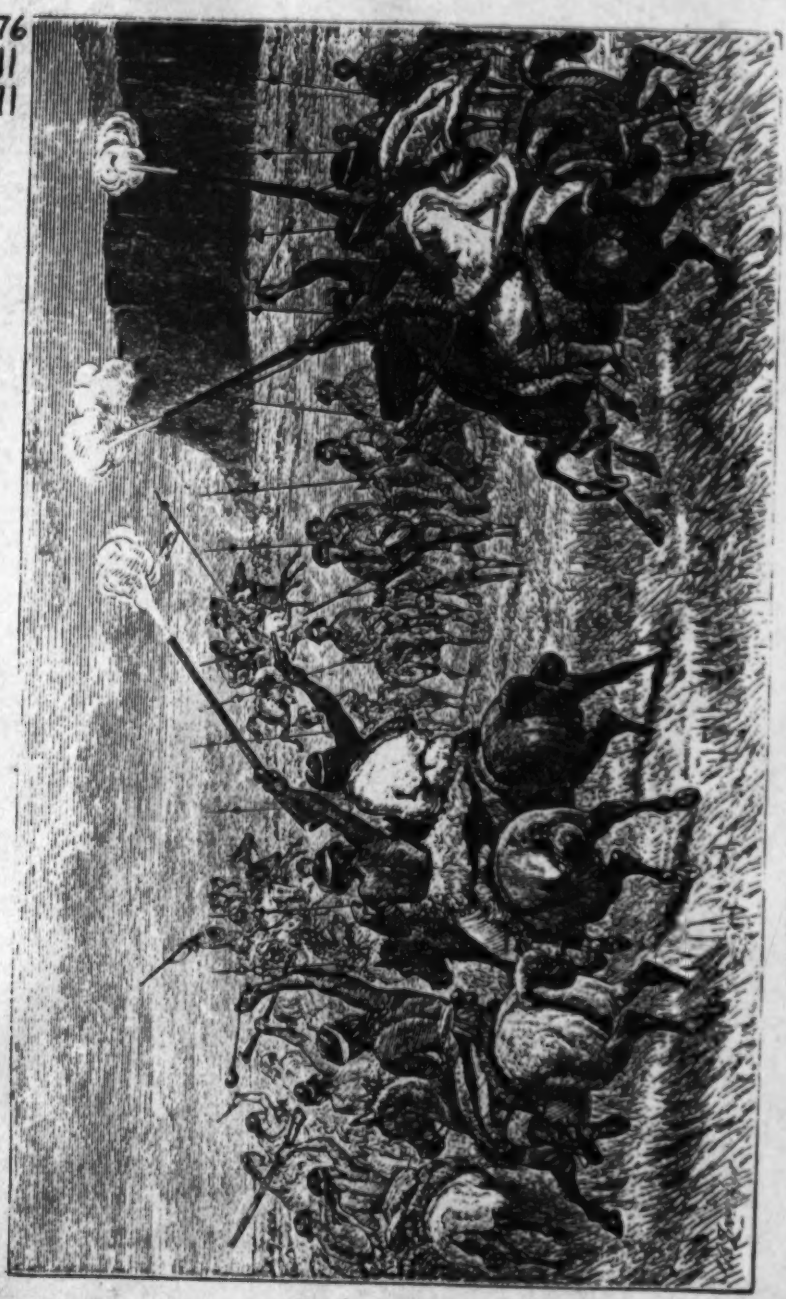

CEREMONY OF WELCOME (TEHUELCHES AND ARAUCANIANS).

[facing p. 115]

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Christmas time of my life: to parody the 'Ancient Mariner,' it was 'Cattle, cattle everywhere, and never a bit of beef.' The following day was spent in the toldos, and some of the Indians were desirous, or pretended to be, of going once more in search of cattle. Orkeke would not hear of it, so on the 28th we marched, following the course of the river in a more or less north-east direction. The weather was beautiful, and after leaving the plain we rode along the winding valley, now and then starting a herd of guanaco or a solitary ostrich. Towards evening we encamped on the banks of the river, and the women, after pitching the toldos, employed themselves in grubbing up potatoes. This day we saw smoke to the north, caused by the hunting-parties of the other Indians, and also some at a greater distance, which Orkeke said was that of the Araucanian Indians, whom it was expected that we should shortly meet with.

On the 29th we were preparing to march, and while the women were engaged in lading the horses some of us were picking the berries of the 'Califata,' or barberry (Berberis buccifolia), or looking for strawberries, when a boy, from a party of other Indians occupying the toldos near at hand, rode up as if despatched as a chasqui, and stated that his party had communicated with the Araucanians, amongst whom there had been a row in a drinking bout, resulting in the death of the cacique. This story was fully believed, and Orkeke was rather perplexed, as perhaps the new cacique might not be friendly disposed towards the Tehuelches. Without hunting, we rode quietly down to the next encampment, where the two strange toldos had already arrived. On our near approach one of the Indians came to meet us, and whilst discussing a pipe, after the observance of the usual ceremonial prescribed by etiquette (as we had not seen the man before), we asked him about the row amongst the Araucanos, which turned out to be all a hoax on the part of the promising youth who had visited us. After a while we

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621 words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly
622 express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gownok,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yank,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is ob-
[576] served between them; one chief being prohibited by custom from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of
[606] etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching
202 one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke
576 of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches coêto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, were he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

181 It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

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position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended. The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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our toldo in due form amidst a curious crowd, all eager to look at him, while he preserved a grave and stolid demeanour. After the usual ceremonious formalities, he sat down, and by means of an interpreter stated himself to be a son of Quintuhual, a chief residing at present about four marches to the north. His father had with much pleasure received the courteous message sent by Casimiro, and it would give him equal gratification to welcome the Tehuelches; but he signified a desire first to meet Casimiro alone. This the latter monarch did not appear to see in the same light—if I may be allowed the expression—as it seemed to forbode no good intentions; but he replied evasively, and thus the colloquy terminated.

This Indian was about the middle height, dressed in coloured ponchos, with a silk handkerchief round his head. His features were regular, with restless sparkling black eyes, and complexion about the same as that of the Gauchos of the Rio de la Plata. He wore his hair cut short, and his general cleanly appearance afforded a strong contrast to the flowing locks and paint-bedaubed bodies of the Tehuelches.

Giving up my sleeping-place to him, we soon made him at home, and, after he had had some dinner, we proceeded in company to watch the dancers, who were vigorously stepping out round the fire in front of the mandil tent. Here we were joined by Jackechan, whose knowledge of the Araucanian language enabled us to maintain a conversation. Presently, by particular request, I joined Golwin (White) and two others in the dance, coming out in full costume of ostrich feathers and girdle of bells, and properly painted, to the great delight of the Indians. My performance elicited general applause; and at last all retired for the night, myself taking my saddle-gear and sleeping under a bush near the toldo.

After a delicious breakfast of fried fish, cooked most skilfully by Meña, we prepared to march again, the chasqui bidding us farewell for the present, and by nine A.M. the

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about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheoeque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagones, and the Chilian war with the Indians

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484 search of an hour they were found, having wandered in search of better water, and, wiser than ourselves, found out a spring about two miles to the east.

The sun was up before we got away, after warming and eating the last of our food, which we had cooked overnight it was dry and dusty, and all the washing in the world could not have got the grit out of it; however, we laughed over it, saying we would soon have a bottle of wine to wash away the dirt from our throats. One thing we congratulated ourselves on was being well provided with tobacco, and although we boasted no pipe, mine having been lost at a previous encampment, Casimiro's correspondence with Foyel and Cheoeque, which I had carefully kept, provided us with
484 cigarette papers. We rode on accordingly, rejoicing, and
133 passing out of this wooded country traversed a succession of high pampas, set with small blocks of granite exactly resembling paving-stones, and placed as thickly and regularly as if paviors had been at work. The appearance of a London street undergoing repair brought this singular formation vividly to my mind. These pampas terminated in waterworn cliffs thickly strewn with stones, and as our horses scrambled like cats up the slopes, their hoofs sent the stones clattering down, and they found it hard to keep their footing. At the foot of the cliffs were watered valleys, and whilst descending into one of these valleys I noticed for the first
[137] time the algarroba thorn, which was in fruit. There were two sorts, one with black fruit, which Nacho warned me not to touch, as it was poisonous, the other bearing yellow pods,
[262] which though somewhat dry, as the season was so advanced, we plucked and ate as we rode along, the taste proving something between tamarinds and peach.

576 Near a lagoon in one of these valleys we halted for a few minutes, and on pursuing our journey espied a horseman with a troop of led horses approaching from the opposite side. I had halted for a moment and saw my companions rein up, and racing up to know the cause, observed him. When within

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200 or 300 yards, all halted; and Nacho rode forward, and 576
ceremonious explanations ensued, followed by formal introductions. He was a Pampa Indian outward bound to join those mentioned as having passed us eastward of Margensho; he gave us news that Jackechan's, Teneforo's, and other Indians were in a place called Trinita, some four hours' gallop only distant. When he found that I was 'Anglish,' he spoke in high praise of my countrymen whom he had met in Rio Negro.

This man was a perfect picture; he was splendidly mounted, and had a troop of horses all as good as the one he bestrode. He was well dressed in ponchos and white drawers, and wore a silk handkerchief round his head. Over his saddle was a poncho containing, as we supposed, a store of yerba, flour, or other luxuries, and he had a bold, careless, good-humoured face, with restless eyes; altogether he gave one an idea of the imaginary generous bandits one reads of in novels, and to make the character complete it turned out afterwards that he had almost certainly stolen the horses from Trinita.

After five minutes' conversation, we started in opposite 484
directions, and our party pressed on at speed. From the steep hill above the valley we saw, to our joy, the smoke of hunting parties apparently not far off. However, it was four o'clock when we arrived in the vicinity of the fires in a green pastured valley. From one of the two toldos pitched there, a man emerged with a matè pot in his hand and a bombilla or reed used for imbibing matè, like straws for sherry cobblers, in his mouth. As these people proved not to be the Indians we wanted, after saluting him we galloped on, and crossing the valley, where we had to jump our horses over a brook, ascended the opposite hill. A new growth of [137]
bush growing sixteen feet high, with long switches like osiers, forced itself unpleasantly on our attention, as, when riding fast, they sprang back into one's face in the most painfully annoying manner. On the hillside we overtook and passed

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484 a caravan of women travelling in the same direction as ourselves, and from the summit of the range saw in the valley below two different groups of thirty or forty toldos each, about half a mile apart. Galloping on we arrived, about 484 five P.M., at the nearest tolderia; but on inquiring for 576 Patricio, to whom we had been directed to go by Casimiro, found that he belonged to the others, to which we proceeded, and were duly received, our horses, &c., taken care of, and ourselves ushered with all ceremony into the presence of Patricio (a half-bred Pampa and Tehuelche). After the hour's etiquette of answering questions, we were each given one rib of a guanaco to eat. I was so hungry that I could have eaten a dozen at least, so, on the plea of washing, started off to look for Jackechan's toldo, which I shortly found, and was received with open arms by my friend and El Sourdo. After his 'missus' had given me some food, followed by the luxury of a matè with sugar, Jackechan related his proceedings subsequent to leaving our party.

203 After a few days' march in the direction of the Chupat, he came across some cattle, which were caught and killed, and then, whilst in the same spot, he despatched the messenger to Chupat with the letter, who returned in fifteen days with an answer, but without any stores.

The letter, carefully wrapped in a piece of old linen which had served as the envelope to my own epistle, was ceremoniously handed to me by the light of a blaze produced by some grease thrown upon the fire. I read and interpreted the contents to Jackechan. The writer—Mr. Hughes, if I recollect rightly—expressed his pleasure at hearing of my safety, but regretted his inability to forward any stores or clothing, as the supply in the colony was extremely scanty, owing to the non-arrival of the ship with Mr. Lewis Jones on board, which had been expected for some months. It need scarcely be said that I had been quite unaware of the privations endured by these unfortunate colonists, which the despatches of Commander Dennistoun have made known to

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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it? I should have had no appetite for the dinner of an alderman at such a time and place; but as for tasting meat that came in such a questionable shape, there was no bringing my teeth or resolution to it. While eying it with ill-suppressed disgust, I observed the savages, like a horde of half-starved dogs, devouring their portions with the greatest relish; seizing the fragments with their fine white teeth, at the same time clenching them with their hands, and giving every sign of enjoyment *except* what one is accustomed to see in human beings. The old chief remarked the slight I was putting upon his hospitality, and broke in upon me with a fierce *Por que usted, no munge usted, usted carna? Esta carna mucho bueno hombre por munge, se hombre, munge!* "Why don't you eat your meat? This meat very good to eat, — very good to eat. Eat, man! eat!" I may here observe that my knowledge of Spanish, like the chief's, was colloquial; picked up here and there in voyages to South American ports, which may account for my orthography being so plainly determined by the ear rather than by any rules of Castilian grammar. Seeing him so much excited, and not knowing what deeds might follow his words if I refused, I thought it expedient to *try* to "eat what was set before me, asking no questions;" thinking, moreover, that if there were any evil spirit in it that the fire had failed to expel, it could not possibly have resisted the smoke. So, being sorely divided between aversion to the "strange flesh" and fear of showing it, I forced a morsel into my mouth. Its taste was by no means as offensive as its appearance had been unpromising, and I managed to save appearances with less disgust than I had feared. This was my first

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consultation of the chief, which, he assured me, would have to be conducted with great pomp. During our talk, Casimiro narrated all his adventures after quitting the toldos. He had travelled so fast, knowing that he would probably be pursued, that on the fifth day his horse broke down, as for two days previous he had seen smoke from some encampment to which he was by this time close, though he was uncertain whether it was that of his friends or not. He left his Chilian companion, and proceeded to an eminence to reconnoitre. During his absence the Chilian fell asleep; the grass caught fire and surrounded the sleeping man. The Indians—Hinchel's people—attracted by the smoke, came down and rescued him, all his clothes having been burned off and his body severely scorched. Having heard his story, Hinchel at once sent a party to search for Casimiro. When the latter saw the five mounted Indians approaching, wrapped in their ponchos, he was uncertain if they were Araucanos or Tehuelches, and drew his revolver, prepared to pick them off in detail; but soon, to his great relief, he recognised in the leader a relation of his own. He also told me that when Hummums, our chasqui, arrived, he was entertained by some friend of his own, to whom, in the evening, he boasted that he and his friends had killed all the Christians in their camp. This story was at once carried to Hinchel and Casimiro, who inquired if 'Muster' had also been killed; to which the tale-bearer unhesitatingly replied that he had. Hinchel, who had previously heard all about the English visitor from Casimiro, was furious at what he considered a grave breach of hospitality, and issued orders forthwith to apprehend the chasqui, and to mount and make ready to avenge my supposed death by killing Orkeke and all his party. Hummums, however, when interrogated as a prisoner, in great terror declared that 'Muster' was safe, and that no one had any idea of killing him, and then the storm blew over. But this account, which was confirmed by the report of the chasqui, accidently overheard by myself,

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577 prepared me to meet Hinchel with feelings of friendliness towards a chief who had evinced so keen a sense of the care to be taken of a stranger who had confided himself to Indian hospitality; and the impression of this chief's character then formed, was fully confirmed on further acquaintance with him.

133 The two following days our route lay through a succession of rather barren valleys, bordered by ranges of high hills, everywhere strewn with rocks and boulders, and having a very gaunt and weird appearance. The valleys generally contained good pasture on either the northern or southern side of the streams which flowed down every one; but away from the vicinity of the water the soil was sandy, with low bushes scattered here and there.

On November 2, about two P.M., we arrived at a pass or gorge above the rendezvous at Henno. The view of the valley below was very refreshing; green grassy plains stretched for some miles, with a beautiful silvery stream running down the centre. But, much to our disappointment, no signs of Indians were visible; so we descended, and after bathing in a pool, and waiting until the toldos were pitched, lighted a big signal fire, which was shortly answered to the westward, and a messenger was immediately despatched who returned towards nightfall with the intelligence that the expected people would arrive next day; and we had to reconcile ourselves to another night of anxiety, being not at all certain as to the reception to be expected from the new comers.

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Schmid—has usually been assigned to them. They certainly 181
do not deserve the epithets of ferocious savages, brigands of the desert, &c. They are kindly, good-tempered, impulsive children of nature, taking great likes or dislikes, becoming firm friends or equally confirmed enemies. They are very naturally suspicious of strangers, but especially those of 646
Spanish origin, or, as they term them, Cristianos. Nor, considering the treatment—treacherous cruelty and knavish perfidy—experienced by them at the hands of the invaders and colonists alternately, is this to be wondered at.

In the southern part of the country, their frequent intercourse with sealers on the coast has rendered them favourably disposed towards Englishmen. This remark, of course, does not extend to the northern Tehuelches, who have not the same opportunities.

In my dealings with them I always treated with fair- 577
ness and consideration, and my few belongings—although borrowed at times, according to their mutual way of acting towards one another—were taken the greatest care of; thus an Indian would frequently ask to look at my arms, and, after examining them, would carefully return them to me. During my whole stay amongst them I only lost two articles: the first, a flint and steel, was, I have reason to believe, stolen by one of the Chilians; the second was a pair of ostrich balls, which were abstracted from the toldo. The Indians, although honest enough as regards each other, will, nevertheless, not scruple to steal from any one not belonging to their party. Thus, when they enter the colonies for trade, they will pick up a stray horse in the most natural manner; and in Santa Cruz, Gravisi and others constantly pilfered iron nails and small articles. With regard to their truthfulness, my experience was as follows. In minor affairs they nearly always 577
lie, and will invent stories for sheer amusement; thus, 522
Mrs. Orkeke came to me whilst in Teckel with the news that Casimiro's wife was dead. My remark was, 'And a good riddance too!' which was received with a burst of laughter,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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577 522 ahd the information that she was as alive as ever, only her eyes were bad. I could cite many other similar instances of romancing on the part of the Indians. Old Orkeke I never caught out in a direct lie, and he always, when informing me about any subject, added, 'I do not lie.' In anything of importance, however, such as guaranteeing the safety of person, they were very truthful, as long as faith was kept with them. After a time, when they ascertained that I invariably avoided deviating in any way from the truth they left off lying to me even in minor matters. This will serve to show that they are not of the treacherous nature assigned to them by some ignorant writers. Nor are they habitually cruel, even to slaves or captives. The Chilian deserters were always well housed and fed, and lent horses to ride; and nothing but their incurably bad dispositions and constant plots brought on them a fate which, in truth, could hardly be thought ill-deserved, whereas the few good ones of the party rose into high favour.

273 152 For my own part, I felt far safer among the Tehuelches, as long as they had no drink or no fights, than I subsequently did in the Rio Negro. Of course when they are drunk their passions become unbridled; they remember old feuds, and at times will fight for mere fighting's sake. It is not necessary, however, to go so far as Patagonia to observe this. The 593 152 finest trait, perhaps, in their character is their love for their wives and children; matrimonial disputes are rare, and wife-beating unknown; and the intense grief with which the loss of a wife is mourned is certainly not 'civilised,' for the widower will destroy all his stock and burn all his possessions: thus Paliki, before the death of his wife, was a wealthy Indian; but when I knew him he was poor and reckless, having destroyed all his property, and taken to gambling and drinking in despair at his loss. Casimiro even declared that his son Sam—whom I certainly should not have suspected of disinterested affection for any human being—had ruined himself, and become careless of his life, after his wife's death.

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drink, as the first free allowance was stopped, and in a short time many were in an advanced stage of intoxication, amongst whom was our head chief. The terms of barter were a mantle or unbroken colt for two bottles of villainous Valdivian rum, which was, as the Tehuelches agreed, a very exorbitant price; but inasmuch as the dealers left it free for them either to go without or pay up, the liquor was soon finished and the merchants possessed of some eighteen new mantles and a good number of mares and colts. The artful Tehuelches, however, during the evening night, stole back a portion of the mantles, an disembogged the Araucanians about the horses, professing not to be able to catch them. Everything went on quietly until about three P.M., when a fight took place, but the combatants were disarmed. From this up to eight P.M., Quintubrul, Orkoke, and many of the people who had kept sober, were occupied in quelling disturbances, Casimiro being as bad as any, and sending for his gun wherewith to shoot some imagined enemy, which I fortunately intercepted, and after plugging up the nipples hid it behind the toldo. There was little sleep to be obtained till nearly morning, when the inebriated ones laid down anywhere and everywhere to sleep off their potations. The following morning Casimiro awoke with a bad headache and bad temper, and commenced talking about something that had been said to him the previous day, on which I informed him that he must have no shame left in him to get so intoxicated, and that no Indians could respect a chief who was the first to set an evil example by wishing to create a disturbance, while Quintubrul had remained sober, taking care of his people as became a chief, and that he (Casimiro) should have done the same. This raised the ire of the ancient monarch, who answered in a most impolite manner, so much so, that to avoid a row I left him to his bad head and quitted the toldo till he should be in a better frame of mind. Shortly after this little episode we broke up the camp and marched a few miles to the north. Having been detained by a missing horse, I did not start with

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civilised appearance of these Indians. We passed several very hungry and disagreeable days in Geylum previous to starting; there was little game in the surrounding country, and the weather was cold and wet, with occasional snow. For two whole days Casimiro, Moña, and myself, who were usually messmates, had nothing to eat but an armadillo and a few fish which I caught in a pool of the stream. Near the Column Rock, whilst hunting, we discovered a 'cache,' belonging to Foyel's Indians, which contained something wrapped and lashed up in hides: although the temptation was great to overhaul its contents, the package was left unopened, and a quiet warning conveyed to Foyel that others were not likely to be so scrupulous. This confirmed what Casimiro had said as to these Indians providently leaving bags of fat and provisions in various places to which they expected to return at no very distant period.

On the day fixed in the council, held subsequent to the return of the chasquis, we all started, fully equipped, on our journey to Las Manzanas, mustering 250 men of the united Indians, without toldos or baggage, and in light marching order with a few spare horses. A few horses were loaded with coverings for toldos, mantles, &c., which the women hoped to sell to advantage to the Araucanians, and a few of the women accompanied the expedition to conduct their barter, while a guard of perhaps forty men remained behind to provide food for the women and children who were to await our return.

We crossed the gradually sloping irregular plains covered with stunted bushes, but scarcely deserving the name of high pampas, which bordered the northern side of the valley of Geylum, and after passing between two parallel walls of rocks, forming a sort of natural street, we emerged into a succession of grassy plains, separated by barren rocky hills covered with scrub, on attaining the summits of which the wooded Cordillera on the western side rose into view some few leagues distant. About eleven A.M., after we had been

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

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133 sheet of water from the melting snows. Lake Viedma lies some miles to the southward from the head of the valley, and I should be inclined to think that the course of the Rio Chico, which undoubtedly flows from it, would be found to come from the south to north, and bend easterly at the head of the valley, where it unites the numerous streams as described by Viedma in his journey in 1580. I am also inclined to think that Viedma being taken twice across the Rio Chico mistook the river at the second crossing for another, which he has marked as the Chalia, a name, by the way, unknown to the Indians, save as applied to an unsavoury parasite only too common among them. The following morning, September 2, we were sitting quietly round the fire discussing a breakfast of boiled ostrich prepared by the lady of the house, when suddenly the clash of knives was heard, and we saw two Indians, destitute of mantles, with naked swords in their hands, run across from Camillo's to Crimé's toldo. In a minute everything was in an uproar; arms were produced, guns and revolvers loaded, and some of the Indians equipped themselves in coats of mail, and others, with the assistance of the women, padded themselves about the chest and upper part of the body with thick blankets and corconillas or saddle-cloths. Knowing what was about to happen, the women, and with them all the Chilian deserters, except one, beat a retreat to a safe distance from the toldos. Having assumed my arms, and feeling thoroughly mystified as to the real cause of this excitement, I went to Camillo's toldo, where the scene explained itself. He was lying on his bed dead, with a frightful gash in his side, having been murdered by Cuastro, one of the Indian whom we had seen running to Crimé's tents. On issuing from the toldo Casimiro met me, and asked for a revolver, as he had no firearms, and I lent him one accordingly. The Indians showed by their changed countenance all the fury of fight; their very complexions seemed ghastly, and their eyes glared and rolled, seeming to see blood. The two opposing parties.

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the Southern Indians—friends of Crimè, who was a cousin 578 ●
of Cuastro—and Orkeke's and Casimiro's people, or the Northern party, were soon ranged in open line at some twenty yards distance from each other. Cuastro was conspicuous by his tunic or 'buff coat' of hide studded with silver, while his only weapon was a single sword or rapier. The fight commenced with an irregular discharge of guns and revolvers, which lasted a few minutes, till some of the Northern or Orkeke's Indians, led by Casimiro, closed up, and a hand-to-hand contest with swords and lances took place, resulting in the death of Cuastro and the severe wounding of two or three Southern Indians. The Northerns then drew off to reload, and were about to renew the action, when Tankelow proposed a truce, which was accepted on the understanding that both parties were to march at once in the same direction. The women and children were then recalled from the bushes whither they had retired, the horses brought up, and the dead buried. The Tehuelches' lance is [H]
entirely different to that of the Araucanos or Pampas, and is only used when fighting on foot; it consists of a heavy shaft eighteen feet in length, at the extremity of which a blade is fixed about eighteen inches long, constituting a most formidable weapon in the hands of an expert Indian. Cayuke, whom I have before mentioned, in this fight was armed with the lance, and ran Cuastro through the body, although protected by his mail and endeavouring to parry the point with a sword. This Cuastro was a brave man; when dying, with several bullets in his body, and several lance thrusts, he sprang up to his full height and called out, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me;' his wife then rushed up to him crying and sobbing, but he fell down dead at the same moment. Casimiro had a narrow escape; he parried a blow of a sword with what may be termed the slack part of his mantle, but if the blow had caught him on the head, as intended, it would have ended his career then and there. The casualties were a wound in Crimè's leg, and

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576 a lance thrust clean through the thigh of Hummums, a young Indian, who seemed to care very little about it. The fight
628 originated out of a vendetta between Cuastro and Camillo, the latter having some years before caused the death of a member of the family of the former, who had on a previous occasion endeavoured to avenge it on Camillo, and he had only attached himself to our party, in company with Crimé, in order to obtain an opportunity of assassinating
674 Camillo. This Cuastro had been suspected on good grounds of making away with Mendoza, the Argentine sent from Buenos Ayres in company with Casimiro, and who mysteriously disappeared; and he had certainly, when under the influence of rum, at Santa Cruz, murdered his own wife Juana, a daughter of Casimiro, so that brave as he was he had richly deserved the fate he met with.

578 After the obsequies of the dead had been hurriedly performed—a description of which is reserved for another place—the tents were struck, and all marched off, the men remaining armed, and each party travelling separately. Cayuke was sent back some miles to ascertain if there were any signs of the other Southern Indians, who were half expected to overtake us; but he returned some hours later with no intelligence. We marched a few miles up the valley, rather coasting the northern hills, and encamped by a most beautiful circular spring, the water bubbling up through pure white sand and forming a tiny brook, while little fishes darted across in the basin. The Indians still remained with arms ready to hand—were very silent and ate nothing. Several of the Northerns came into our toldo towards evening, and remained a long time conversing by the embers of the fire, and ever and anon one of the widows of the deceased would break out into a wail of lamentation, sobbing in the most dismal and melancholy manner, the lament at times being taken up by some of the older hags.

On the following day Crimé sent for me to dress his leg, imagining, of course, that I undertook surgery; so I washed

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the wound and bandaged it with cold water bandages, which 578 ●
appeared to be successful, as in a few days it inconvenienced him but little. Thence proceeding to Casimiro's toldo—the smallest I ever saw—I got him to cover my saddle with a guanaco skin I had obtained on the road. The children appeared to be the only members of the party unaffected by the prevailing gloom. They had found a snow-bank in a nook, and amused themselves sliding down it on a bit of wood *à la Russe*. This evening things looked very black again. A consultation was held in Orkeke's toldo, and although it was carried on in a low tone, and I was little conversant with the Tehuelche tongue, I heard my name frequently mentioned in connection with a revolver, and also the Chilians. I was much puzzled at what was going on, but as Mrs. Orkeke brought me some supper in the most gracious and smiling manner, did not trouble myself more than to overhaul my arms quietly, and see they were ready for use. I subsequently found out that a plot had been set on foot amongst the Chilians to rise, rob, and murder the Indians, and escape with the horses. Some, however, my informant among the number, refused to join. The Indians, who are naturally quick-sighted, had conceived a suspicion that all was not right, and were debating whether it would not be better to kill the Chilians at once, before they became more troublesome; but Casimiro prevailed on them to let them remain until they did something to necessitate their destruction; and so they escaped for the present.

September 5th, at an early hour, we were awoke by 133
Orkeke's marching harangue; and after coasting the hills bordering the valley for a few miles, bade adieu to the valley of the Rio Chico, and struck into a gorge of the northern hills, leading into an uneven valley lying between low irregular hills of decomposed lava, which we followed, passing several small lagoons in the lower hollows, around which there was invariably a yellow description of clay. The hills were everywhere covered with scrub, and presented a wild,

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would inevitably starve without a knowledge of the route or guides.

During our stay here I nearly fell a victim to a matrimonial entanglement. A fair young Indian, whose hair cut across the forehead denoted widowhood, moreover having several mares and considerable possessions, to whom I had perhaps paid some slight attention, proposed that I should set up toldo with her. This was quite out of my programme of the journey, but inasmuch as the alliance might prove useful, as well as agreeable, and feeling lonely in the absence of any particular friend, I half agreed; so a go-between was despatched to arrange the dowry, and it was settled that I should give a revolver in exchange for two horses to be provided by the fair one's friends. However, the evening before the happy day on which we were to have been united, the alarm came, and as she belonged to the Southern Indians, I thought better of giving up my arms; so I assigned as a reason for withdrawing from my bargain, that I did not wish to leave my friend Orkeke's toldo. I have no doubt that her people, desiring the help of my firearms, had suggested the match to secure me to support their side. The lady at first was rather disgusted, but soon got over it, and we remained on our former friendly terms.

In this encampment two disagreements occurred between Indians and their wives, which were the only matrimonial squabbles that came under my notice during my wanderings in their company. One occurred between Tankelow and his spouse in our toldo. It began by Tankelow's striking his daughter, which his wife angrily resented; from words they came to blows, and the squaw was getting rather the best of it, when Mrs. Orkeke interposed with a strong arm, and forcibly put a stop to the disturbance.

The following day Tankelow drove his horses off separately, but towards evening a reconciliation was effected. On the 3rd of October we left Gelgel-aik and marched west in the face of a bitterly cold wind. In the hunt not less than seven

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employed to stroll about and practise. Besides their use, my practical training had enabled me soon to acquire the art of manufacturing them, and our many idle hours were employed in plaiting ostrich sinews, so that I contrived t fit up an extensive assortment, some of which I used to barter for tobacco. The weather during our stay here became worse, rain, sleet, and gales of wind prevailing; and the toldos, from the continuous rain and the marshy nature of the ground, became so wet and wretched as to be almost uninhabitable, so that we marched on the 16th over a level pampa—smoke to the eastward being observed and duly answered during the journey. We encamped at night on the north side of a small rapid stream, in a place called 'Pelwecken,' situated a league from the wooded river, the trees of which were visible from the encampment. I here saw a new game played by the Indians which resembled that known amongst schoolboys as 'knucklebones,' being played with small stones in lieu of the bones, and heavy stakes were lost and won on the chances. On Sunday, the 17th, the Indians started to hunt in the vicinity of the wooded river, and Casimiro proposed that I should accompany him to the woods to cut poles for the toldos, and timber for working saddles. Orkeke, however, for some reason or another, recommended me to stay quietly in the toldos; and as advice is sometimes almost the same as a command, I acquiesced, although longing to enjoy a close view of a tree again after so much wandering over the treeless pampas. As the day was warm and fine, I strolled down the river in search of the eggs of the upland goose (Chloephaga magellanica), yellow-billed goose (Cygnus coscoroba), and other water fowl, and returned about two P.M. with plenty of spoil. The women were superintending the cooking of some of these, when one of them rushed into the toldo and cried out that the Indians were returning and a fight had taken place. A glance at the coming horsemen was at once sufficient to convince us that she was right. They came galloping back by twos and threes, swords drawn,

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578 mantles hanging off their shoulders, and their faces glowing with fury. They at once proceeded to get their guns and revolvers to renew the fight. Orkeke, however, arrived and made a long speech, and ultimately quiet was restored. One man—a brother of Camillo—had been killed and left on the pampa. The sister of the deceased was frantic at his death, and, arming herself with a knife, attempted to avenge him; but she was soon stopped, disarmed and quieted. The deceased was armed with a six-shooter, and his assailant had only a sword; one shot missed him and the next barrel missed fire, whereupon he closed and ran his adversary through the body. Casimiro returned shortly after the remainder, and when he heard of the fight and the result, was for some time eager to renew it and avenge the slain man, who was a relation of his own, but at last yielded to Orkeke's arguments.

000 The following day the smoke to the east appeared pretty close, and, when we had marched on a little, two young men were despatched in its direction with private instructions from Orkeke, and we proceeded to the wooded river, where we luxuriated for a short time under the shade of a description of birch tree, and then forded the stream, which is of considerable width and very rapid. The Indians declared

136 that it was impossible for any man to swim across the river in the deeper portion below the ford, on account of some ferocious beasts which they termed water tigers—'Tigres de l'agua'—which would certainly attack and devour any one in the water. They described them as yellow quadrupeds, larger than puma. It is certain that two ostriches, which, being too poor for use, had been left on the bank, were found by us next day in the shallow water, torn and half-devoured, and the tracks of an animal resembling those of a large puma were plainly visible leading down to the water; but a puma invariably drags its prey to a bush; and, though jaguar will take the water readily, I have never known one devour its prey except on land, nor, as far as I know, are they found so far south. The animal may be a species of the

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and sang out, 'Stop! Where are you going?' But, without making any reply, I galloped on, being not further interfered with, and soon joined my old friend. He then informed me that, being utterly disgusted with the late proceedings and general anarchy, he had determined to push forward by himself to meet the Northern Indians, leaving his wife and children under the charge of Cayuke. He therefore wanted the letters which I had written for him, and my own, which he undertook to forward at the same time. So I rode back to the toldos for the letters, which I carried to Casimiro without any one attempting to stop my way.

Having returned to the fire under the bush, I dismounted, and whilst cooking another egg, gave Orkeke a piece of my mind; quietly hinting that I carried ten lives about me. He assured me it was all a mistake, and had happened without any orders from him, the young fellows only wishing to try my mettle by way of joke. I replied that jokes of that sort were sometimes dangerous, and the subject was mutually dropped.

We encamped by the side of a stream, into which many of us soon plunged to take a refreshing bath, always a favourite enjoyment with the Tehuelches, who are powerful swimmers, and dive well. While resting here and sporting in the water a better state of feeling arose, and the mutual suspicion and discord which had so long prevailed was gradually forgotten. Casimiro had left, taking one of the Chilians; and his spouse told me, amid a torrent of abuse of her better-half, that he had gone through fear, the other Indians having determined to kill him; and she added that he had the heart of a skunk, a vulture, and an armadillo. These combined would make a very nice mixture. That he was right in making his escape at this particular juncture was very evident, for the next day two young men were sent out, ostensibly as chasquis or messengers, to look for the Northern Indians, but in reality to try and overtake Casimiro and dispose of him; however, they returned without any tidings of the wily old chief.

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Our camp at Chiriq presented quite the appearance of a town of toldos, and fresh arrivals were still expected from the S.W.; but the Indians of the latter party, with whom we had not yet made acquaintance, sent a chasqui with an invitation to Crimè to join their party, and a message that they would ultimately meet us at Teckel. Accordingly, Crimè, who was now rich in horses and gear, having received many presents, bid us adieu, and set off with an imposing cavalcade. Poor fellow! he had better have remained with us, as the sequel will show.

The weather during the first weeks of our stay in Chiriq was warm and fine, but latterly the wind veered round to the west, and it changed to sleet and cold rain, and the normal Patagonian climate. The humour of the Indians seemed as variable, for old Orkeke grew exceedingly jealous. Jackechan often used to lend me a horse on the hunting excursions, and Orkeke one day asked me in a sullen manner whether I wished to change my toldo, and go with my friend. My reply that I had no wish to do so at present quieted him for the time, and he immediately offered me one of his best horses for the next day, which was a real treat. I am afraid I rather abused his generosity, as we had a great day chasing large herds of guanaco, and with a racer for a mount, one was induced to ride furiously. On the 20th of November it was decided to break up the camp and divide into two parties to hunt, it being considered that our united numbers were too great for successful hunting in one place. When all were packing up and preparing to start, a row nearly broke out between two of our old party: indeed it was with the greatest difficulty, and only through the intervention of Casimiro, Hinchal, and two or three more, that blood was not spilt. Of course, if the fight had commenced between these two, such is the excitability of the Indians that it would soon have become a general battle. This, and a heavy shower of rain coming, prevented our march, so the women unpacked, and the horses were let go again. Some few Indians

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started to hunt, but came back shortly almost empty-handed, fairly beaten by the driving sleet and snow. During our stay most of us had refitted all our gear, and were well provided with bolas; many were the necks of guanaco stripped to obtain the hide for them, and for making 'manêos' (straps for securing horses' legs), whips, cinctas (girths), lazos, &c., &c. The work that I preferred was plaiting ostrich sinews for thongs for the ostrich bolas. The ostrich sinews are abstracted by dislocating the lower joint of the leg, the first sinew is then pulled out by hand, and the other drawn out by main force, using the leg bone as a handle. This bone is then separated from the foot, and the sinews left adhering to the foot; they are slightly dried in the sun, after which the extracted bone is used to separate the fibres by drawing it sharply up the sinews. When sufficiently separated, they are cut off from the foot, split into equal sizes and lengths, and laid in a moist place to soften; when sufficiently soft, they are made into thongs, cooked brains being used to make them more pliable, and lie better in the plaits. These thongs are plaited in four plaits (round sinnet) well known to every sailor, but the ends are doubled in a peculiar manner, which requires practice to manage well.

Before leaving Chiriq another disturbance was nearly taking place, caused by one of the Chilians quitting Tchang's toldo and joining that of a man commonly called Santa Cruz, an Indian well known at Patagones, and allowed a ration of mares from the Government. Tchang, immediately on hearing of his departure, put on his revolver and collared the Chilian's horse. To this Santa Cruz objected, but Tchang kept the horse, and, revolver in hand, defied anybody's claim to it. After this little incident the camp was broken up, and the two parties divided—Hinchel marching S.W. and our party to the N.W.

After a very cold and hungry march in the face of a bitterly piercing wind, we encamped on the shores of a lagoon of some extent, called 'Hoshelkaik,' which signifies 'Windy-

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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud, and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in which everybody joined. After dark, when many were sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the toldos, and yelling 'kow-w!' at each blow; firebrands being, at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking, the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect darkness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place, in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a general *mêlée* or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race-course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since leaving the Rio Sengel, was a regular beaten level track of about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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one else had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his *coury*, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast; then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The gay deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the rickety wigwam, under the effect of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the *contract* of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the *ceremony* is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the festivity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalizing my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-

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584 plenty of horses, and prove a highly eligible match for their daughter. The old fellow had been (for him) quite moderate, but this was too much. His rage completely mastered him. He rose up, seized the pappoose's cradle, and hurled it violently out of doors, and the other chattels appertaining to his daughter went after it in rapid succession. He then ordered her to follow her goods *instanter*, with which benediction she departed, responding with a smile of satisfaction, doubtless anticipating the promised luxuries of her new home, the vision of which, through the present tempest, fortified her mind against its worst perils. Leaving the lodge, she gathered up her scattered effects, and, accompanied by her mother, the bridal party disappeared.

593 The chief sat on his horse-skin couch, his legs crossed partly under him, looking sour enough. Presently the
● 578 bride and her mother returned, and now began the second scene. The chief no sooner recognized them than a sound — something between a grunt and a growl, but much nearer the latter than the former, and in a decided *crescendo* — gave warning of a fresh eruption. The rumbling grew more emphatic, and suddenly his fury burst on the head of his wife. Seizing her by the hair, he hurled her violently to the ground, and beat her with his clenched fists till I thought he would break every bone in her body, and reduce her substance to a jelly. Perhaps I was a little hard-hearted, but she had been one of my bitterest enemies, and I had a feeling that if some of her ill-will to me could be beaten out of her, I could be easily resigned to her fate. The drubbing ended, she rose and muttered something he did not like. He replied by a violent blow on the side of her head, that sent her staggering to the further end of the hut. This

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last argument was decisive, and she kept her huge mouth closed for the night. There was a silent pause for some minutes, and, without another word, we ranged ourselves for repose. I thought the old heathen's conscience troubled him through the night; his sleep was broken, and he appeared very restless. Early the next morning he went to the lodge of the newly-married pair, and had a long chat with them. They thought him rather severe upon them at first; but, after a good deal of diplomacy, a better understanding was brought about. The young people could hardly get over a sense of the indignities they had received; but in the course of the day they returned, bag and baggage, to the old chief's tent, and made it their permanent abode.

We now moved in a westerly direction, and on the way succeeded in capturing a good deal of game. Their mode of dealing with the carcass of the guanaco is enough to dissipate whatever appetizing qualities the meat — in itself very palatable — would otherwise possess. It was no uncommon circumstance, while the squaws were removing the hide, to see the dogs tugging at the other extremity, the women, meantime, crying out "Eh! Ah!" in a dissuasive, though not angry, tone. If the animals become too audacious, the ire of their mistresses is kindled, and they break out with "Casharan cashahy!" a phrase equivalent to that which, in English, directs its object to a region unmentionable in ears polite.

The Indians have, strictly speaking, no profane expressions. I never could learn that they worshipped or had any idea of a Supreme Being. The only observance which bore any aspect of religion was associated with something we

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492 the matter, put spurs to his horse, and told me to come on —"Bueno caballo, se campo, campo." I tried to comply, but it was hard starting the beast, though I used up considerable wood to that end. The chief having got far in advance, and finding me desperately in arrears, hove to, and waited for me. I toiled on, and succeeded in working a passage to his position. He dismounted, inspected the horse's feet, and, directing me to wait his return, rode off. He soon reappeared with a piece of guanaco-skin, which he tied securely about the hoof of the lame foot. I expressed some surprise at this method of shoeing horses; but he said, "Buenos zapatos,"— good shoes,— and the event confirmed his words. The lameness nearly disappeared, and we jogged on together without any further trouble.

593 While at this camping-ground, the chief one morning
•578 arose in a towering passion at some words let fall by one of his wives, and exhibited another sample of the rigor of matrimonial discipline, very similar to that which graced the nuptials of his daughter. He gave her a tremendous beating, which seemed enough to kill her outright; but she took it very calmly, as a sort of necessary evil incident to the married state.

484 Once more on the move, the squaws taking charge of the furniture and baggage, including the pappooses, and the men riding in advance as usual, to chase supplies for the larder. Game was scarce; we got a couple of ostriches and a skunk, — or a couple of skunks and an ostrich, I forget which, and it makes less difference to the reader than at the time it did to me. We cooked and lunched on the ground and turned our faces homeward with the scanty remainder The women were busy erecting the wigwams. The ground

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 592
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [519]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche 585

hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards. 526 525

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 80); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1903 a, and Fischer, 1908.) [533] 534

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1818, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1871, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100). 273 276

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20–22). 574 533 579

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe. 771

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 73, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1873, p. 303; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of them may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnes (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soyeken (*Tahuhet* and *Disiket*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer, 776

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

drink, as the first free allowance was stopped, and in a short time many were in an advanced stage of intoxication, amongst whom was our head chief. The terms of barter were a mantle or unbroken colt for two bottles of villainous Valdivian rum, which was, as the Tehuelches agreed, a very exorbitant price; but inasmuch as the dealers left it free for them either to go without or pay up, the liquor was soon finished and the merchants possessed of some eighteen new mantles and a good number of mares and colts. The artful Tehuelches, however, during the ensuing night, stole back a portion of the mantles, an disembogged the Araucanians about the horses, professing not to be able to catch them. Everything went on quietly until about three P.M., when a fight took place, but the combatants were disarmed. From this up to eight P.M., Quintuhual, Orkeke, and many of the people who had kept sober, were occupied in quelling disturbances, Casimiro being as bad as any, and sending for his gun wherewith to shoot some imagined enemy, which I fortunately intercepted, and after plugging up the nipples hid it behind the toldo. There was little sleep to be obtained till nearly morning, when the inebriated ones laid down anywhere and everywhere to sleep off their potations. The following morning Casimiro awoke with a bad headache and bad temper, and commenced talking about something that had been said to him the previous day, on which I informed him that he must have no shame left in him to get so intoxicated, and that no Indians could respect a chief who was the first to set an evil example by wishing to create a disturbance, while Quintuhual had remained sober, taking care of his people as became a chief, and that he (Casimiro) should have done the same. This raised the ire of the ancient monarch, who answered in a most impolite manner, so much so, that to avoid a row I left him to his bad head and quitted the toldo till he should be in a better frame of mind. Shortly after this little episode we broke up the camp and marched a few miles to the north.

Having been detained by a missing horse, I did not start with

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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united forming one of considerable width. Here, under the shelter of some trees, we halted and lit fires to warm ourselves, for the drenching rain had by this time thoroughly forced its way through our mantles. Whilst conversing and making as merry as possible under the circumstances, a messenger dashed up, splashed with blood, and with the effects of drink or furious excitement visible in his face. All crowded round to hear the news, and he shortly informed us that the party who had started to obtain apples on the previous day had met another party of Indians with liquor. A drinking bout ensued, and a quarrel occurred in which a man was killed; but the rest went on drinking, leaving the body outside, where the dogs made a meal of it. This so exasperated one of his comrades that he galloped off to Cheoeque, to whose tribe the party belonged, and the chief at once sent twenty-five horsemen to surround my cousins and demand payment for the death. This they refused to give, so a fight took place, in which four out of the five brothers and another were left for dead, with lance thrusts all over them, the youngest escaping on his own or somebody else's horse, after dropping four of the enemy who tried to intercept him, with a revolver brought by me from Santa Cruz. This was bad news for us, as we were bound to protect these people, who belonged to our united Indians. A consultation took place, in the middle of which Inacayal dashed up with a party all well armed with lances, in addition to their other arms. Foyel's people came next, eager for the fray; the Tehuelches, however, having an eye to business, in the way of bartering the mantles they had brought with them for trade, overruled the warlike ideas of these people, saying 'it was better to wait a little.' Meanwhile guns were loaded and arms got ready, and a party were being told off to proceed to the scene of the *mêlée* and pick up the wounded, when a messenger arrived from Cheoeque with proposals of a peace. I and the rest of the relations of those who had been killed, as we then supposed,

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

648 great. I saw myself 1,000 head of cattle pass on their way to Rouque, and Cheoeque was expecting 1,200. The cattle
648 were brought down from the Tandil by purveyors, whose
439 business must be as lucrative as that of the American army contractors; for the Indians are sometimes when sober, or oftener when intoxicated, induced to part with their newly-acquired possessions for a mere trifle, and the cattle, reverting to the dealer's hands, thus do duty over again as a ration perhaps to the same cacique. Thus the Indians benefit but little, while the Government pays a large amount, and the purveyors and other agents grow rich, Indians and Government being esteemed apparently as lawful and natural pigeons, to be plucked by any safe means.

273 The Commandante's reply had been duly forwarded to
579 Casimiro, together with some liquor and presents for my friends; and the morning following my return from the country I was awoke early by a knock at the door, and on opening it found five or six Tehuelches who had made their way over the river to my quarters. After giving them a maté, we all proceeded to the store, and I gave one or two some small presents. Among these first arrivals was my friend Jackechan, the cacique from the Chupat, who confided to me that he had been very drunk the night before. The Tehuelches had not, however, waited till they reached the settlements for an opportunity of abandoning themselves to the pernicious enjoyment of 'lum.' It soon came out that their delay at Valchita had been necessitated by a prolonged debauch on liquor procured from the Guardia. Casimiro had of course set the example, and the drink had, as usual, also led to quarrelling, which resulted in a general fight; several had been killed, including Cayuke, so often mentioned as a staunch friend; and I was greatly grieved at being unable to get any accurate tidings of my Herculean comrade the good-natured Waki, who had, beyond doubt, been killed at the same time.

574 Such common occurrences were little regarded by my visitors, all of whom were caciquillos, and whom I presently

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum. The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted, which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child, nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

I: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*. 372 [439]

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini. 114

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1873, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique. [836] 582 583 585 [771] 591

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate. 595

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for. 593 837 586 606 588

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 180). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 296) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard. [551] 576

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness; 575 356

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

583 but, as he seemed more communicative, I swallowed my
584 doubts, and questioned him further. "What does poor Indian say?"

"Says he'll steal plenty horses when we get where they are, and give the woman plenty of grease. Says he is a good hunter, good thief."

These high titles to consideration did not seem to be admitted by the party they were offered to conciliate; on the contrary, the chief pronounced him a sleepy mink-skin of a fellow, — no thief at all; one that would never own a horse in the world. This opinion, which he was good enough to favor me with, he communicated to the party chiefly concerned, telling him that he was a poor, good-for-nothing Indian, he should not have the woman, and that was the end of it. After a little more jabber, and abundance of wrangling, the mob dispersed, much to my relief. Satisfied, by further conversation on the subject with old Parosilver, whose triumph over the mutiny had put him into better temper than usual, that the affair did not imminently concern my safety or welfare, I lay down to rest.

582 In answer to further inquiries, — for I must plead guilty to a good deal of curiosity in respect of the poor Indian and his blasted hopes, — I was informed that without the chief's consent no marriage was permitted; that, in his judgment, no Indian who was not an accomplished rogue, — particularly in the horse-stealing line, — an expert hunter, able to provide plenty of meat and grease, was fit to have a wife on any terms. He never gave his consent for such lazy ones to take an extra rib; but, he very considerately added, all the difference it made was that some

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

one else had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his *coury*, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast; then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The gay deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the *cioloty* wigwam, under the effect of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the *contract* of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the *ceremony* is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the festivity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalising my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

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5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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"The men don't want to hurt you," he said; "Indian wants a girl for his wife; poor Indian, very poor, got no horses nor anything else. I won't give him the woman."

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These high titles to consideration did not seem to be admitted by the party they were offered to conciliate; on the contrary, the chief pronounced him a sleepy mink-skin of a fellow, — no thief at all; one that would never own a horse in the world. This opinion, which he was good enough to favor me with, he communicated to the party chiefly concerned, telling him that he was a poor, good-for-nothing Indian, he should not have the woman, and that was the end of it. After a little more jabber, and abundance of wrangling, the mob dispersed, much to my relief. Satisfied, by further conversation on the subject with old Parcsilver, whose triumph over the mutiny had put him into better temper than usual, that the affair did not imminently concern my safety or welfare, I lay down to rest.

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invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

would inevitably starve without a knowledge of the route or the guides.

During our stay here I nearly fell a victim to a matrimonial entanglement. A fair young Indian, whose hair cut across the forehead denoted widowhood, moreover having several mares and considerable possessions, to whom I had perhaps paid some slight attention, proposed that I should set up toldo with her. This was quite out of my programme of the journey, but inasmuch as the alliance might prove useful, as well as agreeable, and feeling lonely in the absence of any particular friend, I half agreed; so a go-between was despatched to arrange the dowry, and it was settled that I should give a revolver in exchange for two horses to be provided by the fair one's friends. However, the evening before the happy day on which we were to have been united, the alarm came, and as she belonged to the Southern Indians, I thought better of giving up my arms; so I assigned as a reason for withdrawing from my bargain, that I did not wish to leave my friend Orkeke's toldo. I have no doubt that her people, desiring the help of my firearms, had suggested the match to secure me to support their side. The lady at first was rather disgusted, but soon got over it, and we remained on our former friendly terms.

In this encampment two disagreements occurred between Indians and their wives, which were the only matrimonial squabbles that came under my notice during my wanderings in their company. One occurred between Tankelow and his spouse in our toldo. It began by Tankelow's striking his daughter, which his wife angrily resented; from words they came to blows, and the squaw was getting rather the best of it, when Mrs. Orkeke interposed with a strong arm, and forcibly put a stop to the disturbance.

The following day Tankelow drove his horses off separately, but towards evening a reconciliation was effected. On the 3rd of October we left Gelgel-aik and marched west in the face of a bitterly cold wind. In the hunt not less than seven

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1872

SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

On the present occasion the movement was delayed, while we rode in search of something to eat. The chase was unsuccessful, scarcely enough being obtained to more than sharpen our appetites for dinner. The scanty meal being over, the whole company began their journey, which in its tortuous windings was not unlike that of the Israelites in the wilderness, but unlike that in the respect that we seemed to have no particular destination or object, except to explore new hunting-grounds, and gratify the capricious restlessness of the Indians. One very desirable end was answered, — we got enough to eat, as we were successful in killing a large quantity of game. The Indians it was noticeable, were never at a loss to find their camps. So familiar did they seem with all their haunts and the general shape of the country, that though the surface presented to my eye scarcely any distinguishable way-marks, they would strike off from any point, however distant, and go with unerring aim straight to their tents. In returning laden with booty to our new home, I was surprised to observe no indications whatever of water in the vicinity, a singular departure, at first sight, from their invariable custom, so far as I had noticed. Very soon the squaws issued from their huts, each with her leathern bucket. Curiosity prompted me to follow them a little way, when a spring was discovered, from which they had to dip the water with their ox-horn cups till the buckets were filled.

About this time a new phase of life presented itself, to cast light on an important item of the social economy established in Patagonia. Looking out of our wigwam one evening just at dusk, I noticed an unusual concourse of Indians about two hundred yards distant. There were

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

•584 fifty or more, headed by one of the most ruffianly rascals in the tribe, marching in the direction of our lodge. I spoke to the chief about it, whereupon he went immediately to the back of the hut, and sat down on his little bed, his cutlass hanging beside him from a knot of one of the stakes. This he took down, laid it across his knees, and folded his arms. Something, I saw, was wrong. In anticipation of the worst that might befall me, I had found, a short time before, the handle of an old knife among the chief's trumpery, and also an odd blade; these I had put together, and the chief permitted me to carry it about my person, the only weapon he allowed me. I now planted myself on my knees beside him, and prepared to sell my life as dearly as possible, should the mob enter with evil designs towards me. The consciousness that I was in their power, and was sure to have the worst of any serious quarrel, made it my study to keep the peace with them as far as circumstances would admit; but there was a limit to my control of events, a very narrow limit, which I had constant reason to fear would be overborne by the impetuous hatred of my enemies, when nothing would be left but desperate resistance. Such a crisis seemed near, when the chief was himself reduced to a defensive attitude, and was indeed besieged in his own lodge.

The motley throng surrounded the hut, their numbers constantly swelled by fresh arrivals; some were squat upon the ground, others peeping through the crevices. Presently one of the number addressed the chief, and the two conversed for some time in a low and unintelligible, but decided and emphatic tone. The crowd outside ap-

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

one else had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his coury, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast: then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The gay deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the rickety wigwam, under the effect of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the *contract* of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the ceremony is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the festivity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalizing my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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564 rimonial transactions took place, accompanied by unusual solemnities. The rank of one party, and the extraordinary accessories of the occasion, will justify a particular notice of this "marriage in high life."

One evening, the chief, his four wives, two daughters, an infant granddaughter, and myself, were scattered about the lodge, enveloped in a smoke of unusual strength and density. While the others sat around as unconcerned as so many pieces of bacon, I lay flat, with my face close to the ground, and my head covered with a piece of guanaco-skin, the only position in which it was possible to gain any relief from the stifling fumigation. While in this attitude, I fancied I heard the tramp of many feet without, and a confused muttering, as if a multitude of Indians were talking together. Presently a hoarse voice sounded in front, evidently aimed at the ears of some one within, to which the chief promptly replied. I caught a few words, — enough to satisfy me that I was not the subject of their colloquy, but that there was a lady in the case, — and listened curiously, without any of the fright which grew out of the previous negotiations. The conversation grew animated, and the equanimity of his high mightiness the chief was somewhat disturbed. I cast a penetrating glance into the smoke at the female members of our household, to discern, if possible, whether any one of them was specially interested. One look was sufficient; the chief's daughter (who, by the way, was a quasi widow, with one hopeful scion springing up by her side) sat listening to the conversation, with anxiety and apprehension visible in every feature. Her mother sat near her, her chin resting upon her hand, with an anxious and thoughtful expression

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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of countenance. The invisible speaker without, it soon appeared, was an unsuccessful suitor of the daughter, and had come with his friends to press his claim. He urged his suit, if not with classic, with "earnest" eloquence, but with success ill proportioned to his efforts. The chief told him he was a poor, good-for-nothing fellow, had no horses, and was unfit to be his son-in-law, or any one else's. The outsider was not to be so easily put off; he pressed his suit with fresh energy, affirming that his deficiency of horses was from want of opportunity, not from lack of will or ability to appropriate the first that came within his reach. On the contrary, he claimed to be as ingenious and accomplished a thief as ever swung a lasso or ran off a horse, and a mighty hunter besides, whose wife would never suffer for want of grease. The inexorable chief hereat got considerably excited, told him he was a poor devil, and might be off with himself; he would n't talk any more about it.

The suppliant, as a last resort, appealed to the fair one herself, begging her to smile on his suit, and assuring her, with marked emphasis, that, if successful in his aspirations, he would give her *plenty of grease*. At this last argument she was unable to resist longer, but entreated her father to sanction their union. But the hard-hearted parent, not at all mollified by this appeal from his decision to an inferior tribunal, broke out in a towering passion, and poured forth a torrent of abuse. The mother here interposed, and besought him not to be angry with the young folks, but to deal more gently and considerately with them. She even hinted that he might have done injustice to the young man. He might turn out a smarter man than he had credit for. He might — who knew? — make a fine chief yet, possess

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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plenty of horses, and prove a highly eligible match for their daughter. The old fellow had been (for him) quite moderate, but this was too much. His rage completely mastered him. He rose up, seized the pappoose's cradle, and hurled it violently out of doors, and the other chattels appertaining to his daughter went after it in rapid succession. He then ordered her to follow her goods *instanter*, with which benediction she departed, responding with a smile of satisfaction, doubtless anticipating the promised luxuries of her new home, the vision of which, through the present tempest, fortified her mind against its worst perils. Leaving the lodge, she gathered up her scattered effects, and, accompanied by her mother, the bridal party disappeared.

The chief sat on his horse-skin couch, his legs crossed partly under him, looking sour enough. Presently the bride and her mother returned, and now began the second scene. The chief no sooner recognised them than a sound — something between a grunt and a growl, but much nearer the latter than the former, and in a decided *crescendo* — gave warning of a fresh eruption. The rumbling grew more emphatic, and suddenly his fury burst on the head of his wife. Seizing her by the hair, he hurled her violently to the ground, and beat her with his clenched fists till I thought he would break every bone in her body, and reduce her substance to a jelly. Perhaps I was a little hard-hearted, but she had been one of my bitterest enemies, and I had a feeling that if some of her ill-will to me could be beaten out of her, I could be easily resigned to her fate. The drubbing ended, she rose and muttered something he did not like. He replied by a violent blow on the side of her head, that sent her staggering to the further end of the hut. This

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

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1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche 585

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*. 372 [439]

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini. 114

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:132) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique. [836] 582 583 585 [777] 591

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:132), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate. 595

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for. 593 837 586 606 888

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1833, p. 190). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard. [551] 576

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness; 575 356

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum. The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted, which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child, nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow-bones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The same ceremonials is observed on the attainment of puberty 881
by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, 584 583
her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit; the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and 585
mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The [777]
head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as 595
many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other 764
animals are killed; his ponchos, if he possesses any ornaments, bolas, and other belongings, are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womenkind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of [765]
the horses is distributed amongst the relations; and the widow (who cuts her hair short in front, and assumes black paint) repairs bag and baggage to the toldo of her relations, if she has any, if not, to that of the chief. The body, sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, is taken away by some of the relations, and buried in a sitting posture with its face to the east, a cairn of stones being generally erected over the place. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's book; but as I never travelled much by the sea-coast, they may exist and be the burial places of some of the Pampa tribe.

A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard 782
to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[i.e. as for a newborn child. — Analyst]

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

one also had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his enjoy, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast: then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The coy deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the rickety wigwam, under the effect of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the contract of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the ceremony is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the finicrity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalising my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless
she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all
reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according
to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female rela-
tives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage cere-
mony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft
and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are
bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are
tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [442
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders
are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers
usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing
from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the
march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and
sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they
line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and
ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure
them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to
weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and supn, and governs
the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power
they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape
of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as
masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the
preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to
have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalesque, which
can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [70]. Each person who has one
of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those
belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get
out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance
upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 761
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, com-
pletely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [756]

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alcoolof* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*. 372 [439]

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini. 114

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:132) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique. [836] 582 583 585 [777] 591

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:132), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate. 595

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for. 593 837 586 606 588

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 190). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard. [551] 576

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness; 575 356

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 56

T 137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subA sequently lost with other specimens.

347 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche tolde to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the tolde; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintahual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his T desertion.

A 525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A T wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and A 526 another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

volcanic aspect, was named 'Ocrroé.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimé's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Cheoeque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche 6H5

342 414–418), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1923, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly
[372] closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open
[573] side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884,
592 p. 280) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended
596 family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did
621 not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1882, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:69; Nourt, 1908, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *c*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 38, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1937 b, p. 63; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 38, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

CHAPTER VI.

TECKEL TO GEYLUM.

Casimiro's Household—Cargo-kaik—Quintuhual's Son—Woolkein—Partridges—Meeting with the Araucanians—The Cacique Quintuhual—Eagel-kaik—Araucanian Belles—Communication with Chupat Colony—Diplaik—Calficura's Declaration of War—Tehuelches learn Fishing—My Indian Relatives—Woodland Rambles—An Indian Paradise—The Upper Chupat—Cushamon—Losing Horses—Official Functions—Message from Las Manzanas—Blessing the Liquor—Casimiro Intoxicated—Foyel's Encampment—Great Parlamento—Foyel's Ideas—Gatchen-kaik—Arrival at Geylum.

ON January 21 the word was given to march, and all the 621
united forces of the Tehuelches, numbering 200 men, with the usual allowance of women and children, prepared to advance to join the Araucanes. Ten toldos, forming Crime's party, lingered behind, in consequence of the continued sickness of this caciquillo, who, however, sent word that he would follow in our rear.

All the horses were in excellent condition, and it was with 592
great delight that I saw the immense cavalcade set out. Our family party in Casimiro's toldo included, besides the chief and his wife, sons, and little daughter Chingook, an old brother-in-law, Kai, nicknamed Chileno, and his wife and son Macho; and an old deaf and dumb woman of most repulsive aspect. The only good feature in Casimiro's character was his charity. He was always ready to afford an [736]
asylum to any destitute or infirm people, and his toldo was never without some such object of his pity. My honourable

[R 199]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended. The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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609 with my whole available force and weight; but the disparity between human strength and horse power, stimulated to its utmost by the spur, was too great. I begged the men in the boats to come again the next morning, and on no account to leave me, which they solemnly promised.

592 I was now hurried back into the country five or six miles, and at last reached an Indian village, and was set down by the old chief at his wigwam. He gave me in charge to one of his squaws, who ordered me into the hut and bade me sit down on the ground. While sitting there, and casting an inquisitive glance around the rude habitation, my attention was suddenly attracted to what appeared to be several pairs of eyes in a dark corner, shining with a strange brilliancy. I speculated silently on the sight, much doubting whether they belonged to human beings or to wild beasts; but, on carefully reconnoitring, I discovered that they belonged to three huge women. Further investigations disclosed a number of dark-skinned boys and girls, of divers ages and sizes, playing and capering about the premises, in a state of perfect nudity. [291] It took a considerable time to make out these, or any other objects, distinctly, owing to the darkness of the hut. Presently the chief, the patriarch of the tribe, entered his habitation, and began a conversation, in his peculiar [595] dialect, with his wives. He spoke in a low, guttural tone, in words the purport of which I could not gather. I was in no mood for conversation, but would have been much gratified by learning his version of the day's "stroke of business."

372 And now a few dry sticks and a bunch of dry grass were brought, mine host drew from a convenient repos-

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo-holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [78] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 582
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1782
Antonio de Viedma [81]

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 179) reported that the *Aleculaf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*. 372 [439]

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini. 114

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–179; 1873, p. 261). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique. [836] 582 583 585 [777] 591

Marriage was usually monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Pampa*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate. 595

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for. 593 837 586 606 [88]

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 160). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 236) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard. [551] 576

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness; 575 356

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would inevitably starve without a knowledge of the route or guides.

During our stay here I nearly fell a victim to a matrimonial entanglement. A fair young Indian, whose hair cut across the forehead denoted widowhood, moreover having several mares and considerable possessions, to whom I had perhaps paid some slight attention, proposed that I should set up toldo with her. This was quite out of my programme of the journey, but inasmuch as the alliance might prove useful, as well as agreeable, and feeling lonely in the absence of any particular friend, I half agreed; so a go-between was despatched to arrange the dowry, and it was settled that I should give a revolver in exchange for two horses to be provided by the fair one's friends. However, the evening before the happy day on which we were to have been united, the alarm came, and as she belonged to the Southern Indians, I thought better of giving up my arms; so I assigned as a reason for withdrawing from my bargain, that I did not wish to leave my friend Orkeke's toldo. I have no doubt that her people, desiring the help of my firearms, had suggested the match to secure me to support their side. The lady at first was rather disgusted, but soon got over it, and we remained on our former friendly terms.

In this encampment two disagreements occurred between Indians and their wives, which were the only matrimonial squabbles that came under my notice during my wanderings in their company. One occurred between Tankelow and his spouse in our toldo. It began by Tankelow's striking his daughter, which his wife angrily resented; from words they came to blows, and the squaw was getting rather the best of it, when Mrs. Orkeke interposed with a strong arm, and forcibly put a stop to the disturbance.

The following day Tankelow drove his horses off separately, but towards evening a reconciliation was effected. On the 3rd of October we left Gelgel-aik and marched west in the face of a bitterly cold wind. In the hunt not less than seven

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577 522 and the information that she was as alive as ever, only her eyes were bad. I could cite many other similar instances of romancing on the part of the Indians. Old Orkeke I never caught out in a direct lie, and he always, when informing me about any subject, added, 'I do not lie.' In anything of importance, however, such as guaranteeing the safety of person, they were very truthful, as long as faith was kept with them. After a time, when they ascertained that I invariably avoided deviating in any way from the truth, they left off lying to me even in minor matters. This would serve to show that they are not of the treacherous nature assigned to them by some ignorant writers. Nor are they habitually cruel, even to slaves or captives. The Chilian deserters were always well housed and fed, and lent horses to ride; and nothing but their incurably bad dispositions and constant plots brought on them a fate which, in truth, could hardly be thought ill-deserved, whereas the few good ones of the party rose into high favour.

273 152 For my own part, I felt far safer among the Tehuelches, as long as they had no drink or no fights, than I subsequently did in the Rio Negro. Of course when they are drunk their passions become unbridled; they remember old feuds, and at times will fight for mere fighting's sake. It is not necessary, however, to go so far as Patagonia to observe this. The ● 593 152 finest trait, perhaps, in their character is their love for their wives and children; matrimonial disputes are rare, and wife-beating unknown; and the intense grief with which the loss of a wife is mourned is certainly not 'civilised,' for the widower will destroy all his stock and burn all his possessions: thus Paliki, before the death of his wife, was a wealthy Indian; but when I knew him he was poor and reckless, having destroyed all his property, and taken to gambling and drinking in despair at his loss. Casimiro even declared that his son Sam —whom I certainly should not have suspected of disinterested affection for any human being—had ruined himself, and become careless of his life, after his wife's death.

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584 plenty of horses, and prove a highly eligible match for their daughter. The old fellow had been (for him) quite moderate, but this was too much. His rage completely mastered him. He rose up, seized the papposse's cradle, and hurled it violently out of doors, and the other chattels appertaining to his daughter went after it in rapid succession. He then ordered her to follow her goods instanter, with which benediction she departed, responding with a smile of satisfaction, doubtless anticipating the promised luxuries of her new home, the vision of which, through the present tempest, fortified her mind against its worst perils. Leaving the lodge, she gathered up her scattered effects, and, accompanied by her mother, the bridal party disappeared.

593 The chief sat on his horse-skin couch, his legs crossed
578 partly under him, looking sour enough. Presently the bride and her mother returned, and now began the second scene. The chief no sooner recognised them than a sound — something between a grunt and a growl, but much nearer the latter than the former, and in a decided crescendo — gave warning of a fresh eruption. The rumbling grew more emphatic, and suddenly his fury burst on the head of his wife. Seizing her by the hair, he hurled her violently to the ground, and beat her with his clenched fists till I thought he would break every bone in her body, and reduce her substance to a jelly. Perhaps I was a little hard-hearted, but she had been one of my bitterest enemies, and I had a feeling that if some of her ill-will to me could be beaten out of her, I could be easily resigned to her fate. The drubbing ended, she rose and muttered something he did not like. He replied by a violent blow on the side of her head, that sent her staggering to the further end of the hut. This

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last argument was decisive, and she kept her huge mouth closed for the night. There was a silent pause for some minutes, and, without another word, we ranged ourselves for repose. I thought the old heathen's conscience troubled him through the night; his sleep was broken, and he appeared very restless. Early the next morning he went to the lodge of the newly-married pair, and had a long chat with them. They thought him rather severe upon them at first; but, after a good deal of diplomacy, a better understanding was brought about. The young people could hardly get over a sense of the indignities they had received; but in the course of the day they returned, bag and baggage, to the old chief's tent, and made it their permanent abode.

We now moved in a westerly direction, and on the way succeeded in capturing a good deal of game. Their mode of dealing with the carcass of the guanaco is enough to dissipate whatever appetizing qualities the meat — in itself very palatable — would otherwise possess. It was no uncommon circumstance, while the squaws were removing the hide, to see the dogs tugging at the other extremity, the women, meantime, crying out "Eh! Ah!" in a dissuasive, though not angry, tone. If the animals become too audacious, the ire of their mistresses is kindled, and they break out with "Cashuran cashahy!" a phrase equivalent to that which, in English, directs its object to a region unmentionable in ears polite.

The Indians have, strictly speaking, no profane expressions. I never could learn that they worshipped or had any idea of a Supreme Being. The only observance which bore any aspect of religion was associated with something we

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the matter; put spurs to his horse, and told me to come on —"Bueno caballo, se compra, compra." I tried to comply, but it was hard starting the beast, though I used up considerable wind to that end. The chief having got far in advance, and finding me desperately in arrears, hove to, and waited for me. I toiled on, and succeeded in working a passage to his position. He dismounted, inspected the horse's feet, and, directing me to wait his return, rode off. He soon reappeared with a piece of guanaco-skin, which he tied securely about the hoof of the lame foot. I expressed some surprise at this method of shoeing horses; but he said, "Bueno aquetan,"— good shoes,— and the event confirmed his words. The lameness nearly disappeared, and we jogged on together without any further trouble.

While at this camping-ground, the chief one morning arose in a towering passion at some words let fall by one of his wives, and exhibited another sample of the rigor of matrimonial discipline, very similar to that which graced the nuptials of his daughter. He gave her a tremendous beating, which seemed enough to kill her outright; but she took it very calmly, as a sort of necessary evil incident to the married state.

Once more on the move, the squaws taking charge of the furniture and baggage, including the pappooses, and the men riding in advance as usual, to chase supplies for the larder. Game was scarce; we got a couple of ostriches and a skunk, — or a couple of skunks and an ostrich, I forget which, and it makes less difference to the reader than at the time it did to me. We cooked and lunched on the ground and turned our faces homeward with the scanty remainder. The women were busy erecting the wigwams. The ground

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife, although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de León (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them!]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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bravery ample proof will afterwards be given; but, like all drunkards, he was uncertain and not to be depended on. This veritable old Blue Beard informed me that he had been married six times; certainly, if all his wives were of the appearance and disposition of his last venture, it is not to be wondered at if he disposed of the former ones; for an uglier, dirtier, more contumacious old hag had never burdened the earth with her weight, owing probably to which latter quality, or quantity, she never, if she could possibly help it, quitted her room. Early in June, an Indian, known in Santa Cruz as El Sourdo, or the left-handed man, came across the river and pitched his toldo on the island. He was the husband of two wives, who lived together in perfect felicity and took care of one another's children. This Indian was, as most of them are, very ingenious in working wood and silver, and was a good addition to our hunting parties; he also quickly learned to play at brag. Casimiro would never descend from his lofty pinnacle of self-importance so far as to enter the kitchen when the general revels were held, but occasionally joined Mr. Clarke and myself at supper and sat telling stories for an hour or two.

The sketch of our life at Pabon would be very incomplete without asking the reader to accompany us on a hunting excursion; so I will describe one which took place after El Sourdo had arrived on the island. Game had become very scarce in our immediate vicinity, and our only farinaceous food was black beans varied by maize, which was too troublesome in the preparation to be much used. The meat went wonderfully quickly, so we determined to extend the sphere of the hunting a little more afield. Accordingly, one fine frosty morning at daylight, the horses were brought up, caught, and saddled, mantles and spurs donned, and eight of us, including the two Indians, Casimiro and El Sourdo, set off to make a circle, *i.e.*, enclose and drive an area of land on the southern shore of the river, finishing at the Missionaries'

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

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The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

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A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[i.e. as for a newborn child.—Analyst]

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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609 with my whole available force and weight; but the disparity between human strength and horse power, stimulated to its utmost by the spur, was too great. I begged the men in the boats to come again the next morning, and on no account to leave me, which they solemnly promised.

592 I was now hurried back into the country five or six miles, and at last reached an Indian village, and was set down by the old chief at his wigwam. He gave me in charge to one of his squaws, who ordered me into the hut and bade me sit down on the ground. While sitting there, and casting an inquisitive glance around the rude habitation, my attention was suddenly attracted to what appeared to be several pairs of eyes in a dark corner, shining with a strange brilliancy. I speculated silently on the sight, much doubting whether they belonged to human beings or to wild beasts; but, on carefully reconnoitring, I discovered that they belonged to three huge women. Further investigations disclosed a number of dark-skinned boys and girls, of divers ages and sizes, playing and [291] capering about the premises, in a state of perfect nudity. It took a considerable time to make out these, or any other objects, distinctly, owing to the darkness of the hut. Presently the chief, the patriarch of the tribe, entered [595] his habitation, and began a conversation, in his peculiar dialect, with his wives. He spoke in a low, guttural tone, in words the purport of which I could not gather. I was in no mood for conversation, but would have been much gratified by learning his version of the day's "stroke of business."

372 And now a few dry sticks and a bunch of dry grass were brought, mine host drew from a convenient repos-

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ous household, however, seemed to enjoy immense satisfaction; and jabbered and grunted, and played their antics, and exchanged grimaces, as complacently as if they breathed a highly exhilarating atmosphere.

My meditations and observations were shortly interrupted by preparations for a meal. The chief's better half — or rather fifth part, for he had four wives — superintended the culinary operations, which were as rude and simple as the hut where they were carried on. And now my fancy began to conjure up visions of the beef, fowls and eggs, the promise of which had lured my men from the boat, — had proved stronger than the suggestions of prudence, and had made me a prisoner. But these dainties, if they existed anywhere within the chief's jurisdiction, were just at present reserved. The old hag threw down from the top of one of the stakes that supported the tent the quarter of some animal; whether dog, guanaco, or whatever, was past imagining. She slashed right and left, with might and main, an old copper knife, till it was divided into several pieces. Then taking a number of crotched sticks, about two feet long, and sharpened at all their points, she inserted the forked ends into pieces of the meat, and drove the opposite points into the ground near the fire; which, though sufficient to smoke and comfortably *warm* the mess, was too feeble to roast it. At all events, time was too precious, or their unsophisticated appetites were too craving, to wait for such an operation; and the raw morsels were quickly snatched from the smoke, torn into bits by her dirty hands, and thrown upon the ground before us. The Indians seized them with avidity, and tossed a bit to me; but what could I do with

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earnest business that calls their faculties into full exercise, their features light up with unexpected intelligence and animation. In fact, as one becomes familiar with them, he will not fail to detect an habitual expression of "secretiveness" and duplicity, which he will wonder he did not observe sooner. They are almost as imitative as monkeys, and are all great liars; falsehood is universal and inveterate with men, women and children. The youngest seem to inherit the taint, and vie with the oldest in displaying it. The detection of a falsehood gives them no shame or uneasiness. To these traits should be added a thorough-paced treachery, and, what might seem rather inconsistent with their other qualities, a large share of vanity, and an immoderate love of praise. They are excessively filthy in their personal habits. Hydrophobia, so to speak, is a prevailing distemper; they never wash themselves. Hands and faces are covered with dirt, so thick, and of such ancient deposit, that their natural color only appears in spots, laid bare by the mechanical loosening and displacement of some of the strata, which curiously variegates the surface. It is hardly necessary to remark that such a condition of the skin is highly favorable to the increase and multiplication of "the moving creature that hath life," wherewith their persons are abundantly peopled.

The women are proportionally smaller than the men, and rather inclined to embonpoint. The old chief had four wives, though he had probably never heard of Mahomet or his domestic laws. The rest of the tribe had only one wife apiece. The women erect the wigwams, provide fuel and cook,—if the operation should be dignified with that name,—in short, all the drudgery falls to their lot They are

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome - [illegible] adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

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414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins. The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing.—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 60; Noort, 1905, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

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Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73).

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780–83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65–68), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4′ S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

> The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: *although that family does not thereby lose its right to the* [its] *territory* [italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the tolderia which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.]

A tolderia may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76).

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APPENDIX A.

A partial Vocabulary of the Tsoneca Language, as spoken by the Northern Tehuelches.

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English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
I *or* mine	ya
you *or* yours	ma
his *or* hers	ti
this one *or* he	win
who	hem
here	nanik
there	mawoori mawook mon
where	kinik
when	kenoesh
what	ket
how	—
how much *or* many	kinkein kerum
above	eok
below	penk wuala
immediately	marso
to-morrow	nush
yesterday	nush
day after to-morrow	eounnush
quickly	gemmo

Exclamations.

of surprise	wati, wati, wati
of anger	worrioo-wálloo
curse it	nourenk y sé
on erring with the bolas	wow
on catching an animal or in fighting	kow

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
jealous	ynaien
foolish	chops
quick	sourno
good	ketz
pretty	coquet
bad	terosh
ill	hammersh
hot	yporsk
cold	kekoosh
big	chaish
little	talenque
light	höppen
heavy	pogelsh
like	nourka
far	éouns
near	ekel
similar	waks
tired	wotysk
hungry	pashlik
difficult	wickemi
hard	chornk
soft	kattñ
ready	kush
yes	ahon (*very guttural*)
no	kompsh
man (*Indian*)	ahonican
man (*Christian*)	háchish
people (*Indian*)	tchonik
woman (*married*)	karken
father	yank
mother	yanna
wife	ysher
son	ykallum

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ENGLISH.	ABONICANKA, OR TSONECA.
brother	ytan
sister	yeishen
children	enquetre
friend or companion	gennore
head	kitter
eye	ál
nose	tshal
tongue	kil
lips	shoon
teeth	ehr
hands	shin'r
legs	yen
feet	shenkenyen
white or horse	kre
colour for ditto	kó
kidney, ditto	wummun
thumb	ewun
mantle	kil
fillet for hair	kaishi
breasts	tenerre
clothes	kakewik
hat	kor
bridle (show bridle)	yaischike
bridle (two bridle)	shoone
shoes	kata
knee	kaen
knife	yaikun
gun	gúwun
tomahawk	gúwunkaish
pow-dar	tshoonpoon
caps	kun
knife	waike
pick (for cooking)	ashoon
saddle	ehtre
horse	kaey
(bullets) needle, or awl	kálleen
bag	kill
pipe	shiwre
tobacco	enquoon
saddle	gilk
bridle	kun
bit	kaishin
stirrups	kaikun
spurs	ehkeyn
girth	kilgi
straps for securing horses' legs	kilgi

ENGLISH.	ABONICANKA, OR TSONECA.
whip	wakenem
belt	wáti
sun (or a day)	gengenko
moon (or a month)	showan
stars	ásákren
a year	tsor
fire	yaik
water	léy
snow	gél
wind	hoshen
rain	téwa
smoke	páán
clouds	páwall
night	queyomen
wood	kaki
hill	yorri
place	haik
land or country	yerroen
river	koona
road	nooma
paradise	lecho
sand	yipper
stones	kátch
rocks	air
grass	kor
feathers	oet
earth or low	ásáleish
horse	ewoe / cawall
cattle	choi
sheep	cámplin
large deer	abóen
guanaco	rou
ostrich (or rhea)	mikkeoush
fox	gol
ice	paltin
skunk	wickster-
armadillo	ino
bare	pááhi
fowls	peyou
fowl or owl	kooroo
skins	wummun
girl	winki
boy	ööm
tobacco	kotsh
marrow	tcham
grease	am
a chief	goumok
fish	oin

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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Masters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 182) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–179; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 182), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see Pope, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1898, p. 190). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–188). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 198) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toilet cleanliness;

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words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gowuck,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yauk,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is observed between them; one chief being prohibited by custom from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches conto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, where he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

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000 the rest of our party. We saw nothing except one ostrich vanishing at great speed towards the valley at another point, and a pair of doves, which I remarked with interest; so we returned to the track, and as night was closing in, pushed on, wishing to cross the ford of the river and encamp on the other side. At seven o'clock, having reached a nice spring flowing from the barranca, where there was firewood in profusion, Gallegos ordered a halt, although Sam wished to proceed, observing that the moon was so bright it was 'all the same as day.' We accordingly encamped for the night, after making a good supper off guanaco meat, which was a pleasant change after our previous charqui. The valley of
133 the Cuheyli slightly indicates the bench formation, though it does not present so distinctly marked terraces as those which border the Gallegos River; but the lowest or river plain, which is nearly two leagues wide in the neighbourhood of the ford, is of a more fertile character, the pasture being luxuriant and good. One or two of the springs—notably the one the water of which, contrary to our guide's advice and example, we drank—had a strong taste of iron, which caused all the party to suffer from internal derange-
386 ment; and Sam stated that near our encampment there was a deposit of the black earth with which the Indians paint
000 their bodies. Starting early, after a night of severe frost, we soon struck the ford. Our guide had vanished; but while rearranging the packs, we saw a volume of black smoke rising to the east, caused by Sam, who, having thus signalled his countrymen, rejoined us on the march across the slightly ascending plain. We then observed numerous
492 Indians galloping in our direction, and crossing the stream at various parts, as J'aria remarked, quite regardless of fords. We halted, and were soon surrounded by about forty or more, most of them riding useful-looking horses barebacked.
● 609 As they appeared very friendly, Gallegos gave them some biscuit and charqui; their chiefs—the head cacique being a nephew of Casimiro—forming them into a semicircle, in tolerably good order, to receive the present.

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to barter for more useful and innocent luxuries as well as necessaries. There is no doubt that in the event of the future development of this settlement, it might serve as a *point d'appui* to raise the Tehuelches to the level of a more cultivated and settled mode of existence; but speculations on this point are not within my province, and it is time to introduce the members of the party with whom my winter was agreeably spent on the island of Pabon. With Don Luiz P. Buena and his amiable and accomplished señora I subsequently made acquaintance, which ripened into friendship; but though his guest, I was at present personally unknown to him. In his absence, his representative, Mr. Clarke, who, as already mentioned, was an old acquaintance, did all he could to make me feel at home. He was a handsome young fellow of twenty-five, and an excellent specimen of the versatile and cosmopolitan New Englander 'raised' in Salem, Massachusetts, where he had been brought up as a builder, though he afterwards 'shipped himself on board of a ship.' In his nautical life he had been mate of the Snow Squall, in a homeward voyage from Shanghai, when she was chased off the Cape of Good Hope by the Alabama, and but for the pluck of the captain and crew, and the wonderful sailing powers of the craft, another item would have been added to Mr. Adams's 'little bill.' As it was, the beautiful vessel fairly outsailed the swift steamer. The steadiness of the crew, and their well-deserved attachment to the captain, were most strongly proved on this occasion. As there was no alternative between putting in for water at St. Helena—where it was too probable the Alabama would pounce upon the prize—and running home upon half a pint per diem each man, the captain left it to the crew to decide, and they chose the latter course.

Mr. Clarke had spent three months travelling and hunting in company with the Tehuelches, which had made him a most expert hand with lazo or bolas, and well acquainted with the Indian character; and it was pleasant to hear that

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he entertained a very high opinion of their intelligence and generous dispositions. He treated them with fairness and considerate kindness, and they repaid him by confidence and friendship.

Five other *employés* made up the rest of our party. No social distinctions, however, prevailed, and the inhabitants of Pabon lived in pleasant equality. The charge of the dogs and horses, and the duty of supplying meat, devolved on two: Gonzalez, a goucha, a native of Patagones, who was as much at home in the schooner on a sealing excursion, as in the saddle balling an ostrich; and Juan Isidoro, a swarthy little man whose sparkling black eyes told of his Indian blood, a native of Santiago del Estero; he had been sent as a soldier to Rio Negro, whence he had managed to desert, and make his way with Orkeke's Indians to the settlement. Next comes Juan Chileno, a bright, fresh-complexioned youth of nineteen years, to look at whom was refreshing, after the swarthy and weather-beaten physiognomies of the others. Then Antonio, a Portuguese, by turns gaucho, whaler, or sealer, always ready with a song or a merry jest, and on occasion equally quick with his knife. Holstein furnished the last, but by no means least important; a strong-built, good-natured, rather stupid fellow, generally selected as the butt of the rest, who always styled him 'El Cookè,' a sobriquet earned by his many voyages in that capacity on board various ships. Curiously enough, he proved to possess information on a topic to me of great interest, as he had been one of a party which, about a year previous to my visit, had ascended the river Santa Cruz to its source. The expedition was organised by an American well acquainted with the Californian mining, who proposed to explore the mineral resources of the valley. Unfortunately, during the ascent of the river, a quarrel broke out, and the American left the others, and found his way alone to the Indians, thence returning to Santa Cruz. The loss of the only man capable of scientific observation rendered their

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The effect of the river ice piled up on the shore by the tides was very striking. Huge floes had accumulated to the height of fifteen feet and upwards, and besides rendering the passage difficult, had buried the carefully-stacked wood-pile under a small mountain of ice. This was in the comparatively sheltered valley. On the Pampas, when the fierce south wind blew, as it almost invariably did, it seemed impossible to face it and live. One attempt made nearly resulted in Gonzalez being overcome by the sleep which is the forerunner of death, and the horses of all the party absolutely could not advance. The snow lay eighteen inches deep, and we had flattered ourselves that the guanaco and ostrich would prove an easy prey. *They* could not run—but *we* could not chase, and were thankful to make our way, slowly and laboriously, down from the desolate and storm-swept Pampas.

The Indians from the Rio Chico occasionally visited us, and Orkeke's objection to my company was gradually giving way. He had probably feared that an English Señor would require a considerable amount of attention, and give constant trouble; but during our intercourse he found that the stranger could (and did) groom his own horse, and wait on himself generally, as well as take his part in whatever was being done, even to sleeping out with no shelter but the ample guanaco mantle. Casimiro also, according to promise, visited the camp, and argued in my favour, finally obtaining from the chief a somewhat reluctant permission for me to join his party. Towards the end of July some of his Indians had come to the settlement to inform us that the scarcity of game in their vicinity had compelled them to shift their quarters to a place higher up the Kio Chico. They anxiously inquired if the schooner had arrived; we were as eagerly looking for her, but day after day passed, and the looked-for boat did not appear.

On the 24th of July everybody had gone hunting, except Juan Chileno (who was cook for the week), and myself, whom a hurt received in my foot had compelled to remain

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bought a horse, or rather exchanged away a revolver for one 484
(a three year old, newly broken), and started in company with Orkeke, Campan, Cayuke, and Tankelow, four Indians, all of whom were previous acquaintances. Casimiro followed with his family, taking one of the horses from Santa Cruz to assist in the transport of his household. This horse was one I had been accustomed to ride in Santa Cruz, and on arriving at the Indian camp was lent me as a second horse. Shortly after passing the first hills on the northern side, our party not being burdened with women and children, started off at a hand canter, which was kept up until a puma suddenly sprang out of a bush, when chase was immediately given; he, however, got into a thick tangle of incense bushes, from which we tried in vain to dislodge him, and although pelted with stones he lay there spitting like a great cat. Cayuke wished to fire the bush, but Orkeke would not waste time, so we mounted and proceeded on our journey. We continued riding over plains and ridges until about four P.M., when we reached a large laguna, close to which grew some high coarse grass and shrubs; here several ostriches were started, and one killed by Orkeke. On reaching the range of hills before described as the southern barrier of the valley of the Rio Chico, we halted, and shortly had the ostrich cooking on a good fire. We looked back for Casimiro, but could not see him, so after supper and a smoke pursued our journey by the soft light of a young moon. We rode on until about nine P.M., when we reached the Indian encampment. We had been previously puzzled by seeing fires burning a considerable distance up the valley, and found that our chief, Camillo, had already marched in that direction. One of the first persons who accosted me was Arica, and I shortly discovered that [609]
all the Chilians[1] were installed with the Indians in different toldos, which was rather an unpleasant surprise. I was ushered into Orkeke's toldo with due ceremony, and we took our seats by the fire. I had brought a bag of coffee with 272
me, so we set to work and roasted some, after which one of

[1] [i.e. escaped prisoners—Analyst]

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the Chilians was given the task of pounding it between stones, and we all drank what the Indians not inappropriately term 'potwater.' Many Indians crowded in to have a look at us, and amongst others that I noticed was a remarkably pretty little girl of about thirteen years of age, a niece of Orkeke's, who took some coffee when offered in a shy and bashful manner which was delightful to contemplate. In due time we all retired to rest, and a little before daylight I was woke by the melodious singing of an Indian in the next toldo. Shortly afterwards Orkeke went out and harangued the inmates of the remaining toldos, and presently the horses were brought up, and most of the men started for the chase. Snow had fallen during the night, a biting cold wind was blowing, and Orkeke told me there were very few animals about. I took this as a hint not to ask for a horse, so contented myself with sauntering round and examining the encampment. Some of the men were playing cards, one or two sleeping, whilst the women were almost universally employed in sewing guanaco mantles. About three P.M., Casimiro arrived with his family, and proceeded to the tent of a southern Indian, named Crimè, and shortly afterwards the hunting party returned by twos and threes, but the chase had not been attended with much success. We passed the evening pleasantly enough, making acquaintance with each other, and Keoken, the little girl, instructed me in the Indian names of the various objects about the place. Next morning the order was suddenly given to march. As this was totally unexpected, and I was not prepared for departure, I made up my mind to return at once to Santa Cruz, and fetch my clothes and other small articles; also to take back a colt, promised by an Indian called 'Tchang' to Mr. Clarke. After some little difficulty, as the Indians did not wish me to go alone for fear of getting lost, or any other mischance befalling me, Graviel, the youngest son of Casimiro, started with me. We had to take the colt, what a sailor would term, in tow, that is, drag it for some distance with a lazo. As Graviel's

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As I saw no reason to believe this story, I declined to comply with the proposal of Casimiro, who, having consoled himself by begging a little coffee, took his departure, and the encampment was reduced to the toldo, of which I was to consider myself an inmate, and another, belonging to the only Indians who remained—Tankelow, Orkeke's brother, and his son, a youth of about eighteen. Besides these, there were three of the Chilian deserters who as narrated had escaped from Punta Arena; one was attached to the household of Tankelow, and the other two to that of Orkeke. One of these was Arica, already mentioned, who being a very clever worker in hide, had employed himself in adorning saddles and bridles for the Indians, by which he had acquired a pretty good stock of gear. The condition of all three was, however, not enviable. They had lowered themselves at first by volunteering to discharge the drudgery of fetching wood and water, and by this time were little better than slaves, obliged to perform the menial offices, which before had been the task of the women. These fair creatures, headed by Mrs. Orkeke—a young woman almost six feet in height, and displaying a corresponding breadth across the shoulders—employed themselves in cutting out and sewing guanaco mantles, weaving fillets for the head, and chattering. Tankelow and his son presently started for a hunt; but as I was not offered a mount, and deemed it more reasonable to give my only charger a good rest and feed, I could only accompany them to the river, the frozen surface of which they crossed, and disappeared up a cañon that led up the barranca, on the northern limit of the valley, to the Upper Pampa. Having wistfully watched them, I reconnoitred the valley of the Rio Chico. Behind me, to the south-east, the river wound through plains covered with withered coarse grass, some eighteen inches high, extending on either bank for several miles till terminated by the rising barranca. Snow lay here and there in patches on some of the higher ground, and increased the dreariness of the prospect. About

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060 returned early in the forenoon, with a large number of sea-fowl. Not long after, Captain Brownell announced his intention to go ashore, and commenced making preparations. He soon changed his mind, however, and asked me to go, in his stead, to procure some fresh provisions, if they were to be had. Knowing, from the reports of whalers and others, something of the savage character of the natives, I felt reluctant to venture; but afterwards, to oblige the captain, I complied.

•609 Taking our guns, a bag of bread, and some tobacco, four of us started for the shore. As we approached the beach, a crowd of black-looking giants came to the water's edge to gaze at us. We did not particularly fancy their looks, and lay on our oars for a considerable length of time. A recollection of the many ugly stories current about the Patagonians, their barbarous and cruel character, did not greatly fortify our confidence, or make us especially anxious for a personal acquaintance with them: We accordingly lay off in our boat, and, hailing them in Spanish, asked them if they had eggs, fowls, and beef. They replied, in broken Spanish, that they had plenty at their houses. I told them to produce their stores, and they should have plenty of bread in exchange. We parleyed with them for some time, till our boat at length touched the shore. I stood in the boat's stern, gun in hand, endeavoring to keep the natives from stealing, and warned the men not to leave the boat. They jumped ashore, promising not to stray from the spot. The Indians offered some skins for sale, which I paid for in bread. While my attention was diverted from them by this barter, the Indians were coaxing my men away. I looked about, and found only

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one man near me. He was despatched in pursuit of the others, and directed to bring them without delay. The tide at this point rises and falls forty-two feet. It was now ebb tide, the boat was fast grounding, and, it being large and heavily loaded, I was unable to get it off. The old chief and several other Indians crowded into it, and once in could not be got out. Persuasion was useless, and they were too many to be driven. In short, I was in their hands, and became immediately conscious of the difficulty and peril of my situation; — my men gone, I knew not where, the boat fast aground and crowded with the savages, while nearly a thousand of the tribe congregated upon the beach. What was before me, at the worst, I could only conjecture from report; and nothing but evil was reported of the creatures that surrounded me. What could I do? A question easier asked than answered.

After a long time, or what seemed such under circumstances that made minutes seem ages, one of my men came down, and asked permission to go to the Indian village, "a little way back from the shore," as they had been promised meat, eggs, and fowls. I ordered him to come immediately back to the boat. He persisted in urging his request, but it was so dangerously absurd that I absolutely refused. He then said he would inform his comrades of my refusal, and return immediately to the boat; but, for some cause, they seemed in no hurry to obey orders. Weary of waiting for them, and not without apprehension, I asked an Indian for the use of his horse, and rode with all speed after the fugitives. In the hurry of pursuit I inadvertently passed them, and tried to turn back my steed; but his inclinations were decidedly against a

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●609 retreat. While our opposing impulses kept us stationary for a moment, I descried my men approaching on horseback, behind the Indians. When they came up I urged them to return to the boat. They persisted in going with the savages. I remonstrated with them on the impropriety and danger of their course, but in vain. Their mouths watered for the meat and eggs they were told of. Their cunning guides had completely allayed suspicion, and even laid to sleep their common prudence. The Indians kept on their course, — the men followed, and I felt at my wits' end. I rode from one to another, talking as industriously and as urgently as I could. At last I gave them peremptory orders to return. The Indians had plainly lied to us. Their village, they said, was only a little way off; and yet we were three-fourths of a mile from the boat, and not a house was yet in sight. Determined to go back, if I had to go alone, I turned my horse's head.

At this point the mask was thrown off. The Indians seized my bridle, and arrested my progress. We all dismounted, with a view to retreat on foot, but before I could reach the man nearest to me the Indians had robbed him of his gun. With a mutual agreement to stand by each other in case of pursuit, we hastened our retrograde march, but had made no great distance when we saw the Indians coming after us. They rode in advance of us, halted in our front, and manœuvred to cut off our retreat; but by various zigzag movements, or boldly turning their horses' heads, we made considerable progress. Our foes, however, knew what they were at; it was only a question of time with them. A sudden and decided movement indicated a crisis. I drew my pistols (a pair of single-barrelled ones),

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but before I had time to cock one I was jumped upon from behind by some half-dozen of these monsters. One of them grasping a pistol by the barrel, I pointed it to his head and pulled the trigger. It missed fire, and I thank God that it did! Its discharge would have certainly killed him, and would as certainly have been revenged upon my life, probably upon the lives of my comrades. This is easily felt and said now; but at the moment, when excited by the struggle for liberty, and, as I feared, for life, with such dreaded enemies and at such formidable odds, it was quite another matter. 609●

The old chief now came up, took me firmly by the wrist, and said, "Usted no bono! usted habla varmano por me casa, mucho, mala hombre currarhae! mucho montaro hombre!"—by which specimen of choice Spanish he desired to inform me that we promised to go to their houses, and now would not go; that we were bad men and liars. His peculiarly thick and guttural pronunciation did not make the dialect more intelligible; but I was in a situation where criticism would have been rather out of place, and my ears were quickened by the revelations made to sight. I therefore promptly replied, that if he would restrain his men from violence, we would go where he pleased. They, meanwhile, grasped their knives, and looked as if they wanted to use them on our persons; but the chief told them, No, *not then;* he would get rum and tobacco for us first, and kill us afterwards. Whilst I was thus engaged, my nearest companion discovered his gun in the hands of an Indian who stood not far from where I was struggling. Rushing suddenly upon him, he succeeded in recovering his piece,—more by tact than force, for his antagonist, like all the [191]

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609 Patagonians, was very large and muscular. Then nimbly jumping aside, he told me to look out for myself. That was rather more than I felt able to do just at the moment. One Indian seized me by my arms and legs, some of them grasped my body, and others were busy investigating the contents of my pockets, and appropriating the same to their own use. And if he supposed himself able to show as much independence as he recommended me to, he was evidently mistaken. He had not elevated his gun to his face when the Indians were upon him, and wrenched it from his grasp. The old chief, all this time, held me tightly by the wrist, menacing his followers with his half-drawn cutlass, while I endeavored to bid for life and liberty. I told him he should have plenty of rum, tobacco, bread, flour, brass and beads, if he would carry us to the boat. At length he beat off my plunderers, and seemed on the point of yielding to my terms. He mounted his horse, and ordered me to get up behind him. I obeyed with alacrity, and fancied myself in a fair way to get out of trouble.

But, whatever may have been the chief's original intention, I had not gone far before his policy was diverted. One of the most audacious of the troop rode up, and insisted that I should not be allowed to return. I was the captain of the ship, he affirmed, and if I were restored they would get none of the promised rum and tobacco. The old savage seemed struck by this new suggestion, and halted. We then dismounted, and he led the horse up the hill, ordering me to follow. I was next directed to sit on the ground and wait further action. There I sat, looking alternately, with longing eyes, at the boat, and at our vessel riding at anchor in plain view. My three companions were soon

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brought to the spot, and I dismounted. And now began a more earnest negotiation. We offered large ransom, and after some higgling they agreed that three of our number might be released, but one must remain as a hostage; and I was pointed out as the one. I endeavored to have one of the others stay, and one actually agreed to; but his heart soon failed him, and I could see that he was using all his powers of persuasion to provide for himself. I assured him that I would use every effort in his behalf, if he would consent to remain for the present; but he evidently thought of the maxim, "A bird in the hand," &c., and was bent on making sure of his own safety first of all. Poor fellow! I cannot blame him for loving his own life, though, at the moment, it did seem rather hard that, after getting into the scrape by their own headstrong folly, against my entreaties and peremptory commands, they should extricate themselves from it at my expense, and leave me to bear the hardest of it! Very likely I might have done the same, if our cases had been reversed. And, even if one of them had offered to remain, it is very doubtful whether the substitution would have been permitted. The Indians too evidently regarded me as the chief prize, and were bent on retaining me as such. They insisted that I must stay while the other three should go for ransom, and I had nothing to do but to submit.

Three Indians each took a man with him on a horse, and started for the boat. I watched them as they went, with feelings that I will not attempt to describe. It seemed but too probable we should never meet again. A sense of desolation came over me, at the thought of being left alone in the power of these savages, of whose treachery and cunning

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609 I had already had such ample experience, and of whose cruelty I had heard so much. I felt that I was beyond the aid, if not cut off from the sympathy, of my associates. The falseness of the Indians to all their engagements, as I afterwards learned, was signally displayed towards my more fortunate comrades. They evidently had no intention of releasing any of us. Before reaching the boat, they halted, and refused to go any further, or allow our men to leave them. The prisoners, however, struggled desperately, and at length got clear of their captors. One rushed up to his neck in water, the others sprang into the boat, pushed off, and rescued him as he was struggling with the waves. They reached the schooner, told their tale, and represented my desperate situation. All hands commenced breaking up cargo, to get at the rum and tobacco for my ransom. Two boats were forthwith manned, provided with the required articles, and with plenty of arms and ammunition, and started for the shore. They got to the land a little before dark, and pulled into a cove, or slight indentation of the beach.

On catching sight of them, I desired the Indians to conduct me to the shore, and receive the ransom. But this they declined. They ordered me to the summit of an eminence near by, there to beckon the men to come ashore. An old skin was given me to wave as a signal. Perceiving that I was to be used as a decoy to lure the others into their treacherous snare, and secure them all as prisoners, I protested against this new breach of faith, and assured them that our men would not leave their boat, but that, if they wanted any rum and tobacco, they must take me to the shore To this, after a long palaver, and with visible

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reluctance they assented. The old chief ordered me to mount his horse, — this time reversing our relative positions; he made me sit on the rude apology for a saddle and guide the horse, while he took his seat behind, clasping both arms tightly around my body, and spurring his old nag forward. Thus mounted, and wondering what would be the next trick of the savages, I was conveyed to the shore, near the spot where the boats lay off on their oars. Driving as near them as possible, I hailed the men, — told them by no means to fire on the Indians, but to give them all they had promised. They asked what they should do with the articles. I turned to the chief, told him what the boats had brought, and once more asked if it was a satisfactory ransom. He said, Yes; if those articles were laid down, I should be released. But he was plainly resolved to have his pay in advance; he distrusted us too much to let me go first; and I need not say that my confidence in him was far from implicit. But, "Nothing venture, nothing have," — I directed the men to put the things ashore, which they did. The Indians greedily picked them up, and I claimed my release. The old rascal said, "he had not got *plenty* of rum yet, he must have a barrel." I insisted and struggled, but to no purpose. He kept a tight hold of my body, and when I begged that at least he would not squeeze me quite so painfully, he only redoubled his clasp. He obviously suspected, and I more than suspected, that it would not require a very great relaxation of his embrace to prompt a pretty decided movement on my part, for the effectual resisting of which the vicinity of the water was not altogether favorable. He now began spurring his old horse from the scene of action; I drew upon the bridle

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609 with my whole available force and weight; but the disparity between human strength and horse power, stimulated to its utmost by the spur, was too great. I begged the men in the boats to come again the next morning, and on no account to leave me, which they solemnly promised.

592 I was now hurried back into the country five or six miles, and at last reached an Indian village, and was set down by the old chief at his wigwam. He gave me in charge to one of his squaws, who ordered me into the hut and bade me sit down on the ground. While sitting there, and casting an inquisitive glance around the rude habitation, my attention was suddenly attracted to what appeared to be several pairs of eyes in a dark corner, shining with a strange brilliancy. I speculated silently on the sight, much doubting whether they belonged to human beings or to wild beasts; but, on carefully reconnoitring, I discovered that they belonged to three huge women. Further investigations disclosed a number of dark-skinned boys and girls, of divers ages and sizes, playing and [291] capering about the premises, in a state of perfect nudity. It took a considerable time to make out these, or any other objects, distinctly, owing to the darkness of the hut. Presently the chief, the patriarch of the tribe, entered [595] his habitation, and began a conversation, in his peculiar dialect, with his wives. He spoke in a low, guttural tone, in words the purport of which I could not gather. I was in no mood for conversation, but would have been much gratified by learning his version of the day's "stroke of business."

372 And now a few dry sticks and a bunch of dry grass were brought, mine host drew from a convenient repos-

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was inevitable. Some of the men were dashed violently upon the deck, others precipitated into the boiling surf, where they clung desperately to spars, and fragments of the wreck. While the confusion was wildest, and the dream of effort for escape was subsiding into the calmness of despair, I suddenly awoke, and for some time was unable to comprehend where I was, or how I came there. If I were indeed shipwrecked, I was also, like Jonah, vomited upon dry land. I drew my hand across my eyes to assure myself that vision was unobstructed, cast my eyes right and left;—the lodge, the ashes of the last night's fire, the chief and his motley family, the door through which the "lubber fiend" had followed me with his restless eyes, and into which the fierce dogs had driven me, recalled my distracted senses, and restored consciousness of a reality which, at the moment, I would almost have exchanged for the wildest terrors of my dream.

With the light calmer thoughts succeeded, and I once more addressed myself to the task of effecting my escape. The first thing was to get the chief with me to the shore, in readiness to meet a boat, and to renew negotiations for my liberty. Observing that he was awake, I began to promise him an abundant supply of the articles most tempting to his fancy, on condition of my release. He carelessly replied that he would go with me to the beach by and by. I tried to urge his departure, being anxious to go without the rabble at his heels the day before, but for whose violence he would now hardly be master of me; but there was no hurrying his movements. He took down his little cutlass, drew it from its brazen scabbard, and commenced sharpening it with a rusty file, trying its

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•609 [411] edge with his fingers as the work went on, and casting side glances at me the while. Whether this ceremony was the preface to some act of violence he meditated, or a scene for effect, to fill me with a wholesome dread of his power, I could not guess; but, determined to show no foolish fears, I thought it best to put a bold face upon the matter, and make an equally striking demonstration of courage and presence of mind, qualities which savages generally appreciate. I therefore approached him, tried the edge with my own fingers, praised the beauty of the instrument, and interested myself in the process of sharpening it. Following up my assault on his vanity, I extolled him as one of the best of men, and assured him that when we got to the shore I would amply reward him for his kindness to me; taking occasion, however, to throw in a hint on the vast importance of starting early. This I enforced by the suggestion that, when he got his good things, the fewer there were present, the fewer claimants there would be to divide the spoils.

After much coaxing, he started after his old horse; I mounted behind him, and we moved slowly off. When we arrived at the shore it was blowing a perfect gale. A boat could not live in the billows. All three vessels had dragged their anchors, and lay at some distance from their anchorage of yesterday. Bark Hebe appeared to be dragging towards the Orange Bank, a dangerous shoal. I afterwards learned that the Hebe, after getting into water as shoal as would barely float her, slipped her cables, put up a little sail, and finally succeeded in weathering the shoal and getting safely out to sea. The *J. B. Gager* was dragging in the same direction. My own vessel was

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holding on better than the others, and I hoped she would ride out the gale in safety.

I made my captors understand the reason why no boat had come, as promised; with which they appeared to be satisfied, and we returned as we came. By means of their broken Spanish, which they had picked up from sailors, and in visits to the Chilian or other Spanish American settlements, and by signs, amounting at times pretty nearly to a pantomime, I found myself able to understand inquiries or commands, and to make known my wishes.

Early on the following morning we again visited the shore, and I looked eagerly toward the anchorage, where all my hopes of deliverance centred. Not a vessel was in sight! Whether they had foundered, or were driven upon the shoal and wrecked, or had dragged out to sea in a disabled condition, — or whether my shipmates, the gale having subsided, had deliberately proceeded on their voyage, and left me a prey to cruel ravages and all the ills of this inhospitable shore, — I was unable to conjecture. I only knew that they were gone, and that I was left alone to the tender mercies of the Patagonians. No present means of escape appeared. The future, wisely hidden from my view, suggested none to my imagination. I told my captors the worst; that the high winds had probably sunk the ships, and all that were in them. At this intelligence they seemed delighted, and laughed immoderately, as if such a calamity were a consolation for the loss of their expected ransom. Their cruel glee could add nothing to the weight of my desolation. My past life was sealed up as if by an entrance on a new state

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chief's lodge. I was glad to dismount, sore with bestriding the skeleton of a horse.

Here I again took the liberty of proposing a trip to Port Famine, offering to go alone, if they would not go with me. The chief told me, with emphasis, to say no more about it. He would take me to "Holland," and there get rum and tobacco. "Only get me there," I said to myself, "and much good may your rum and tobacco do your old carcass!"

On the third day of our encampment here the tribe was divided, and I was sent off with one of the chief's lieutenants. A more blood-thirsty rascal could not be found in the tribe. This step was probably taken by the chief to get rid of my importunities to visit Port Famine, the frequent renewal of which had evidently worried him. My new guardian regaled my ears, from time to time, with stories of his murderous exploits, most likely in order to instil into me a wholesome dread of his power, and a submissive temper under his authority. The details of his bloody yarns are too shocking to repeat. One story, on which he seemed to dwell with peculiar satisfaction, as it was confirmed by more reliable authority afterwards, I will here relate, with such other particulars as I gained by subsequent information.

About two years before, the British brig Avon was in the Santa Cruz river. Captain Eaton, her commander, went on shore with his men, and bought some horses of the Indians, which he paid for in rum, tobacco and trinkets. After receiving their pay, they played the same trick as with me,—refused to deliver the horses. The captain was about getting under weigh, when the Indians, perceiving

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609 his intention to leave them, went down to the shore opposite the vessel, and beckoned him to come on shore, signifying that they would give up the horses, as agreed. The boat was sent ashore, and six or eight Indians returned in it to the brig. They surrounded the captain on the quarter-deck, and told him the horses were coming. He stepped to the rail with his glass, to observe motions on shore; while thus engaged, the savages came up behind, drew out their long knives, and stabbed him to the heart. He sunk lifeless on the rail, and fell upon the deck. Seizing him by the hair, and raising him partly on their knees, they cut his throat, and stabbed him again and again, to make the work of death sure. They then rushed upon the mate and stabbed him, but not mortally; he threw himself exhausted down the hatchway, and had just strength enough to secrete himself among the cargo. The boy was dealt with in the same manner as the captain, and one or two sailors, being wounded, succeeded, like the mate, in getting below deck and secreting themselves. The remainder of the crew were fortunately off in a boat at this time, and escaped the massacre. The savages ate and drank on board, and then plundered the brig of such articles as suited their fancy. Mr. Douglass, of "Holland," being on board the brig, was not murdered, but carried on shore and detained. A gentleman named Simms afterwards endeavored to effect the release of Mr. Douglass. He gave them all that they demanded as ransom, and was then himself detained to keep his friend company. A third embassy was undertaken by Mr. John Hall, of whom the reader will learn more hereafter. He paid a large ransom for his two friends, and was then served as they

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had been. He succeeded in effecting his escape the next day; but Douglass and Simms were carried off, murdered, and, it is supposed, — I believe with good reason, — that their bodies were eaten. The Avon, after being plundered, fell into the hands of the remainder of the crew, and sailed for Montevideo.

I travelled with this ruffian about ten days. He was a hard master, though I cannot charge him with personal ill-treatment that amounted to cruelty. Our life was monotonous enough. We slept a good share of the time when we rested, drank pure water when we could get it, and ate what fell in our way; though the reader may be assured that we saw some hungry days. At the expiration of ten days, the tribe was reünited at a place agreed upon. Here we continued several days, the natives occupied exclusively with gambling, which was alike their daily labor and recreation. When the demands of hunger became too imperative to be longer postponed, they would go out and hunt, after which they resumed their games.

Gambling is a vice to which they are greatly addicted, and they pursue it with a perseverance and ardor worthy of amateurs in more civilized communities. The implements used are bits of guanaco-skin, about the size of common playing-cards, on which are rudely depicted dogs and a variety of other beasts, with divers mystic marks and scrawls, done with a stick in a pigment composed of clay, blood and grease. Unlike their compeers in more enlightened circles, they put down stakes on only one side, for which the opposite players contend. In this way they rid themselves of their saddles, bridles, knives, and what ever other portable articles they may have to hazard

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000 in trees," or "books in the running brooks;" the land possesses neither in numbers sufficient to be conversable. "Sermons in stones," even, must have been of very pebbly dimensions, and of no great weight. Had this difficulty been removed, I confess I had no great desire to surmount it. I was the object of suspicion and hostility. My life was in constant danger. To diminish, as far as possible, the causes of dislike, to mitigate their ferocious hate, to elude occasions of mischief, to delay what I feared could not be very long prevented, was my continual study. If the reader is not satisfied with this account of my conduct, I am sorry for it, but cannot afford any words of contrition. It is vastly easier, I may hint to the objector, to prescribe another's duties than to judge of one's own, especially where the two parties are in circumstances so widely differing. The Patagonians need the gospel—and the law—as much as any people I could name from personal observation. There was no trace of instruction imparted at a previous period, and the reception Christianity would meet with among them is yet to be discovered.

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Their pipes are made of a hard red stone, the bowl dug out with whatever iron or steel implement is at command to the dimensions of an ordinary clay pipe, the stem about an inch square, and three inches long, with a small perforation. A copper or brass tube, about two inches long, is fitted to the stem, and serves as a mouth-piece. This is made by bending or hammering a metallic plate about a small round stick, and soldering or cementing it with a glutinous substance thickened with earth.

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The copper, brass and iron, seen among them, was probably procured from unfortunate vessels wrecked on their

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But to convey a clear understanding of the relations between the tribes which will be mentioned in the ensuing pages, it is as well here briefly to distinguish them. In the various maps and accounts of Patagonia extant, numerous tribes, with different names, are marked and recorded. These accounts, so far as my observations enable me to judge, have arisen from the custom of parties of the tribe combining to travel or fight under the leadership of a particular chief, and being described by themselves, when met with, by his name. I have been enabled to recognise thus the Moluches, who were so called from Malechou, a hereditary chief of that name; and the celebrated chief Lenketrou united under the leadership men of several tribes, and is said to have commanded 1,500 men in his great raid on the Rio Negro settlements. There are now between the Rio Negro and the Straits about 500 fighting men, giving at a rough estimate a population of about 8,000. The Tehuelches, or Patagonians proper, exclusive of the Foot Indians of Tierra del Fuego—who are distinct, though they may be of the same original stock—are divided into two great tribes, the Northern and Southern. They speak the same language, but are distinguishable by difference of accent, and the Southern men appear to be, on an average, taller and finer men, and are more expert hunters with the bolas. The Northern range chiefly over the district between the Cordillera and the sea; from the Rio Negro on the north to the Chupat, occasionally descending as far as the Santa Cruz River. The Southern occupy the country south of the Santa Cruz, and migrate as far as Punta Arena. The two divisions, however, are much intermixed and frequently intermarry; always, notwithstanding, preserving their clannish division, and taking opposite sides in the frequent quarrels. Our party was composed in almost equal parts of both Northern and Southern, and one inmate of our toldo was a Southern named Hummums, a brother of Mrs. Orkeke. From the Rio Negro as far as the Chupat, another tribe, speaking a different language, is met

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Araucanians SG4

with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penck,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Arica arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

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being lucky enough to kill a fat male ostrich, which was sitting on a nest of twenty-four eggs. We investigated the grass, which was of good quality; and after an *al fresco* meal, in which we were joined by Tchang, returned to the toldos, where the women had just arrived with a considerable supply of potatoes. I again, on our way back, observed fish in the stream, so, turning my horse adrift, proceeded to extract my hooks and line from the baggage under the charge of Mrs. Orkeke. After a little delay all was ready; a piece of meat supplied the place of fly as bait; and dropping it gently into the pool, I soon had a bite, and pulled out a fish about two pounds' weight, of the perch class, similar to that called dorado in the River Plate. After half an hour's fishing I landed several others as large, and as it was nearly dark, returned to supper off fried fish and boiled potatoes.

I had no opportunity of seeing the plants which produced these tubers, but they exactly resembled those I afterwards obtained in the northern country from a plant, the feathery fern-like leaf of which springs from a long slender stem. The following day we shifted camp down river, to the neighbourhood of the green pasture, and found large quantities of the eggs of the upland geese, ducks, &c. In the neighbourhood one lonely tree grew by the side of the stream, although the banks were lined with driftwood, probably carried down by the wooded slopes of the Cordillera, ten miles farther west, during floods. This day, smoke having been distinctly seen to the northward, Hummums was despatched to ascertain whether it were a signal from the much-looked-for Northern Indians. Three days subsequently, about nine in the evening, whilst I was lying dreaming of home, and had just—in dreamland—taken a glass of sherry, Orkeke woke me up with the intelligence that fires were to be seen to the north, which were no doubt caused by the 'chasqui' or messenger previously despatched. In about three hours' time—somewhere about midnight—Casimiro, Hummums, and another Indian rode into the camp, and our toldo was soon

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619 crowded to hear the news from our chasqui, who stated that the Northern Indians were in the wild cattle district, where they had killed several animals; they were also well provided with tobacco and other necessaries from the Rio Negro, where they had been for trading purposes in August, and they would welcome our party, provided that they came in a friendly spirit. The following morning we had a great consultation in Crimè's toldo, at which it was determined that all quarrels should be forgotten, and that we should march at once to effect a junction with the other Indians. This having been resolved on, all marched in an easterly direction to an encampment situated on the borders of the same stream, and under a range of hills called 'Appleykaik.' Here we remained three days; and smoke not previously accounted for having been observed to the east, two scouts were sent out to ascertain the cause, but returned without intelligence. We spent our time, as usual, in hunting, or bathing in the river; and on October 31 marched again, and had not gone very far, in a north-east direction, before Tankelow—who had started earlier than the rest, and constituted himself a *corps d'observation*—appeared, with a strange Indian of the Pampa tribe, who stated that his companions were on their way to join the Northern Indians. They had come from the neighbourhood of the Chupat colony, and were, as far as I could make out, mixed Pampas and Tehuelches. It was agreed that they should join us and the others at a place called 'Henno,' to which we were at present marching. We continued our route after this slight interruption, and encamped for the night near the banks of a small stream. The weather had entirely changed, the wind blowing bitterly from the south-west, with squalls of sleet, hail, and snow; and but few of the party found it agreeable to take the evening bath. Casimiro was in high spirits, as many of the Northern Indians were relations of his, and he was to be invested with the supreme command—in prospect of which he had already received presents of horses, and was looking forward to the

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consultation of the chief, which, he assured me, would have to be conducted with great pomp. During our talk, Casimiro narrated all his adventures after quitting the toldos. He had travelled so fast, knowing that he would probably be pursued, that on the fifth day his horse broke down, as for two days previous he had seen smoke from some encampment to which he was by this time close, though he was uncertain whether it was that of his friends or not. He left his Chilian companion, and proceeded to an eminence to reconnoitre. During his absense the Chilian fell asleep; the grass caught fire and surrounded the sleeping man. The Indians—Hinchel's people—attracted by the smoke, came down and rescued him, all his clothes having been burned off and his body severely scorched. Having heard his story, Hinchel at once sent a party to search for Casimiro. When the latter saw the five mounted Indians approaching, wrapped in their ponchos, he was uncertain if they were Araucanos or Tehuelches, and drew his revolver, prepared to pick them off in detail; but soon, to his great relief, he recognised in the leader a relation of his own. He also told me that when Hummums, our chasqui, arrived, he was entertained by some friend of his own, to whom, in the evening, he boasted that he and his friends had killed all the Christians in their camp. This story was at once carried to Hinchel and Casimiro, who inquired if 'Muster' had also been killed; to which the tale-bearer unhesitatingly replied that he had. Hinchel, who had previously heard all about the English visitor from Casimiro, was furious at what he considered a grave breach of hospitality, and issued orders forthwith to apprehend the chasqui, and to mount and make ready to avenge my supposed death by killing Orkeke and all his party. Hummums, however, when interrogated as a prisoner, in great terror declared that 'Muster' was safe, and that no one had any idea of killing him, and then the storm blew over. But this account, which was confirmed by the report of the chasqui, accidently overheard by myself,

136 all the harbors of this coast there is an abundance of birds: both seabirds and amphibious ones, such as ducks, seagulls, cormorants, chorlitos, bandurrias, some abutardas and pajaros-niños; there are also some swans, and inland there are partridges, sparrows and some dark colored birds with red breasts; there are also vultures and all kinds of birds of prey. Foxes and black-and-white skunks abound, the urine which the latter give off having the most vile smelling odor imaginable, extending over an enormous area. From the Santa Cruz river south to the Straits there are a few deer.

132 The climate here is cold, but it keeps to a regular seasonal cycle; it rains but little. The winds usually blow from the north, west or south, and are ordinarily violent and make the region uncomfortable, but they are very healthful.

[69] The Indians in these quarters are all of one nation; they are tall,
142 their height varying from six feet to nine spans for the men, there rarely being any taller than this. The women are not so tall, but are enough so in proportion to their sex. All are handsome, and among the women there are some who are very good-looking and white skinned, although tanned by the wind and sun like the men. There is not to be found a thin man or woman, rather are they all thick-set in proportion to their height, which, combined with their habit of going about enveloped in skins from neck to feet, may possibly have contributed to the reports of travelers that they were giants.

[94] Their language is guttural and they are in the habit of repeating
195 the same word over and over in their conversations. They do not inter-
537 rupt the one who may be speaking even though [68] his speech lasts all day. Ordinarily the speaker is one of greater authority than the others
[562] present, or else of greater eloquence. The women do not speak among the men unless questioned, and then they only answer the question. Those who speak often without occasion and inanely are not well considered, and are not even listened to.

291 The dress of the men is made of guanaco, skunk or hare skins, six
[531] feet square, the fur turned inward and the hide painted red, green or yellow. This garment covers them from neck to feet in such a way that only rarely does one see any part of the body other than the arms, and these only when they are in use. They wear also another garment under the outer one, of very soft leather, tied at the waist with a thong, which covers the belly and reaches halfway down the thighs, from which place it tapers to a point which reaches as far as the ankles. Their feet are covered with hide which they secure with thongs; this footgear is of ox hide if they can procure it, and if not, then of the hide of a horse or of a full-grown

[i.e., ca. six feet nine inches. - Analyst]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

414–415), but the skin tent with the two compartments as described by Maximilianus Transylvanus (1523, p. Av) suggests more the typical *Tehuelche* toldo of later times. This typical toldo (pl. 37, *bottom*; pl. 38, *bottom, right*) was made of three or more rows of stakes, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco skins sewn together and smeared with a mixture of grease and red paint. The inmost section was divided by skin screens into compartments, each married couple having their own compartment. The open side, facing east (to leeward), was sometimes, in winter or in bad weather, nearly closed with other skins. The fire was made near the center of the open side, a little within. Skins laid on the ground were used to sleep upon; covers were also of skins The toldo, according to Spegazzini (1884, p. 230) usually housed a man and his entire family, or an extended family consisting of grandparents, children, and grandchildren, with their wives and offspring; while sometimes each of a man's wives and sons had a separate toldo. Apart from special gatherings, camps did not contain more than about 20 toldos; more commonly they contained fewer.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing.—The early *Tehuelche* men wore a pubic covering, later superseded by the chiripá, and some at least tied up the penis by the prepuce to their belt. (Ladrillero, 1880, p. 498; cf. Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60; Noort, 1905, p. 191.) The early skin moccasinlike footwear, with hay stuffing, gave place among the later *Tehuelche* to the bota de potro (fig. 18, *e*) made from the dehaired skin of a horse's hock or of the leg of a large puma (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1916 b, 1918, 1935). In one post-Columbian burial in Chubut Territory were found two exceptional types of clothing, a piece of shell-disk spangled mantle and a sandal (Vignati, 1930, pp. 12–19, cf. citations, pp. 20–32, of sources on mantles and footwear). Guanaco-skin overshoes were sometimes worn (Musters, 1872, p. 196). Men's other garments were (pl. 39, *top*): A mantle of sewn skins of young or unborn guanaco, or of skunk, fox, or wildcat (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 68; Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Musters, 1872, p. 196), reaching to or below the knee, secured by a belt, painted with polychrome geometric designs (fig. 19; cf. Lothrop, 1929), ordinarily worn with the hair inside, but sometimes in hot weather with the hair outside (Coan, 1880, p. 75); a woven woolen fillet; sometimes a poncho. The women's dress (pl. 39, *top*) consisted of: An apron pubic covering (cf. Vignati, 1931 e); an undergarment reaching from the armpits to the knees; a mantle like the men's, but fastened at the breast or shoulder; the bota de potro, when on horseback; sometimes a flattish straw hat.

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515 356 but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

114 Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

621 **The band.**—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

621 423 721 Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19–20).

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Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73).

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780–83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65–68), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4′ S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

> The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: *although that family does not thereby lose its right to the* [its] *territory* [italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the tolderia which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.]

A tolderia may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76).

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621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

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horse, and had returned; and that the party were marching as fast as they could to overtake Casimiro. He had been detached, partly to hunt and partly to find us. In reply to my inquiries about Arica, he assured me that he was all right, and as there seemed no reason for disbelieving the statement we speedily rode back to the party, and rejoined them on the march, being received with shouts of laughter from the ladies; but as Arica was nowhere to be seen, I expressed my determination to ride back in search of him. This, however, they would not allow, but despatched a mounted Indian and spare horse to bring him in, and a good piece of meat for his refreshment. We then proceeded at a brisk rate, and by nightfall reached the camp. Orkeke at first seemed rather to resent my having started off alone, as if it argued a want of confidence in him; but his delight at having recovered his horse assisted him to recover his good humour. Mr. Clarke had sent me by him some powder, which he *said* he had lost, and some articles, such as linen and tobacco, and my presenting them all to him quite did away with any traces of ill-feeling.

621 The several detachments were all now reunited, and the party mustered altogether, besides the Chilians and myself, eighteen able-bodied Tehuelche or Patagonian men, with a proportionate number of women and children. The most important among the Indians were Orkeke, the actual cacique, and his brother Tankelow, who possessed the greater number of horses; Casimiro, whose leadership was still rather *in posse;* Camillo, Crimè, Cuastro, Cayuke, &c. One more must be mentioned by name, Wàki; a perfect Hercules in bodily frame, and a thoroughly good-natured fellow, with [165] whom I became great friends. Of all these men, who were in the camp by the Rio Chico on August 15, but eight survived to reach the Rio Negro in the following May; the rest had, at one time or another, been killed or had died. The secret feuds which were before long to endanger the safety of us all, were as yet concealed, and all appeared

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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to be good friends. The whole were housed in five toldos—621
by which Spanish name the Indian kau, or tents, strongly [342]
resembling those of our own gipsies, are known. They were pitched in a sheltered hollow, with their fronts facing the east, to avoid the bitter violence of the prevalent westerly winds.

Fitzroy has given an excellent description of the toldo; 342
but to those readers who are unacquainted with it a brief sketch will not be unacceptable. A row of forked posts about three feet high is driven into the ground in a slightly slanting position, and a ridge pole laid across them; in front of these, at a distance of about seven feet, a second row, six feet high, with a ridge pole; and at the same distance from them a third row, eight feet high, each slanting a little, but not at the same angle. A covering made of from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins, smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and the great drag of the heavy covering straightens the poles; it is then secured by thongs to the front poles, while hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping-places, and the baggage piled round the sides of the tent excludes the cold blast which penetrates under the edge of the covering. The fire is kindled in the fore part, or 'mouth of the tent.' In very bad weather, or when encamped for the winter, an additional covering is secured to the front poles and brought down over an extra row of short posts, making all snug. It is a common arrangement for relatives or friends to combine their toldos, when, instead of bringing down the coverings to the ground at the side, they are made to overlap, and thus one tent roof will cover two or three distinct domestic interiors.

The furniture of the toldos consists of one or two bolsters 352
and a horse hide or two to each sleeping compartment, one to act as a curtain and the other for bedding. The bolsters are made of old ponchos, or lechus, otherwise called mandils, woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, who are [439]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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576 Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and [537] down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Kone' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, [537] each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

621 These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel, 221 usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro 439 and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the 622 settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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621 only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and
221 for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of
439 mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the
622 Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three
231 head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still
291 also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos,
411 chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we
574 were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the
[631] cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One,
727 however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards,
525 and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

622 Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all 278
doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a petro
boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg.

Inquiries into the Tzoneca language are referred to the 277
vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most
distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa
or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I
could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted
with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work,
which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded
to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the
hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being
Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by
him.

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the 161
pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia
does not exceed 1,500 men, women, and children, according
to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when
the union of all the various parties, combined during my
journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them
with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern
and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given,
are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders.
Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the nomad parties,
combined by custom or often by chance. The population is
steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease
and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of ex-
tirpation of this race.

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood 421
that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head 422
cacique, such as Calfoucra, or any other, though they may
agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are
they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politi-
cally united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their
natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas
of 'one man being as good as another.' Casimiro's dying

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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● 621 words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly
622 express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gowuck,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yunk,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is ob-
[576] served between them; one chief being prohibited by custom from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of
[577] etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching
282 one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke
576 of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches coëto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, were he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

181 It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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CHAPTER VI.

TECKEL TO GEYLUM.

Casimiro's Household — Carge-kaik — Quintuhual's Son — Woolkein — Partridges — Meeting with the Araucanians — The Cacique Quintuhual — Eagel-kaik — Araucanian Belles — Communication with Chupat Colony — Diplaik — Calfcura's Declaration of War — Tehuelches learn Fishing — My Indian Relatives — Woodland Rambles — An Indian Paradise — The Upper Chupat — Cushamon — Losing Horses — Official Functions — Message from Las Manzanas — Blessing the Liquor — Casimiro Intoxicated — Foyel's Encampment — Great Parlemento — Foyel's Ideas — Gatchen-kaik — Arrival at Geylum.

ON January 21 the word was given to march, and all the united forces of the Tehuelches, numbering 200 men, with the usual allowance of women and children, prepared to advance to join the Araucanos. Ten toldos, forming Crimé's party, lingered behind, in consequence of the continued sickness of this caciquillo, who, however, sent word that he would follow in our rear. 621

All the horses were in excellent condition, and it was with great delight that I saw the immense cavalcade set out. Our family party in Casimiro's toldo included, besides the chief and his wife, sons, and little daughter Chingook, an old brother-in-law, Kai, nicknamed Chileno, and his wife and son Macho; and an old deaf and dumb woman of most repulsive aspect. The only good feature in Casimiro's character was his charity. He was always ready to afford an asylum to any destitute or infirm people, and his toldo was never without some such object of his pity. My honourable 592 [736]

[Pp. 199]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the public during the preparation of these pages for the press, and to which reference will be made in the ensuing chapter. Jackechan, after the return of his messenger, proceeded to Margensho, in the vicinity of which he met the parties under Teneforo, Patricio, Antonio, and other petty chiefs. These all united, and, sending into Patagones, obtained liquor and other stores, with which, as before mentioned they had a drink for ten days, but no quarrels or fights took place—a fact which redounds to the credit of the chiefs. After waiting a month for our party, they, owing to the scarcity of game, had come by easy stages to this place (Trinita). Jackechan then explained that the first toldos were those of the Pampa Indians, under Teneforo and Champayo, the former being absent in Patagones, getting his rations of animals; his Indians are pure Pampas, and are often called Kerekinches,* or armadilloes, for some reason unknown to me. Some of them are in the service of the Argentine Government, and liable to be called upon by Linares, chief of the tame Indians. The remaining toldos were those belonging to the Indians under Antonio and Patricio, who were composed of mixed Tehuelches and Pampas. The two encampments were situated about half a mile apart, separated by a winding stream, in some places concealed by most unusually high reeds. The position was entirely surrounded on the eastern, southern, and western sides by high rocky eminences; but to the north the valley apparently continued for some miles; its breadth was about three miles, and everywhere in the vicinity of the stream, which in some places had overflowed its banks and formed a marsh, the most luxuriant pasture was growing.

On returning to Patricio's toldo, I formally asked for the necessary horses to prosecute our journey, but was refused on the grounds of his having none to spare; so we determined, as our horses showed symptoms of fatigue and one was lame, to give them one day's rest before proceeding. We passed

* Quirquincho.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

old chief and another of my tormentors! So the scheme came to nothing; but after others more feasible had so dolefully miscarried, it was not in human nature to lay this disappointment very deeply to heart. I made as though I was glad to see the old fellow, though, could I then have had my will of the savages, they would have been safely anchored in the middle of the straits. I told him (Heaven forgive me!) I was looking for them. The chief responded to my greeting only by ordering me to mount his horse. I requested leave to stay a little longer, and was refused. I again requested to be taken to Port Famine;—no, I should be taken to "Holland."

I mounted behind him, and we travelled all day in the direction of Cape Virgin. For two days and nights I had eaten nothing, and drunk nothing but sea-water, and, in fact, had taken very little food for three days. We arrived about dark at an eminence commanding a view of their new squatting ground. Here we halted to take a short survey of the encampment. To them, doubtless, the prospect was beautiful; to me it was heart-sickening, but I strove to keep up cheerful appearances. Down in a valley or deep marshy hollow, covered with tall grass or rushes, an almost innumerable drove of horses were seen grazing; and beyond, at a short distance, the surface was thickly dotted with huts, erected, or in process of erection, by female architects. Children, in swarms like summer flies, and with no more artificial covering than those insects, were capering and shouting in high glee. At length we descended to the rude village; after tacking about, first to the right and then to the left, like a ship against a head wind, we came gallantly into town, and drew up at the

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Much clearer insight into the composition and functions of the band comes from Viedma. Each cacique or headman had "a determined territory under his jurisdiction, no Indian of his group can enter the territory of another headman without seeking the permission of the latter." Trespass without such permission was one of the chief causes of war. An Indian of one band wishing to pass through or tarry in the territory of another band, had to make three smoke signals and await the answering signals before entering such territory. If consent was not given by the cacique, he was commanded to depart forthwith. Trespass without such formality was interpreted as evidence of bad faith, and resort was had to arms (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 73).

Some idea of the size of band territories is given by Viedma. On the Atlantic coast between Puerto de Santa Elena in 40° S. latitude and Cabo Virgenes at the eastern end of the Strait of Magellan near 52° S. latitude, in all a distance as the crow flies of about 850 miles, there were in 1780–83, according to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 65–68), six bands with their respective headmen. The territory of the northernmost of these extended from Puerto de Santa Elena to Puerto de San Gregorio in 45°4′ S. latitude, about 350 miles north to south; the other five averaged about 100 miles of coast each. How far these territories extended inland Viedma does not explicitly state, but presumably well back toward, or perhaps even to, the foothills of the Andes.

The following passage, highly significant for the unique insight it gives into band composition and family land tenure, needs to be quoted in its entirety.

> The cacique is under obligation to protect and aid the Indians of his jurisdiction and territory in their necessities. In this respect he is the more esteemed, has a greater following among them, and is preferred as a cacique, who is more ready to aid them, more liberal, and more intelligent in the chase. For if he lacks these qualifications, they go off and seek another cacique who does possess them, leaving him [their previous headman] alone with his relatives, and exposed to continual invasions from neighbors: *although that family does not thereby lose its right to the* [its] *territory* [italics ours], and in the course of time there will ordinarily be some other person who will reestablish the tolderia which his father, grandfather, or brother has lost through misfortune or misconduct. When the cacique grows old and for lack of vigor cannot fulfill the obligations of his office, he relinquishes the command to his successor. [Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74.]

A tolderia may be composed of four, five, or more families, each family consisting of a man, his wife and children, and his relatives; this man, who is head or chief of the family, is a sort of subaltern-cacique, a subaltern of the cacique who has general charge of everyone and who has right of ownership of the territory (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 76).

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya

Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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CHAPTER II.

SANTA CRUZ.

Introduction to Chiefs—Orkeke—Chilian Deserters—The Settlement—Island of Pabon—Natural Advantages—The Mission Station—Mr. Clarke—Our Circle at Pabon—Expedition to Lake Viedma—Winter Occupations—Work and Play—Casimiro's Adventures—His character—A Winter Hunting Excursion—A Pampa Snow-storm—The Santa Cruz Valley—Up the River—The Northern Hills—Pumas—Devil's Eye—Hunting on Foot—Intense Cold—Return of the Deserters—Visit to the Indian Camp—First Night in a Toldo—Towing a Horse—Adieu to Santa Cruz.

OUR first business next day was to despatch a messenger to board the schooner, if she should prove to be still in the mouth of the river. My Chilian friends had found some of the deserters, who had been taken into employment, and subsequently detained as close prisoners by the major-domo, at the instance of a sergeant sent round from Punta Arena in the schooner, to solicit Don Luiz's assistance in their capture. About noon Casimiro, *soi-disant* chief of the Tehuelches, and father of Sam Slick, rode in from a hunting excursion, mounted on a tall, shapely horse, and carrying a guanaco on his saddle. I was formally introduced, and my plans and purpose fully explained to him; and soon after Orkeke, the cacique of the party of Northern Tehuelches, encamped on the Rio Chico, arrived. His consent was necessary to enable me to accompany them in their journey, and by means of Casimiro as an interpreter, as the chief spoke but little Spanish, my request was preferred. He confirmed the state-

[p. 35]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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ment of Mr. Clarke, that his people intended to winter in their present encampment, and then proceed northwards; but did not seem at all disposed to welcome the addition of an Englishman to his party, urging the difficult nature of the road, length of time, chances of fights, &c., &c. However, I hoped that during the enforced delay opportunities would arise of improving our acquaintance, and obtaining his consent. I was much struck with the grave and dignified bearing of the old chief. Standing fully six feet, and with a well-proportioned muscular frame, no one would have guessed him to have passed his sixtieth year; and whether vaulting on a bare-backed steed, or leading the chase, he displayed an agility and endurance equal to that of any of the younger men: his thick black hair was slightly streaked with grey; and the bright intelligent eyes, aquiline nose, and thin firm lips were very unlike the popular idea of Patagonian features; a retreating forehead rather marred the expression of his face, which was, however, grave and thoughtful, and at times strikingly intellectual. Months passed in his company gave me afterwards ample opportunity of studying his powers of reflection, which were great, and often found expression in pithy and amusing sayings. Although particularly neat in his dress, and cleanly in his habits, he was troubled, like all the Indians, with vermin; and one night he roused me up to have a smoke, and after sitting for some time, apparently lost in deep thought, he remarked, 'Musters, lice never sleep!' He would sometimes, but rarely, indulge in intoxication, but never quarrelled, and it was an understood thing that either he or his brother Tankelow should on occasions of a general drinking bout remain sober to protect their families. He was himself childless, and had adopted a little terrier named Ako, which enjoyed the place and honours of an only child; but he displayed great affection towards his nephews and nieces, some one or other of whom might often be seen in his arms on a march, or after the return from the chase. During our first acquaintance I was most pleased

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when, as often happened, he joined our little circle, and in the company of his old friend Mr. Clarke, unbent from his gravity and laughed and talked in a way that seemed quite foreign to the usually serious chief. It must be confessed that he was jealous and suspicious, and a little stingy, preferring to increase rather than lessen his large stock of horses, gear, and arms; but from the time I became his guest his conduct to myself was irreproachable.

In the evening the messenger returned; he had of course completely mistaken his instructions, and informed Don Luiz that the Englishman desired to proceed in the schooner to Buenos Ayres, and accordingly a boat arrived with the morning flood-tide to take me off. Mr. Clarke good-naturedly undertook to go himself and explain matters; and returned with a kind message, offering me quarters and every hospitality if I chose to remain in the settlement for the next two months, at the end of which period the schooner might be expected to return. Lieut. Gallegos strongly urged me to accompany him back to Punta Arena, painting in strong colours the tedium and discomfort of a winter at Santa Cruz. But it was plain that the opportunity of cultivating the acquaintance and securing the confidence of Orkeke would thus be thrown away, and with it the prospect of traversing the country. Gallegos believed that this plan was fraught with danger, and indeed almost certain destruction; but as I was immovable, we took an affectionate farewell of each other. He and all his party had treated me, an utter stranger, with the greatest kindness, and I bade adieu to them as true comrades. They departed on their return journey, taking with them the four prisoners, who, however, are destined to appear again in these pages. These men had undergone much hardship to obtain the liberty of which they seemed again deprived; three of them had managed to secure a horse, and walking and riding in turns had found their way to the Indians. Two of them, Olate and Rosa, the latter, though a mere boy, with a thoroughly evil and murderous coun-

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a huge puma couched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, however, as Arica was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indian with the meat and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of march and method of hunting which constitute the daily routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a loud oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of hunting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonition, by way of a wind up, with a boastful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's 'oration' —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men and boys lazo and bring up the horses, and the women place on their backs the bolster of reeds, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their belts on, or putting their babies

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each, and reserved as tid-bits for the women and children. When the head and breast half are to be cooked, the bone is not extracted, but the wings turned inside and the breast cavity filled with heated stones, and tied up with half of the skin of the legs, which have been divided, additional pieces of meat from the legs having been placed in the breast cavity. The fat of the breast is divided amongst the party at the fireside, the owner in all cases reserving none or a very small piece for himself, as the others who are cooking at the same fire are sure to give him plenty. The cacique generally receives the largest share, or if he is not present, the greatest friends of the owner. The wing feathers are carefully taken to the toldos and stored with others for future trade. The ostrich is most thoroughly eaten; the gizzard, which is large enough to fill both hands, being carefully cooked by the insertion of a hot stone and roasted; the eyes, too, are sucked, and the tripe devoured; but when the birds are thin they are simply skinned, and the carcase left to the pumas. After the meal, concluding the hunt, is finished, a pipe is handed round, saddles are re-adjusted, and the game placed on them, and the party adjourn to the toldos, which by this time have been pitched and arranged by the women.

Guanaco are not much killed, unless a long stay in a place is intended, or an Indian feels inclined for blood, or ostriches, which are always eaten in preference, are scarce. The meat of the guanaco is, however, excellent; the haunches are generally what is termed in Spanish 'charqueared,' which means that the meat is cut off in thin slices, and after a little salt has been sprinkled over it, is dried in the sun. When thoroughly dried it is roasted in the ashes, pounded between two stones, and mixed with ostrich or other grease; this preparation, like pemmican, is very useful for a man going a long journey, as it can be carried in a small compass, and a mere handful satisfies the appetite.

It would be tedious to describe every day's march, and the

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576 Both parties, fully armed, dressed in their best, and mounted on their best horses, formed into opposite lines.

The Northern Indians presented the gayest appearance, displaying flannel shirts, ponchos, and a great show of silver spurs and ornamental bridles. The chiefs then rode up and [537] down, dressing the ranks and haranguing their men, who kept up a continual shouting of 'Wap, Wap, Wap.' I fell in as a private, though Casimiro had vainly endeavoured to induce me to act as 'Capitanejo' or officer of a party. The Buenos Ayrean colours were proudly displayed on our side, while the Northerns carried a white weft, their ranks presenting a much better drilled aspect than our ill-disciplined forces. Messengers or hostages were then exchanged, each side deputing a son or brother of the chief for that purpose; and the new comers advanced, formed into columns of threes, and rode round our ranks, firing their guns and revolvers, shouting and brandishing their swords and bolas. After galloping round at full speed two or three times, they opened ranks, and charged out as if attacking an enemy, shouting 'Koue' at every blow or thrust. The object of attack was supposed to be the 'Gualichu' or demon, and certainly the demon of discord had need to be exorcised. Hinchel's party then halted and reformed their line, while we, in our turn, executed the same manœuvres. Afterwards the caciques advanced and formally shook hands, making, [537] each in turn, long and complimentary speeches. This was repeated several times, the etiquette being to answer only 'Ahon,' or Yes, until the third repetition, when all begin to talk, and formality is gradually laid aside. It was rather a surprise to find etiquette so rigorously insisted on, but these so-called savages are as punctilious in observing the proper forms as if they were Spanish courtiers.

621 These northern Tehuelches, under the command of Hinchel,
221 usually frequent the country lying between the Rio Negro
439 and the River Sengel, and once a year, about July, visit the
● 622 settlement of Patagones, where their stay is generally short,

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only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

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T 622 but he managed to converse, and he asked me if the Southern Tehuelches were not a queer lot, for he had heard that they killed men as readily as they would guanaco. From what casimiro had reported, I was already inclined to respect this cacique, who had expressed such readiness to protect or avenge a guest of the Indians, and closer acquaintance only strengthened my regard for him. He was a fine-looking man, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance, which was not belied by his disposition. He never, to my knowledge, exceeded sobriety, and was good-humoured and self-possessed; though if once roused to fight, his resolute and determined courage was well known. He was skilled at all sorts of handicraft, and was always busily employed. He was generous to a fault—ready to give away everything if asked for it, and often without the asking. His great weakness was an inveterate fondness for gambling, which, together with his lavish good-nature, eventually impoverished him greatly. At his request, I informed Casimiro and Orkeke T 622 that he desired to hold a parlemento. Accordingly, the 623 chiefs all proceeded to a place agreed upon between the two camps, where they took their seats in a circle on the grass. After various harangues from Hinchel and others, it was resolved that Casimiro should be elected chief in command of the Tehuelches; and that after the expiration of the young guanaco season, all present, together with those expected from the neighbourhood of the Chupat, should proceed to a place called Teckel, and thence march to Las Manzanas, to unite there with the Araucanian Indians, some of whom had already communicated with us, and had promised to forward T A my letters, *vid* Las Manzanas, to Rio Negro.

648 The relations between the Tehuelches or Tsonecas of Patagonia and the Araucanian Indians of Las Manzanas had been previously by no means of a pacific nature. It has been already mentioned that near the Sengel we passed the scene of a fierce battle between them. Tankelow bore still the scars of seven lance wounds received in a battle when he was

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in one, which came under my own observation, beyond all doubt, death was caused by poisoning the inside of a potro boot, the wearer of which had a slight wound on the leg. 278

Inquirers into the Tsoneca language are referred to the vocabulary in the Appendix; but it is needful to state most distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I could not at all understand the Pampas; and this is noted with reference to statements made in M. Guinnard's work, which, coupled with other internal evidences already alluded to, compel me to doubt that the author was ever in the hands of the real Patagonians, his captors and masters being Pampas or Araucanos, whose customs are well described by him. 197

As distinguished from these Indians, the number of the pure Tehuelches, both northern and southern, in Patagonia does not exceed 1,500 men, women, and children, according to the returns of effective warriors given at the time when the union of all the various parties, combined during my journey for political purposes, enabled me to compute them with exactness. Beyond the two great divisions into northern and southern, the subdivisions of tribes, so frequently given, are imaginary, or arise out of names of temporary leaders. Nor is the term clan very appropriate to the nomad parties, combined by custom or often by chance. The population is steadily and rapidly decreasing, and the inroads of disease and ill effects of liquor are, as usual, doing the work of extirpation of this race. 161

As to their organization, it must be distinctly understood that these Indians owe no manner of allegiance to any head cacique, such as Calfcura, or any other, though they may agree to obey one chief, as for instance, Casimiro; nor are they, except by intermarriage or voluntary association, politically united with either Pampas or Araucanians. Their natural bias is to independence, and rather insubordinate ideas of 'one man being as good as another.' Cuastro's dying 621 622

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621 words, 'I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me,' aptly
622 express the prevalent feeling on this subject. Nevertheless, all 'parties,' however small, are, when travelling, under the command of a cacique or 'gownok,' who is sometimes also designated by the more endearing epithet of 'yank,' or father; but his influence is very frequently confined to ordering the march and chase. Some of the chiefs are hereditary, but it is not invariably the rule; and amongst the northern Indians there are many petty chiefs, who are men that, having become possessed of a few mares and horses, assume the title of cacique. Great etiquette is ob-
[576] served between them; one chief being prohibited by custom from entering the toldo of another unless presents have previously been interchanged. Another curious point of
[606] etiquette is that a man is not allowed to look towards his father-in-law when in conversation with him; this is, however, not confined to the aristocracy, but also applies to the common herd. When two parties of Indians are approaching
202 one another, and sufficiently near to distinguish the smoke
576 of the hunting-fires, a signal-fire is lighted, and a chasqui—called by the Tehuelches coêto—generally some relative of the chiefs, is despatched from either side. On meeting they repair to the camp of the most powerful, and, on arriving near, more horsemen sally out and escort them to the toldo of the chief. On arrival the new comer dismounts, his horses and gear are taken charge of, and he is shown, with great formality, to a seat, were he patiently remains, sometimes for an hour, answering, with grave face, all questions; and then delivers any message he may be entrusted with. Although he may be wearied, tired, and hungry, he never moves until the formalities are concluded; he is then provided with the best food and accommodation his host is possessed of.

181 It is to be hoped that the narrated actual life in the toldos will have enabled the reader to form an idea of the character of the Tehuelches more favourable than that which—except by the missionaries, Messrs. Hunziker and

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drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was cur- 203
rent that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them, and various other stories, most of which were declared to be lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish their hearers. Crimè's widow took up her abode in our toldo; [796]
and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the 422
rank of lieutenant in the Buenos Ayrean army, and the right of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique, who at last declared that he should name his almost insane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated by annual pay! On April 22 a start was made, but we remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing, so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was 133
presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular hills, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after 261
it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce, what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given to those recovering from sickness.

Jackechan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as 755
the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for. He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, muttering a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

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ing incantations; when this was completed, the doctor 755
disappeared for a minute or two, returning with an ornamented hide bag in his hand; this he opened, and produced from the bottom some charms carefully enveloped in rags, which he, after performing some mystic hocus-pocus, returned to the bag. He next took the baby from the mother, and patting it gently on the head, and muttering in a low tone, dipped its head into the bag two or three times, and then returned it to its mother. A white mare was brought up, and, after being daubed all over with hand-marks of red ochre, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten on the spot, the heart, liver, and lungs being hung on a lance, to the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Care was taken, as in other ceremonies, that no dogs approached to eat the offal, which was buried, the head and backbone being removed to a neighbouring hill.

On the 9th of May we started, arriving the same evening 133
at Margenabo, which was, as the Indians had previously described it to me, a large grassy plain lying below a step or barranca, and watered by a brook running N.E. and S.W. During the hunt over the previously described plains there was nothing remarkable except the extreme scarcity of game, skunks alone being numerous; fortunately I killed a male guanaco, and as I had the previous day corrected my page he brought up the horses most carefully, so that all was in readiness for an early start. Before sundown the chiefs 422
were collected, and the contents of the letter read to them; they all appeared pleased, and after adding a postscript setting forth the names and number of the chiefs who required rations I closed the correspondence.

Hinchel came and provided me with tobacco, asking as a favour that if any of his friends in the settlement should inquire if he got drunk when occasion offered in the pampas, I would bear witness to his sobriety; he also entreated that I would either return to the Indians or remain in Patagones until he arrived, which latter I promised to do.

[Letter to be delivered to the Argentine authorities.—*Ed. pal.*]

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622 At the risk of repetition, it must be said this man was the best Tehuelche, excepting perhaps Wiki, I ever had anything to do with; he was frank, honest, generous, sober, and in every way fit for a chief; a ready and skilled workman in all Indian trades, from breaking a colt to constructing a saddle or silver necklace; his only vice being gambling, but for which last habit he would have been the richest and most powerful chief, as he was universally respected.

623 Orkeke also sent for me, and put into my hand a packet of tobacco for the journey, which he assured me would be long, tedious, and dangerous. I promised to ask particularly for his ration, and if the Government would not grant it, to make him a present myself. He wished me to return, but I pointed out to him that for various reasons it would be better not, so we parted, agreeing to meet in Patagonia.

202 It may be as well to mention that if the post of chasqui, or herald, as he may be styled, be an honourable one, for which as a rule only the near relatives of chiefs are employed, the duties are sufficiently hard. The chasqui is expected to ride like 'young Lochinvar,' as fast and as far each day as the horse will carry him; he must not turn aside or halt even for the purpose of hunting, and unless an ostrich or other game cross his path may have to go without supper after his day's fifty or sixty miles' journey, while his bed and bedding are the ground and mantle. Of course endurance, sobriety, and reliable steadiness of purpose are essential qualifications, especially if the distance to be travelled over be great. And Nacho had always approved himself an excellent chasqui, and was an unerring guide even across the trackless traverse.

When the chasqui falls in with other Indians on the march, or an encampment, he is ceremoniously received and honourably entertained, and it is usually expected that in case of need he will be supplied with fresh horses to prosecute his mission.

The following morning at daylight another consultation

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houses, as they descended from the travesia, and hastened back to the town to receive them, according to promise. It will be remembered that on my arrival as chasqui I presented to Señor Murga my despatches, in which Casimiro detailed his arrangements for the protection of Patagones. A list of the chiefs to whom rations or gifts of cattle, horses, &c., were due, was also enclosed, and a request that a hundred mares should be sent out at once with the returning messengers. After some days' delay I was sent for by Señor Murga, who, it may be here remarked, is reputed to thoroughly understand the Indians, and to display considerable address in managing them. It was amusing to observe the natural suspicion and perplexity aroused in the mind of the Commandante concerning my position among the Indians; and my reply to his question as to what rank and influence I possessed among them, and how I was interested for them—that I was simply a guest and friend—did not seem at all sufficient to explain matters. But he discussed the question of the chiefs and their requests, and assured me that all the chiefs who should be found to be entitled to rations should duly receive them: he, however, absolutely refused to send out any mares, declaring that Casimiro should receive all his dues when he arrived.

As the grand cacique had for several years not drawn his annual allowance, amounting to 200 cows, 100 mares, 500 sheep, and a quantity of clothes and yerba, it can be well imagined that with fair play and prudence he would, on this visit, become a wealthy as well as powerful cacique, as a reward for his labours. At his previous visit he had left a quantity of cattle and sheep, under charge of some of the Tame Indians, to increase and multiply; but alas! on his arrival, in reply to his inquiries, only one small flock of sheep was forthcoming, the rest, instead of multiplying, having been gambled away by their guardians. The liberality of the Argentines and the largeness of the gifts may appear surprising; and indeed the nominal value, as charged to the Government for these annual gifts to the Indians, is very

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000 the Chupat, and perhaps to Santa Cruz. Jackechan's son—the boy with light hair and complexion—volunteered to come to England with me, and I consented to take him; but on hearing that there were no ostriches or guanaco where we
A were going, he thought better of it.

157 Some of Quintuhual's and Foyel's people also arrived, but behaved themselves in a very different manner to the Tehuelches. Their women and children had all been left in Geylum, and the men walked about in a very independent manner, with a proud, superior bearing, not condescending to admire anything, or to ask for any presents. One of them, on the boatman requesting his fare for bringing him across the river, refused flatly, and then drew his revolver to
T enforce his denial.

622 Last, but not least, as became so great a personage, Casimiro arrived, attended by Meña, who acted as secretary. His costume had suffered considerably from his late pursuits, and his appearance was by no means improved by a gash in his face received from a Manzanero in a brawl at Sauce Blanco. He installed himself in the hotel, hired the fifes and drums of the garrison to play whilst he was at breakfast, and for two days kept open house for all comers, ending the day in an advanced state of intoxication.

At the end of this debauch a bill was handed to him which, I should think, took the value of nearly half his rations. This sobered him, and he, taking my advice, left the hotel, and crossing the river proceeded to Sauce Blanco to look after his rations and Indians. On the whole, the Indians behaved
000 very well whilst in the settlement. I saw, of course, some drunkenness, but not nearly so much as I had expected. One and all parted from me with most cordial farewells, and pressed me to return to the Pampa, as they call it, as soon as possible. Jackechan was one of the last to leave. He, as well as one or two of the others, had found an old acquaintance in Mr. Humphreys, formerly of the Chupat colony, but now settled in Patagones as carpenter. We all met in Mr.

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procured weighing each about a pound, connected by a strap or thong of leather, ten or twelve feet long. When engaged in the chase, his horse at his highest speed, the rider holds one ball in his hand, and whirls the other rapidly above his head; when it has acquired sufficient momentum it is hurled with unerring aim at the object of pursuit, and either strikes the victim dead, or coils inextricably about him and roots him to the spot, a helpless mark for the hunter's knife.

This tribe numbered about one thousand; the chief is the acknowledged head of the people. Whether his power was hereditary or elective, I could not learn; but incline to the belief that it was hereditary, as it appeared to be, in his theory at least, absolute. In all questions of importance his decision is final; yet his subjects take considerable liberty with his opinions, sometimes oppose his counsels, and even question his authority. On the appearance of such democratic symptoms, he sometimes finds it necessary to assert his sovereignty with spirit, and brandishes his cutlass smartly before their eyes.

The habits of the people are not only filthy, but indolent to the last degree; exertion of body or mind is their greatest dread. They never go on a hunting expedition till there is nothing more to eat, nor even then till they feel the spur of extreme hunger. It sometimes happens that at such a crisis a storm comes on, which shuts them in; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them, under such circumstances, to pass two or three days without tasting food. They learn nothing by experience; the same childish indolence and recklessness, followed by the same painful consequences, are continually recurring.

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attention The chief came home from the council full of it. He was in royal good humor, and talked about it half the night; but several objections arose, which it was necessary for me to dispose of. These were met, apparently to his full satisfaction. One of the most serious was the fear that the white men would revenge upon him the murder of Captain Eaton. I assured him that so long as I was with him he had nothing to fear on that score; the people were all mine, and would do, or refrain from doing, whatever I should bid them. They would not dare to lift their hands against him contrary to my orders, or refuse to deliver what articles I chose to demand. Nothing, I found, would do, but the assertion of absolute supremacy over all white men whatever, the world around; less than this would not secure the confidence of these savages, and I regulated my speech by the necessities of the case. The chief inquired, half a dozen times over, what I would say to the white men, and I as often rehearsed an address for the occasion. At last his curiosity seemed abated, and we fell asleep.

Early the next morning we were up and stirring, and the chief having adjusted his toilet with care, a slight breakfast was made ready. This over, his highness stood forth, and from the door of his lodge made an official address to the tribe, wherein he set out the advantages of a visit to "Holland," and suggested the most expedient style of making it. He advised that a few only of the tribe should be deputed, with himself, to accompany me, and receive the stores of rum, tobacco, bread, rice, tea, butter, beads, brass, copper, and so forth, that were to be forthcoming, as the expression of my gratitude for the distinguished consideration with which they had treated me.

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Though royal speeches seldom excite any jealousy of plagiarism, and it may seem a little captious on my part to make such a charge, it is due to "the truth of history" to declare, that herein the great Parosilver did but repeat a suggestion which he did me the honor to receive with favor over-night. It was not deemed essential to the case to inform his highness of *all* the reasons that led me to wish for as small an escort as the nature of the business would admit. On the contrary, acting upon the profound maxim, that one *sufficient* reason is as good as a dozen, and better than that number of questionable ones, I merely advised, that, after the experience which Captain Eaton and others had had of Patagonian prowess, the sight of too many of his giants would frighten away the whites, and prevent all beneficial communication with them; while the presence of a small deputation would be a pledge of their pacific inclinations. The speech from the throne proved less *moving* than most of the chief's effusions; his lieges listened with great interest, and an earnest debate sprung up, at the conclusion of which it was decided that the chief, with four other Indians and their squaws, should be my body-guard, the rest of the tribe to follow after. Another old woman begged to go with us, which was agreed to. The horse I had been in the habit of riding was lame, and unfit for service; another was procured for me.

Our simple preparations for departure were soon made, and as we were about to start they all began bringing their dirty children to me, and requesting that I would bring brass and beads for them all; which was gravely promised, much to their satisfaction. There remained the last act in the comedy for which I had been long rehearsing, — if, in-

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN COAST OF THAT REGION OF THE SOUTH COMMONLY CALLED PATAGONIA

The harbor of Santa Elena is a good one for all types of ships and is situated on the 40° line of southern latitude. Sweet water is to be found only in a glade to the west, filled by the winter rains as they are held by a ridge which lies across the glade's mouth near the beach. Inland, some four or five leagues, the Indians reported the presence of some small springs. All the terrain is rocky except for the small valleys, in which there is good grass and an abundance of espinillo firewood. The Indian chief who rules this section is called Ayzo; his jurisdiction stretches up to the harbor of San Gregorio. He said that from the coast westward toward the mountains there are some 70 leagues of habitable land, but the land beyond that limit is absolutely uninhabitable by man or beast. Hares are very abundant here, being like small antelope and very good to eat; quirquinchos, [type of armadillo--Translator] also good eating, have shells which the Indians use as pans or plates; pumas have flesh which is very savory, juicy and tender, and is like the roasted breast of a turkey; there are a few guanacos too, some partridges and many ostriches. The Indians subsist on all of these, as also on horse meat, which they have in great abundance and which is their favorite food. Fish, in which the harbor abounds, is of the kind which we call borriquete and pejerey, both of which are delicious.

The harbor of San Gregorio is situated at 45° 4' latitude south. It is not very secure and its entrance is bad owing to its rock strewn bottom and weak anchorage. The terrain which surrounds it is rocky and rugged; one must go inland some 5 leagues [65] before striking water. The mountain chain is about as far from this harbor as it is from that of Santa Elena, according to the Indians. This land is even more sterile than the former. The Indian chief who controls these lands is called Gorgona. The game and fish are the same as in the previous place but the Indians do not eat the fish since they do not know how to catch them and lack the necessary implements for doing so. In the cove called Camarones there is an abundance of shrimp, as there is also in San Julian and Puerto Deseado, and a kind of fish called gallo; but as already mentioned, the Indians do not make use of them. There is here quite a lot of espinillo firewood, and the rock is very solid and hard.

The gulf of San Jose is south of cape Matas, which is at the same latitude as San Gregorio; from the point at which its mouth begins to cape Blanco, there are 50 leagues. The northern shores have been explored by small ships to a point about 40 leagues to the west. There are

133 many havens there, protected by numerous islands and sandbanks. The coast is not as high, but the land is even more barren than that of the [136 other harbors, there being neither water nor grass, although firewood is 312] not altogether lacking, especially inland. The Indians said that the gulf 313] continues toward the west almost up to the mountains, that some springs flow into it there and that it is impossible to cross the mountains to the other side. They added that there is much espinillo brushwood in the [487] region, going from north to south, through which they have cut paths in order to get through, and should they ever deviate from these paths, they become lost. The southern shores of the gulf, they say, are more arid than the northern, but the fauna is the same as in the others. The [62] Indian chiefs who rule this territory are two brothers, called Chaiguas and Enis.

Puerto Deseado is situated at 47° 48′ of southern latitude; it is a good harbor but of difficult entry because of the narrowness of its mouth and the violence of the currents which flow in it. The coast is [312 very high and craggy; there is firewood and in the gullies there are some 313] small springs of sweet but slightly brackish water, some 14 in all, which [134] can take care of any need. Game is the same as it was in the other parts; there are innumerable sea lions and seals and an abundance of guanacos. [The chief who controls these lands is called Ulquiquenque; he said that the mountain chain is about 20 "sleeps" from the harbor, which must be about 70 leagues, and also that it is impossible to cross over to the other side, that his people have never crossed nor seen other Indians cross [135] the mountains. In this district there is white, black, red and other colored rock, and a little marble in small broken pieces. [66] The [312 earth also is of various colors and the Indians use it to make their paints. [134] There are also many seals and sea lions on the islands in the haven.

The harbor of San Julian is located at 49° 21′ of southern latitude and is the best on the coast, although the entrance to it is difficult for an unpracticed person because of the bank at its mouth and two others which are inside. The terrain also is the best on the whole coast, not at all rocky and more fertile, as we found out when we were there the three [312 years which the settlement lasted from 1781 to 1784 [sic]. The closest source of water is about a league from the beach, and is made up of some wells filled by the overflow from a spring which lies about a league [313 and a half away. There is ample firewood in all the dells, all of which 137] also abound in grass and water, the terrain being made up almost entirely of such gullies, and of stoneless hills. The mountain chain is 70 leagues away toward the west, and at its base there are three cove-like depressions in each of which there is a lake fed by the snow which melts on the mountain tops. I explored this region at the foot of the mountains

133 entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow [484] most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at 622 50° 12′ of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

133 Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the [312] other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams, [315] [136] an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite [137] number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest [620] following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings [493] [484] being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses, [727] which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian. This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors [224] under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there [136] are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more [136] southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

462 woman be sick, for she must somehow find the strength to do all this.
[342 In addition to these things she must sew the tent together, it being made
281] always of the skins of full grown guanacos, and all the other skins which
go to make bedding and clothing, these usually being made of hare,
skunk or newly born or unborn guanacos. These small guanacos are col-
lected and skinned in the springtime, and those in excess of the local
need are bartered with the Indians of Rio Negro for horses, clothing,
beaded halters and knives, which the latter acquire by trading or on their
438 periodic invasions of the Buenos Aires frontier. The fact is that the
Indians whom we are here describing have never had dealings with Spaniards
until the present date, nor have they seen any Spanish towns, nor do these
regions contain iron, metal, brass, tools or arms - all these things must
be acquired by the above mentioned trading. The women, in order to
[281 sew the skins together use awls which they make from the iron the Rio
283] Negro Indians give them, and instead of thread they use nerves which
they collect, as needed, from the legs of ostriches.

622 The chieftainship is hereditary and his authority absolute in re-
484 gard to shifting the camp site in search of the game upon which they live.
203 When the chief thinks that it is time to move he shouts out a speech in a
loud voice from his tent the evening before the move is to be made. All
the others listen to him with great attention, each from his own tent.
He tells them that a move must be made on the following day, he assigns
a time for rounding up [71] the horses, for striking the tents and for
starting out; no one answers him, and at the assigned hour all are ready
484 as he has ordered. The women travel along paths which lead to the
watering places where they are to stay; they are responsible for all the
224 baggage. The men, after the women have got under way, spread out
and take their places in the surrounding region in order to enclose the
guanacos and entangle them with the bolas as they attempt to break away.
The guanacos cannot be chased, for they dash away headlong at such
speed that no horse or dog can catch them. Once brought down by the
bolas the dogs assist the Indians to finish them off. The chief himself
assigns the position each Indian must take for the guanaco beat, for which
[622] in testimony of his overlordship, he is given part of the catch. The chief
never takes active part in the hunt and does nothing other than go from
484 stand to stand. The longest day's journeys are of four leagues. On ar-
riving at the assigned camping place the women put up the tents, col-
[313 lect firewood and have everything ready for the coming of the men. The
462] latter, when the sun sets, go to their tents, and never have I seen any of
them arrive at their tents after nightfall. If the march is to be continued
on the following day the chief harangues his people in the same manner

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to [462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them [92] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited ●622 to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When 721 623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion 721 203 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 423 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the following: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from 484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission [202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "ɛ," "ɛ," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the ablebodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

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T 622 but he managed to converse, and he asked me if the Southern Tehuelches were not a queer lot, for he had heard that they killed men as readily as they would guanaco. From what casimiro had reported, I was already inclined to respect this cacique, who had expressed such readiness to protect or avenge a guest of the Indians, and closer acquaintance only strengthened my regard for him. He was a fine-looking man, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance, which was not belied by his disposition. He never, to my knowledge, exceeded sobriety, and was good-humoured and self-possessed; though if once roused to fight, his resolute and determined courage was well known. He was skilled at all sorts of handicraft, and was always busily employed. He was generous to a fault—ready to give away everything if asked for it, and often without the asking. His great weakness was an inveterate fondness for gambling, which, together with his lavish good-nature, eventually impoverished him greatly. At his request, I informed Casimiro and Orkeke T 622 that he desired to hold a parlemento. Accordingly, the ● 623 chiefs all proceeded to a place agreed upon between the two camps, where they took their seats in a circle on the grass. After various harangues from Hinchel and others, it was resolved that Casimiro should be elected chief in command of the Tehuelches; and that after the expiration of the young guanaco season, all present, together with those expected from the neighbourhood of the Chupat, should proceed to a place called Teckel, and thence march to Las Manzanas, to unite there with the Araucanian Indians, some of whom had already communicated with us, and had promised to forward T A my letters, *vid* Las Manzanas, to Rio Negro.

648 The relations between the Tehuelches or Tsonecas of Patagonia and the Araucanian Indians of Las Manzanas had been previously by no means of a pacific nature. It has been already mentioned that near the Sengel we passed the scene of a fierce battle between them. Tankelow bore still the scars of seven lance wounds received in a battle when he was

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at the end of some marvellous tale, would command me to tell it again. This was no easy task, considering the freaks which my imagination usually played without restraint, in the progress of the narrative. In no long time, however, I learned to imitate the prudence of boys who turn down the leaves of their books, or of Indians who break down the shrubs and twigs along a new path, by taking special note of my deviations, — a sort of mental dog's-ear, or way-mark, interposed at the point of departure. It was not difficult to retrace the way at their bidding, and give them the whole journey, to its minutest turnings.

The excitement and dissatisfaction which I had remarked and dreaded appeared to have died away, when one night I had startling evidence that it was still active. At the usual hour of rest, as I was expecting every moment to be ordered, like a dog, to my cold corner of the lodge, a gigantic, ill-favored fellow made his appearance, and exchanged, in an under tone, a few words with the chief. Without comprehending a word that was passing, I could see, by their significant glances, that the colloquy concerned me, and that it boded me no good. The giant soon disappeared. The chief sat a moment in silence, rose, and ordered me to follow him. To the question where he was taking me, no other answer was vouchsafed than "Come along!" We had proceeded but a short distance when I observed a group of Indians sitting in a circle on the earth. The sight almost froze my blood. The most dismal apprehensions seized upon me. There needed no wizard to tell the import of the scene. The *fatal ring*, so much to be dreaded by those who are cast upon the tender mercies of savages was set for me. The suddenness of it aggravated the blow. It

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almost paralyzed thought, and arrested my powers of motion. The catastrophe of the tragedy, I thought, is at hand, unless arrested by the interposition of a higher power. In my way to the dreaded spot I sent up a silent supplication that He whose eye marked all my footsteps, and whose power was all-sufficient for my protection against utmost peril, would keep me in that hour of my "extremity," and make it, according to the proverb, His "opportunity."

Arrived at the ring, I found the Indians squatting on the ice and snow awaiting us, with their cutlasses and large knives tucked under their blankets, — weapons they never carry except when they expect to use them. I was ordered within, and seated myself as near as possible to the chief. They presently began talking in rotation, as they sat, in their own tongue. Their words were mainly unintelligible; but the deadly malice that flashed from the eyes, kindled in the features, and animated the gesticulations, of some of them, left no room to doubt the significance of their speech. A part of them were clamorous against my life, as they had constantly been. Others appeared to be irresolute, and said little; but, so far as could be discovered, no voice was raised in my favor. The chief spoke last, — I hung upon his lips, and anxiously scrutinized his face and action. I gathered that he was in favor of holding on a while longer, and using me as a decoy, to lure others within their power; reminding them of my promises, — the quantities of rum and tobacco they were to get from me, the trinkets destined for women and children. He was for getting the booty before cutting the matter short with me. His remarks evidently had great weight with the council,

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●623 and exerted a soothing effect on all of them. At this point I thought it a meet season to impress upon their minds that I was of some consequence in the world, and asked leave to speak for myself, which was granted. Thereupon I launched forth in an oration, the chief acting as interpreter, and retailing it to the circle sentence by sentence:

"Buenos Senores! Me mucho grande Americane capitan, mismo commodant mucho mass, mucha barca, mucha galeta, muchos soldados, muchos marinarios. Me tene mucho mucho big guns, bastante poquito mismo bastante, cutlass, pistols mucho bastante. Vuestros hombres buenos per me, mi marinarios, mi soldados, buenos per vos. Othro corso usted malo rumpe me," &c. &c. &c. In such a jumble of Spanish, English and Indian, duly set off with grimace and gesture, I gave them to understand that they were dealing with no inferior personage, but with one who was at home as good as the president; one having at command abundance of steamships and sailing vessels of all sorts, with soldiers and mariners, big guns and little guns, pistols and cutlasses. That if they were good to me they would receive good from me and mine; but that, if they did me any harm, men would come from North America in numbers as incalculable as the hairs of their heads, and kill every mother's son of them. Furthermore, if they would take me to some white settlement, whether American, English, French or Spanish, I would order the white people to give them rum, tobacco, flour, rice, sugar and tea. *Of course* the white men could do no less than obey, and they would thus be enabled to indulge themselves in luxuries almost without limit.

It was evident, at a glance, that my speech was seasonable,

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and took effect in the right quarter. Their eyes stood out with wonder, and the sternness of their countenances was relaxed. They acquiesced in the proposal to postpone final action for the present, and see what could be made out of me before doing their worst. In a few days, they said, they would take me to "Holland;" but, no matter what time was limited, that "undiscovered country" seemed continually further off, — "a name" without any "local habitation." Their conduct in this was determined, as I was afterwards assured, by the fact that they were entirely undecided what to do with me. They longed for the good things I had told them of, and their greedy appetites could only be satisfied by taking me to a white settlement. On the other hand, they were painfully suspicious that I meant to give them the slip, and dreaded the result of bringing me into the vicinity of any settlement; while, at the same time, my grandiloquent assumptions and lofty threats made them shrink from the thought of doing me serious harm. The big guns and little guns greatly disturbed their imaginations. In short, I seemed to them an ugly customer — bad to keep, and bad to get rid of. They temporized, therefore, promised and hesitated, and postponed, and promised again. There was no use in trying to hurry their movements. So I gave them line upon line, seeking every opportunity to deepen the troublesome impression that they assumed a mighty responsibility when they made me a prisoner, and that their welfare depended greatly on the issue.

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484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to [462] do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them [92] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown 622 they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When 721 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may ● 623 have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion 721 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning 203 hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [72] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol- 423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from 484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission [202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

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was frozen, and a large iron bolt, doubtless from some wreck, served as a crowbar to dig holes for the stakes. The encampment was on a hill-side, near a low swamp, which furnished abundance of water, such as it was.

We had scarcely settled down, and I was dreading the stagnant monotony of camp life, when dulness was dispelled in a most unwelcome manner. Knots of Indians could be seen in murmuring conversation, whose glances betrayed the heat of their passions. They were again getting impatient of my life, and entreaties and flattery were of no avail to stem the rising tide. On the evening of the third day, I was summoned out of the lodge by the chief, and followed him in silence, with a trembling presentiment of evil. He led me to a spot where twenty or thirty leading spirits in the tribe sat ranged in a circle, — the fatal ring was once more set to ensnare me! Once I had escaped. Was it possible to effect a second escape? Everything said no. The chances seemed a hundred to one against it. What had I left unsaid, to tempt their cupidity, to excite alarm, to make them value my safety or dread the effects of harming me? I could think of nothing, and the dismal prospect benumbed every faculty of my soul. But, as I entered the ominous circle, an access of fresh strength, the courage of desperation, enabled me to bear up with energy against perplexity and fear; to resolve that I would meet them with a steadfast eye and an inflexible mind, — a force which, though springing out of weakness, should prove stronger than their utmost malice.

Having seated myself near the chief, the consultation began and proceeded much as before, but with increased vehemence. Their demonstrations were alarming, but, to

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my joy, the chief took the same view as in the former council. Would he be able to restrain their savage tempers? His power was great, but there was a limit to its effect, and I feared. In my turn I sought to enforce his views, by arraying all the motives invention could produce, and was able to perceive that they had some weight. Again the matter was canvassed around the ring. There was a hesitation, as if they felt suspicious and unsatisfied. Then they began to cross-examine me: my promises were not explicit enough. What did I mean to give them? The answer did not content them; they wanted more. More or less made no difference to me, and I gave them assurance of all the good things they craved, when we should arrive at *Holland*. Another talk followed, and brought them to a pretty unanimous conclusion, that they would get the presents first, and *decide my fate afterwards*; — a "squeeze-your-orange-and-throw-it-away" policy, in which these rascals seemed to be remarkable adepts.

The natives had no idea that I could understand their talk, and I was not at all eager to display my acquisitions. In fact, though unable to speak their jargon, my ear had become pretty well trained to interpret it, while my scrape of half Spanish enabled me, without suspicion, to hear, mark and digest, much of their conversation. This was, in part, acquired in teaching some of them, the youth especially, to speak English and to count, — a pursuit in which I engaged partly for their benefit, and partly for my own. Besides aiding me in learning their language, it tended, so far as it diverted their attention, to keep mischief out of their heads, after the manner in which constant employment maintains order in a ship's crew. It added to my knowl-

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the next day running about and giving line upon line to the most influential of the tribe, and succeeded, as I thought, in awakening a degree of enthusiasm to move towards the place where all these good things were to be got. In confirmation of this, I had the satisfaction of being called at night to attend a solemn council.

It was a peaceful gathering, — they left their weapons behind, — but it contemplated only a sort of preliminary inquiry; the Patagonians know how to make their forms of procedure as tedious as any of our courts of law, summary as are many of their dealings. They examined and cross-examined very strictly, sifting my story with a severity which showed that they were in earnest, and at the same time a little suspicious. It was necessary to be on my guard at all points; and if they had been more docile learners of arithmetic, and able to stick on questions of number and quantity, it might have been a harder matter to satisfy them. But, on the whole, the old story was stuck to with a degree of consistency that produced the desired effect. Their confidence was perceptibly raised, and, after a good deal of talk, the council adjourned, every one more than ever disposed to visit "Holland."

While at this encampment, I observed on the ground about a dozen large oyster-shells, that appeared to have been recently opened. These were the first and only shells of the kind I saw in the country. I inquired if they were plenty in that vicinity. They said they were not; none of the tribe seemed to know where they came from, or anything about them. The chief said that he and his people did not relish oysters, but other Indians ate them. He did not like fish of any kind; no fish had grease enough for them; and none of his Indians ate fish.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 542
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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a lance thrust clean through the thigh of Hummums, a young Indian, who seemed to care very little about it. The fight originated out of a vendetta between Cuastro and Camillo, the latter having some years before caused the death of a member of the family of the former, who had on a previous occasion endeavoured to avenge it on Camillo, and he had only attached himself to our party, in company with Crimè, in order to obtain an opportunity of assassinating Camillo. This Cuastro had been suspected on good grounds of making away with Mendoza, the Argentine sent from Buenos Ayres in company with Casimiro, and who mysteriously disappeared; and he had certainly, when under the influence of rum, at Santa Cruz, murdered his own wife Juana, a daughter of Casimiro, so that brave as he was he had richly deserved the fate he met with.

After the obsequies of the dead had been hurriedly performed—a description of which is reserved for another place—the tents were struck, and all marched off, the men remaining armed, and each party travelling separately. Cayuke was sent back some miles to ascertain if there were any signs of the other Southern Indians, who were half expected to overtake us; but he returned some hours later with no intelligence. We marched a few miles up the valley, rather coasting the northern hills, and encamped by a most beautiful circular spring, the water bubbling up through pure white sand and forming a tiny brook, while little fishes darted across in the basin. The Indians still remained with arms ready to hand—were very silent and ate nothing. Several of the Northerns came into our toldo towards evening, and remained a long time conversing by the embers of the fire, and ever and anon one of the widows of the deceased would break out into a wail of lamentation, sobbing in the most dismal and melancholy manner, the lament at times being taken up by some of the older hags.

On the following day Crimè sent for me to dress his leg, imagining, of course, that I undertook surgery; so I washed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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T 622 but he managed to converse, and he asked me if the Southern Tehuelches were not a queer lot, for he had heard that they killed men as readily as they would guanaco. From what casimiro had reported, I was already inclined to respect this cacique, who had expressed such readiness to protect or avenge a guest of the Indians, and closer acquaintance only strengthened my regard for him. He was a fine-looking man, with a pleasant, intelligent countenance, which was not belied by his disposition. He never, to my knowledge, exceeded sobriety, and was good-humoured and self-possessed; though if once roused to fight, his resolute and determined courage was well known. He was skilled at all sorts of handicraft, and was always busily employed. He was generous to a fault—ready to give away everything if asked for it, and often without the asking. His great weakness was an inveterate fondness for gambling, which, together with his lavish good-nature, eventually impoverished him greatly. At his request, I informed Casimiro and Orkeke that he desired to hold a parlemento. Accordingly, the chiefs all proceeded to a place agreed upon between the two camps, where they took their seats in a circle on the grass. After various harangues from Hinchel and others, it was resolved that Casimiro should be elected chief in command of the Tehuelches; and that after the expiration of the young guanaco season, all present, together with those expected from the neighbourhood of the Chupat, should proceed to a place called Teckel, and thence march to Las Manzanas, to unite there with the Araucanian Indians, some of whom had already communicated with us, and had promised to forward my letters, viâ Las Manzanas, to Rio Negro.

T 622 623

T A 648

The relations between the Tehuelches or Tsoneeas of Patagonia and the Araucanian Indians of Las Manzanas had been previously by no means of a pacific nature. It has been already mentioned that near the Sengal we passed the scene of a fierce battle between them. Tankelow bore still the scars of seven lance wounds received in a battle when he was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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left for dead on the field. On the same occasion Orkeke was taken prisoner, but, although mutilated, succeeded eventually in effecting his escape. Casimiro's father also became a prisoner in an unsuccessful assault on an Araucanian stronghold. After two or three years' captivity he succeeded, with two of his comrades, in escaping, and while hurrying to rejoin the Tehuelches in the vicinity of Geylum, met with a solitary Araucanian. He seeing a fire, approached unsuspicious of danger, and was welcomed and invited to smoke; they then seized him, stripped and bound him hand and foot, and left him lying on the pampa, a helpless prey to the condors and pumas. The two fugitives, having thus gratified their desire for vengeance, succeeded in rejoining their own people, and organised an attack on the Araucanos, in which Casimiro's father was killed. Some wonderful feats of valour were described to me as having been achieved by the Tehuelches; but in fact the Manzaneros proved themselves the superior warriors, and even at the time of our visit to them had Tehuelche slaves. The powerful cacique Lenquetrou succeeded in healing the old feuds, and united all the Indians under his leadership. He was treacherously killed by an Argentine officer at Bahia Blanca during the peace between the Indians and the Christians, and after his death the old quarrels broke out afresh. Casimiro's diplomacy, however, succeeded during the time of my visit in conciliating all parties, and the result appeared in the amicable arrangements concluded at the parlemento, and afterwards successfully carried out. Had it not been for this, my journey to Las Manzanas, and thence to the Rio Negro, would have been dangerous, if not altogether impossible.

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Two days after the arrival of the Northern party the Indians from the Chupat came in, and were duly welcomed by our united forces, the ceremonial on this occasion presenting a very animated scene. They number between seventy and eighty men, with women and children, occupying about twenty toldos. Most of them were young men of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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648 Pampa, or mixed Pampa and Tehuelche blood, but there were a few pure Tehuelches in their ranks, the chief being a Pampa named 'Jackechan,' or Juan. As I watched them drawn up, or careering round us during the welcome, they appeared to present a different type from that of my first friends, being generally shorter, though as muscular, and even apparently more broadly built, with complexions lighter, and their dress and persons smarter and cleaner. They were all well armed with lances and firearms, and were evidently kept well in hand by the chief. Their range of country lay between the same limits as that of Hinchel's people, but they habitually seemed to have kept more to the sea-coast, where many of them had been accustomed to visit the Welsh colony at the Chupat for trade, and in their opinion, as afterwards expressed to me, the honest Welsh colonists were much pleasanter and safer to deal with than 'the Christians' of the Rio Negro. They seemed to have been especially impressed with the size and excellence of the home-made loaves, one of which would be given in return for half a guanaco, and Jackechan often expatiated on the liberality of the colonist and the goodness of their bread. These men also felt strongly the kindness with which an Indian, if overtaken with rum, would be covered up or carried into an out-house by the Chupat people; whereas at the Rio Negro the only attention paid to him would be to strip and plunder him completely. During the afternoon the chief, Jackechan, sent a request to the 'Englishman' to pay him a visit, so I repaired to his toldo, and was courteously received by him. He wore a beautifully-wrought silver chain, with a medallion of the Madonna suspended to it, of which he seemed pardonably proud. Having been invited to take a seat, and the pipe having been duly passed round, it became evident that I was to be tested as to my real claims to the character of an Englishman. Jackechan, during his visit to the Chupat, had become acquainted with Mr. Lewis Jones, the Director of the colony, and so had learned the name of the Queen of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

England, &c., and he proceeded to interrogate me accordingly. I found him to be a most intelligent Indian, speaking Spanish, Pampa, and Tehuelche fluently; and our acquaintance thus commenced ripened into a strong mutual friendship. My answers proving quite satisfactory, he was evidently much pleased, and ordered his wife to produce coffee, a little of which he had still remaining from his store procured at Chupat. While discussing this luxury, we had a long conversation on various topics, and he produced a photograph of Mr. Jones and some letters, one being an order for a ration of animals, mares and cattle, from the Argentine Government. He stated that he had not visited Patagones for some years, on account of a fight that had taken place, but would perhaps now accompany our party. Whilst conversing, his son, a boy of some twelve years of age, came in and startled me by his unlikeness to the other Indian boys, for his brown hair and eyes and fair complexion might easily have caused one to take him for an English boy. His mother was not present, as, for domestic reasons, Jackochan had parted with her but I subsequently saw her, and she, although a handsome woman, had no European traits about her except that of having quarrelled with her husband. The following day was spent in a second parlemento—or, as the Indians call it, 'ax'—and all agreed to place themselves under the orders of Casimiro, for the purpose of protecting Patagones in the possible event of an invasion by the Indians of Rouka, or 'Calficura,' from the country north of Rio Negro. All present saw the importance of protecting Patagones, as, if that town should be destroyed, there would be no market for their furs, &c. 648

Our encampment was situated in a large grassy valley watered by a stream flowing to the eastward, which was finally lost in a large marsh. The valley, which may have been about twelve miles in length and perhaps four in width at its broadest part, was confined by hills which, closing, narrowed it in at the eastern and western extremities. To 133

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Schmid—has usually been assigned to them. They certainly 181
do not deserve the epithets of ferocious savages, brigands of the desert, &c. They are kindly, good-tempered, impulsive children of nature, taking great likes or dislikes, becoming firm friends or equally confirmed enemies. They are very naturally suspicious of strangers, but especially those of 648
Spanish origin, or, as they term them, Cristianos. Nor, considering the treatment—treacherous cruelty and knavish robbery—experienced by them at the hands of the invaders and colonists alternately, is this to be wondered at.

In the southern part of the country, their frequent intercourse with sealers on the coast has rendered them favourably disposed towards Englishmen. This remark, of course, does not extend to the northern Tehuelches, who have not the same opportunities.

In my dealings with them I always treated with fair- 577
ness and consideration, and my few belongings—although borrowed at times, according to their mutual way of acting towards one another—were taken the greatest care of; thus an Indian would frequently ask to look at my arms, and, after examining them, would carefully return them to me. During my whole stay amongst them I only lost two articles: the first, a flint and steel, was, I have reason to believe, stolen by one of the Chilians; the second was a pair of ostrich balls, which were abstracted from the toldo. The Indians, although honest enough as regards each other, will, nevertheless, not scruple to steal from any one not belonging to their party. Thus, when they enter the colonies for trade, they will pick up a stray horse in the most natural manner; and in Santa Cruz, Graviel and others constantly pilfered iron nails and small articles. With regard to their truthfulness, my experience was as follows. In minor affairs they nearly always 577
lie, and will invent stories for sheer amusement; thus, 522
Mrs. Orkeke came to me whilst in Teckel with the news that Casimiro's wife was dead. My remark was, 'And a good riddance too!' which was received with a burst of laughter,

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592 position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

133 The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They

136 are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are

252 very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-

281 415 baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

852 The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

648 576 Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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our toldo in due form amidst a curious crowd, all eager to look at him, while he preserved a grave and stolid demeanour. After the usual ceremonious formalities, he sat down, and by means of an interpreter stated himself to be a son of Quintuhual, a chief residing at present about four marches to the north. His father had with much pleasure received the courteous message sent by Casimiro, and it would give him equal gratification to welcome the Tehuelches; but he signified a desire first to meet Casimiro alone. This the latter monarch did not appear to see in the same light—if I may be allowed the expression—as it seemed to forbode no good intentions; but he replied evasively, and thus the colloquy terminated.

This Indian was about the middle height, dressed in coloured ponchos, with a silk handkerchief round his head. His features were regular, with restless sparkling black eyes, and complexion about the same as that of the Gauchos of the Rio de la Plata. He wore his hair cut short, and his general cleanly appearance afforded a strong contrast to the flowing locks and paint-bedaubed bodies of the Tehuelches.

Giving up my sleeping-place to him, we soon made him at home, and, after he had had some dinner, we proceeded in company to watch the dancers, who were vigorously stepping out round the fire in front of the mandil tent. Here we were joined by Jackechan, whose knowledge of the Araucanian language enabled us to maintain a conversation. Presently, by particular request, I joined Golwin (White) and two others in the dance, coming out in full costume of ostrich feathers and girdle of bells, and properly painted, to the great delight of the Indians. My performance elicited general applause; and at last all retired for the night, myself taking my saddle-gear and sleeping under a bush near the toldo.

After a delicious breakfast of fried fish, cooked most skilfully by Meña, we prepared to march again, the chasqui bidding us farewell for the present, and by nine A.M. the

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Araucanians SG4

and flying a short distance settled again. Partridges had been described to me in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, but I had never seen one, and these were the first met with in the country. Towards three in the afternoon we emerged from the stony district to a plain covered with sand and scrub, and after refreshing ourselves at a rivulet, travelled westward, with the Cordillera in full front, till we turned a high cliff which jutted out from the grassy slopes in which the hills fell gradually down to the plains, and beyond it, turning again northward, entered a level plain, at the far extremity of which we observed with great contentment the answering smoke from the toldos of the Araucanian Indians. On the south-west edge of this valley the high beetling cliff obscured the view of the wooded mountains, which, however, showed out between the hills abutting in the valley we had traversed up to this point. On the eastern side rose a range of hills, barren and desolate, with here and there a single guanaco in solitary majesty, cropping the stunted grass. In front of us, directly to the north, lay a large lagoon, in which numerous swans and flamingoes were wading and swimming about. Beyond it were visible the toldos of the Araucanians, *four in number.*

We halted near the head of the lagoon, under shelter of some thick bushes, to collect our forces, don our best ponchos and silver ornaments, and change our horses, and then proceeded slowly to within about a quarter of a mile of the toldos. To our great surprise nobody appeared to receive us; but at length a woman arrived with the intelligence that all the men were away hunting, but had been sent for, and would arrive shortly.

Our women meanwhile erected the toldos on a green sward, carpeted with strawberry plants, near to a small stream which divided our camp from that of the Araucanos. All dismounted and rested after the long journey of fully forty miles from the previous station; and in about half an hour the Araucanos appeared, galloping like demons. Their

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Araucanians 564

women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty-seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back

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Araucanians SG4

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenkstrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's* people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Foyel.

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Araucanians 564

A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A ● 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimé arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Engel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakoo, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

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Araucanians 564

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133 clumps of trees; whilst those of the Tehuelches were situated on the northern bank, the river dividing the two villages. Westward from our encampment the barren plain was succeeded by a wide level of grass, reaching to the base of the mountains, some two miles distant; but higher up the course of the river, which trended to the north, the plain appeared to resume its barren and stony aspect, with here and there a dry lagoon, until the slope of the mountains was reached, and detached belts of trees formed the commencement of the forest. On the southern side of the river the pasture was not very abundant; nevertheless there was sufficient for the horses, cattle, and sheep of our allies to
A graze upon.
527 After the usual stable drill most of us bathed in the stream, which, although nowhere of great depth, had pools at intervals suited for bathing; but the water was icy cold. The day following our arrival at this camp, which was named Diplaik, a birthday feast took place in the Araucanian toldos, to which most of us were invited, the usual tent being
A erected and a dance held in the evening, and the feast and
T dance were kept up for two days and nights, at the end of
648 which a messenger arrived from Foyel to say that Calfucurá, the chief of the Indians encamped at the Salinas north of the Rio Negro, near Bahia Blanca, was going to make war on Buenos Ayres, the reason assigned being the murder of one of his relations by the Christians; he therefore desired the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join with him in the inroad. His literal message was as follows: 'My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against these Christians, who tire me out with their falseness.'

A parliamento was called, and the chiefs deliberated for some time, but in the end determined to have nothing to do with the affair; so a message was sent to the effect that he might do as he pleased, but that they wished to maintain peace.

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During our stay (until the 28th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chasquis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Tuick, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Foyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaitu, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The caciques having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Casimiro, the chasquis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Casimiro. After this function, with my deportment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a mount, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 3, and travelling always north-

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Starting Thence on March 3, and travelling always north-
648 wards over the barren upper pampas with scarcely a shrub on them, the wall-like Cordillera rising on the west, and ranges of hills bounding the view to the east, about two P.M. we arrived at a marshy plain: there, as we were halting to make a fire, a cloud of smoke rose suddenly from the opposite side, indicating the near approach of the chasqui sent to Las Manzanas. Half a dozen of us were immediately despatched to verify the supposition, and, leaving our dinner for a future occasion, raced across the valley at full speed, the Indians firmly believing that the messengers would bring liquor with them, and every one being ambitious of the first drink. We at length made them out, and perceiving us in return they halted and dismounted by a small hillock, where we shortly joined them, Casimiro following sedately, as became so grand a personage. The Indians were disappointed as to the advent of liquor, the messengers having brought
[37] nothing with them except a few apples, some of which, distributed to us, proved to be very juicy and refreshing, equalling any European apple. The only answer to our letter was a verbal message to the effect that we should be welcome at Las Manzanas, and that Chocoque would collect a force to meet us, all his people being at present busy in
[38] the mountains gathering the harvest of apples and pihones; he also stated that he had received late news from Patagones, one Mariano Linares, brother of the head chief of the tame Indians in that settlement, being at present a visiter at Las Manzanas. Casimiro was rather irritated at not receiving a written answer, but on my pointing out that it was just possible Chocoque did not own a secretary in his suite, the chief was somewhat pacified, although his dignity was rather hurt, and he recurred again and again to the subject.

784 On our way to the toldos,—which, during the intervals of our hearing the news, roasting apples, &c., had been pitched—Casimiro pointed out to me the scene of a former fight in which a chief and several Indians had been killed. It was a very desirable place for encampment, but owing to these

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the hunting party, but overtook the people who had arrived with the grog, returning with their remaining mantles, horses, colts, &c., and loudly abusing the Tehuelches for a set of thieving rascals. One of this party was a Valdivian boy who spoke fluent Spanish, and invited me to accompany him to Los Llanos, whither he now intended returning. He stated that in seven or eight days he hoped to reach his destination, and that from thence to the port of Valdivia was but a day and a half's journey. On arriving at the next encampment I bade adieu to these people, who continued their march farther to the north, not liking to trust their property again in the neighbourhood of our camp.

Only halting for the night, we resumed our journey shortly after daylight, mounting a rather steep ascent to a high plateau strewn with sharp stones and crossed by ridges of rocks at intervals.

Ostriches and guanaco were numerous, and although chasing them almost involved the certainty of laming one's horse, many were killed. In this hunt a male guanaco came racing towards me from the Indians on the western side of the circle, and on my galloping to intercept him, he turned and descended a ridge of rocks. I was about to throw the bolas, being within distance, when he suddenly tripped, and, falling on his head, lay stunned at the bottom of the cliff, where I soon despatched him with my knife.

These barren pampas terminated suddenly in a line of cliffs, gradually but steeply shelving in some places, and in others presenting a perpendicular descent of 200 feet; at the base lay a large plain watered by a brook, and enclosed on the southern, eastern, and partially on the western sides by these cliffs, while the northern and north-western boundary was formed by hills rising in gentle slopes. In about the centre of this plain, close to the brook side, were to be distinguished the toldos of Foyel, to which the women were wending their way, having descended by a ravine to the east, while some distance to the north-east on the upper plains were to be distin-

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guished the hunting fires of the proprietors of the toldos. In due course of time we arrived, but as the hunting party did not return till late, we saw nothing of Foyel's people that evening, though letters were exchanged between the chiefs, felicitating each other on the meeting, and appointing next day for the ceremony of welcome.

The following morning, however, day broke with a furious south-west gale, with passing squalls of snow and sleet, and so bitterly cold and miserable that Foyel sent a note to state that, 'as the day was rather frozen,' perhaps it would be better to postpone the ceremony till finer weather, inasmuch as after it a parlemento would have to be held to consider matters in general. Casimiro answered, through me, that he was of the same opinion, but would do himself the honour of paying a personal visit. Presently we sallied out in the storm, taking the presents and the necessary number of women to cry, and proceeded to Foyel's toldo, where we handed over the gifts, the women melodiously howling during the operation. A short parley then ensued between the two caciques, neither of whom, be it remembered, could understand the language of the other. After this ceremonial was concluded, which took place outside the toldo during a blinding snowstorm, we returned to our home, and shortly after the day cleared up a little, and Foyel's people were visible bringing up cattle and sheep from distant parts of the valley, to which they had been driven to seek shelter from the storm. Some headed in our direction, and were driven close to the toldo, over which the Buenos Ayrean colours proudly waved to designate the dwelling of the chief. Foyel then arrived, and had an interview with Casimiro, presenting him with cattle which were lazoed by some of the Valdivian Indians, and a light-haired man dressed in Christian clothes, but with rather a wild appearance. My first idea was that he was either Scotch or English, but as he approached me whilst despatching one of the cows, I asked him in Spanish where he came from, and whether he was not English; he

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answered that he was from Chili, but had lived nearly all his life in Valdivia working cattle, and had for the last two years been in company with the Valdivians catching cattle in the Cordillera, and making his head-quarters at Foyel's camp. His name was Ventura Delgado, and he had visited Patagones the previous year in company with the secretary, Antonio Guaitu, who took an application for rations for Foyel. As we were both busy, we arranged to meet and have a talk later in the day. A good deal of eating took place in the forenoon, and to escape the crowd, and also the persecution of having continually to write some nonsensical message from Casimiro to Foyel, who about every half hour used to interchange written messages, although the toldos were not above two hundred yards apart, I quitted the chief's quarters for a stroll. While roaming about the camp looking for the toldo in which my new Valdivian acquaintance put up, I was called into another, where Casimiro's aunt, one of our domestic circle, and my 'companion of the pipe,' was sitting by the fire drinking grog, in which she invited me to assist her; nothing loth, I sat down, and we had two or three cheerers together, after which the owner of the toldo, a brother-in-law of Foyel's, a Pampa Indian, arrived. He spoke fluent Spanish, having formerly been for a considerable time near the settlements, and was an intellectual, fine-looking man; he was very civil, and escorted me to Foyel's toldo, where I spent the afternoon in company with Antonio Guaitu and Ventura Delgado, the Valdivian.

On March 8, the day being fine and suitable for the ceremony of welcome, Casimiro gave orders at an early hour for all to mount and hold themselves in readiness to go through the necessary evolutions. About an hour after the orders had been given, most of the Patagonians were mounted and ready, so all proceeded to the part of the valley where the united Araucanian Indians, under Quintuhual and Foyel, were already formed in line, lances in hand, waiting for our motley crowd, who gave considerable trouble to the chiefs,

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owing to their loose ideas of formation: the caciques and adjutant no sooner had got one part of the line into something like order, than the people at the other extremity would break up into knots and converse or smoke. Foyel sent several messages to Casimiro to keep his line properly formed, and at length the Tehuelches were arrayed in something like order and the ceremony commenced. After it was concluded, a great parlemento was held, which lasted until the afternoon; all the previous resolutions were confirmed, viz., that Casimiro should be recognised the chief of the South, his jurisdiction extending over all Indians south of the Rio Limay; that with his people he should guarantee the safety of Patagones, and hold in check the Pampa Indians of Las Salinas, under the chief Calfcura, in the improbable event of his endeavouring to cross the Rio Limay for the purpose of making raids into the settlements; 2ndly, that we should, all united, march to Las Manzanas to visit Cheoeque, and propose to him to guarantee with his forces the safety of the north bank of the river, which would effectually bridle Calfcura and secure Patagones. After the parlemento I proceeded to visit Foyel, and was received by him with every expression of friendship and regard. During the course of our interview he asked me to show him my compass, the fame of which had gone before it. I at once took it off my neck, where I was in the habit of carrying it, and endeavoured to explain its uses to him. Unlike the other Indians, although at first regarding it rather with superstitious awe, Foyel soon understood its uses, though he also hinted that it might not only be useful for finding the way at night, but perhaps would bring luck at play as well. I accordingly begged him to accept it, which, after a little demur, he did with evident delight, wrapping it carefully up and giving it in charge of his daughter.

He then commenced a conversation on the subject of Indians and their relations with white people. He stated that he was in favour of friendly intercourse both with the

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Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

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The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Chocoque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Chocoque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of those Indians.

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133 the name. We accordingly proceeded in that direction, and taking off all unnecessary gear, strapping our mantles close up, or wearing them like plaids over our shoulders, descended through the trees and soon plunged into the river.

133 492 The first part of the ford was deep, but the water then shallowed on nearing the shore, and the velocity of the noisy stream greatly increased. Still we arrived easily enough at the first island, but to pass from that to the smaller one appeared at first to rather daunt even the Tehuelches. The current was running like a millrace, and the waters foamed over the uneven bottom with a rush and roar that rendered all warnings inaudible. It was evident that only strong horses could cross at all; but one or two bolder spirits dashed in, and although unacquainted with the pass, reached the second island some distance down the river in safety, so the remainder shortly followed, the women crossing behind the men; here and there were places in the ford which necessitated swimming, and in others were huge boulders, over which the water 648 swirled in large waves. At last we all reached the bank in safety, and were met by some of Inacayal's Indians. Being among the lucky first arrivals, I came in for some apples and other food that some of these people of Inacayal's had thoughtfully brought with them from the toldos.

When all were mustered and had resumed their clothes, we started for the toldos, where we were received by Inacayal, and as it was needful to await those who had remained behind drinking, we bivouacked by the bank of the river, and shortly some cattle and mares were brought up and slaughtered to satisfy the cravings of our hunger. After bathing in the river, I was sitting by the fireside watching our dinner cooking, when I received a message to say that I was required in one of the toldos. In that indicated I found an old Indian, a brother of Quintuhual, who spoke fluent Spanish; he invited me to sit down, and then narrated that an Englishman named Cox had formerly descended the river from Lake Nahuel-huapi in a boat, but in trying to descend

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648 under cover of night, had been wrecked in the rapids at the bend, about a mile above the ford which we had recently crossed: he then took refuge among these Indians, by whom he was hospitably received, and subsequently returned to Valdivia across the mountains, being unable to proceed to Patagones. The old Indian entertained a most friendly feeling for Mr. Cox, whom he had known well, as he had remained several days in his toldo.

After talking some time about this, food was served, and he then proceeded to ask my opinion as to the treatment the Indians experienced from what he called the Spaniards, stating that the Chilians were encroaching on one side and the Argentines on the other, by which means the Indians must eventually be driven off the face of the earth, or else fight for their existence.

650 After some more conversation I returned to our fireside, accompanied by a half-bred nephew of Inacayal, who had left Patagones some eight months previously, having been 'wanted' by the Juez de Paz on account of his having deserted from the army, and having further, in a quarrel, either killed or wounded a Frenchman. He was anxious to induce me to use my influence with Casimiro to allow him to join us, which I did not do for the best of reasons, viz., that he appeared to be a great scoundrel, but I volunteered to take a message to some of his friends in Patagones.

[202] About midnight, bugle calls on the opposite side of the river indicated the approach of the rest of the party, who arrived next day, but Casimiro was in the bad temper customary with him after a debauch, and steadily refused to proceed and take advantage of the fine weather; so another day was spent in loitering about by the side of the river and eating a great deal of beef.

My first cousins, who were also nephews of the old man who had formerly been acquainted with Mr. Cox, started in company with him to procure some apples and pihones, promising me plenty when they returned. Meanwhile I made

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united forming one of considerable width. Here, under the shelter of some trees, we halted and lit fires to warm ourselves, for the drenching rain had by this time thoroughly forced its way through our mantles. Whilst conversing and making as merry as possible under the circumstances, a messenger dashed up, splashed with blood, and with the effects of drink or furious excitement visible in his face. All crowded round to hear the news, and he shortly informed us that the party who had started to obtain apples on the previous day had met another party of Indians with liquor. A drinking bout ensued, and a quarrel occurred in which a man was killed; but the rest went on drinking, leaving the body outside, where the dogs made a meal of it. This so exasperated one of his comrades that he galloped off to Chocoque, to whose tribe the party belonged, and the chief at once sent twenty-five horsemen to surround my cousins and demand payment for the death. This they refused to give, so a fight took place, in which four out of the five brothers and another were left for dead, with lance thrusts all over them, the youngest escaping on his own or somebody else's horse, after dropping four of the enemy who tried to intercept him, with a revolver brought by me from Santa Cruz. This was bad news for us, as we were bound to protect these people, who belonged to our united Indians. A consultation took place, in the middle of which Inacayal dashed up with a party all well armed with lances, in addition to their other arms. Foyel's people came next, eager for the fray; the Tehuelches, however, having an eye to business, in the way of bartering the mantles they had brought with them for trade, overruled the warlike ideas of these people, saying 'it was better to wait a little.' Meanwhile guns were loaded and arms got ready, and a party were being told off to proceed to the scene of the *melée* and pick up the wounded, when a messenger arrived from Chocoque with proposals of a peace. I and the rest of the relations of those who had been killed, as we then supposed,

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were placed under a guard of Tehuelches for a short time until the party started to find the wounded men. We then all proceeded a short distance down the valley, and bivouacked in the pampa grass about a mile and a half from, but out of sight of, the toldos of Chocoque. Messengers passed two or three times between the latter's residence and our bivouac, and ultimately a very old woman came over and made a long oration on the benefits of peace. This was all very well, but as both parties were evidently suspicious of each other, a watch was kept in the event of a surprise; and as we thought it probable that the negotiations would fall through, we spent the night shivering round the fires and making bolas perdidas. I assured Quintuhual and Casimiro that there would be no fight, at which the latter grew very irate, saying he knew better, that the whole business was a trap to obtain the gear and firearms of our party, also stating that I did not understand these Indians, in which I differed from him. Later in the evening news came that, although fearfully cut about, none of 'my cousins' were dead; the opposite party, however, had fared worse, losing three killed outright. For six men to fight against twenty-five seems long odds, but I believe that Quintuhual's and Foyel's people are the bravest Indians to be met with in the southern part of America, fully deserving the proud title of 'the Warrior Indians.'

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The following morning at daylight all mounted their best horses, and forming into column of six, proceeded, with the lances of the warriors at our head, towards the toldos situated in a valley running at right angles to the one we had rested in on the previous night. On arriving in sight of Chocoque's ancestral halls, we observed the Araucanians or Manzaneros forming into line and manœuvring about half a mile distant; we approached to within 300 yards, and then forming into open line to display our whole force (my proposal of hiding a reserve behind an eminence having been overruled), awaited the course of events. Thus we remained

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about half an hour watching the Manzaneros, who presented a fine appearance, dressed in bright-coloured ponchos and armed with their long lances; they manœuvred in four squadrons, each with a leader—from whose lance fluttered a small pennon—moving with disciplined precision, and forming line, wheeling, and keeping their distances in a way that would not have discredited regular cavalry.

At the end of the half-hour's suspense hostages were exchanged, and we went through the ceremony of welcome. The Tehuelches were all very excited, and being in the middle of the troop, when we formed column and raced down towards the Manzaneros, I at first thought that we were in for a general scrimmage. On arriving, however, at the line, our leaders wheeled sharp round, and we went through the usual routine, with the unpleasant exception that both sides had their guns and revolvers loaded with ball, and every now and then a bullet would whistle past one's ears or close over our heads. After the usual hand-shaking between the chiefs, the great Cheveque, an intelligent-looking man of some thirty-five years of age, well dressed in blue cloth ponchos, a hat, and leather boots, rode down our line, shaking hands with everybody and making some remark. When he arrived at my number, I felt rather ashamed of my dress, a simple mantle not in a very good state of repair. He, on his side, having asked who I was, appeared rather astonished at hearing I was an Englishman, and having been further informed that I had written the Spanish letters previously sent to him, which had been translated by a Valdivian, stopped for some minutes conversing with me. After this a parlemento took place, during which all remained mounted, and the discussion lasted till sundown, by which time every one was very hungry. The conclusions arrived at related chiefly to effecting a firm and lasting peace amongst the Indians present, on which point a happy unanimity prevailed. Another day was appointed for the discussion of Casimiro's proposition for guarding Patagonia, and the Chilian war with the Indians

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farther north; also to consider Calfieura's message concerning a raid on Bahia Blanca, and the Buenos Ayrean frontier generally.

One of the principal persons present at the parlemento was a chief subordinate to Chocoque, named Mafulko; a fine-looking old man, magnificently dressed in ponchos which, as well as his arms, were profusely ornamented, indeed almost covered, with silver; he was remarkable for a most stentorian voice, which when raised in discussion became an absolute roar, as of a bull of Bashan. He afterwards noticed me particularly, and was very courteous, pressing me to come and visit him in his own country, which lay to the northward of the Snowy Mountain.

In his train was a man who accosted me in pure Spanish, stating that he had read and translated my letter, and warning me that these Indians hated the name of Spaniard. Before I could make any inquiries he was called away; but, when in Patagones, questions were asked as to an unfortunate settler who was a captive and slave amongst the Araucanians, and the description tallied exactly with that of the poor Spaniard. His master was, doubtless, fearful of recognition and mediation on my part, so hastened to interrupt our colloquy.

We dispersed and bivouacked in the neighbourhood of Chocoque's toldos, where animals were lanced and slain for our immediate wants; and Manzaneros and Picunche Indians came round bartering piñones, apples, and now and then a little flour, for knives, bolas, &c. The piñones were some in husks and some ready husked, the white almond-like kernels, about the size of dates, being strung on threads; and, whether roasted like chestnuts in their husks or boiled, proved delicious. The apples also were deliciously fresh and juicy, and I considered a score of them fairly purchased for a pair of bolas, although my comrades declared I had been cheated by the Picunche thieves.

Towards evening Chocoque sent over to say that, as it

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other circumstances, combined with my own conviction that if the cacique got into Valdivia he would not be able to tear himself away from civilized pleasures for a long period.

After the drinking bout and the departure of Foyel's party, a day devoted to trading intervened, political discussions being postponed in consequence of the indisposition of Casimiro, who required twenty-four hours to recover from the effects of Chocoque's hospitality. Our Tehuelches, thanks to the profuse generosity of Chocoque, disposed of all their wares to advantage, and became the happy possessors of numerous horses, silver ornaments, and mandils. Had it been necessary for them to purchase liquor, they would have returned empty-handed and in bad tempers. The Manzaneros appeared to depend on the Tehuelches for their supply of toldo coverings, just as the latter in their turn must procure from them the woven mandils and ponchos. I noticed that the horses brought up for sale by the Manzaneros more resembled those used in the Argentine States than the breed common amongst the Tehuelches, showing finer points and greater speed for racing on flats, but being inferior in the staying powers requisite for hunting.

The second parlamento or council, attended by numerous chiefs, was duly held, in which Mariano Linares, brother of the chief of the Indians in pay of the Government, participated. He was a connection by marriage of Chocoque's, and had been despatched from Patagones to induce him to keep the peace. The speeches of the Araucanos were made in a peculiar chant, intoned in fact, in a manner closely resembling that I have since heard in some churches at home. Chocoque thus intoned a harangue, setting forth how chiefs had come to him from Araucania proper, soliciting his aid in the war with Chili. He had at first refused to receive them, but at last had heard what they had to say, and it was probable that he might send a small force to assist his countrymen.

Calfcura's message relating to the foray on the settlements

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had been forwarded to us already. Many speeches were made, and Linares and Casimiro pointed out that it was to the cacique's interest not to interfere, as he would inevitably lose the valuable supplies of horses and cattle given him by the Buenos Ayrean Government, and that it was more profitable to receive the annual rations than plunder and break up the Rio Negro settlements. Finally, it was unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to Calfcura, desiring him to confine his hostilities to Bahia Blanca, and that Chocoque should protect the north bank of the Rio Negro and guard Patagones on that side, while Casimiro guaranteed the southern, which arrangement was duly adhered to on both sides. Accordingly Calfcura revenged his real or supposed injuries on the 'Cristianos' by two destructive inroads into Bahia Blanca, carrying off plunder and captives. But letters from the Rio Negro have informed me that peace had been restored, and an exchange or ransom of prisoners effected. This will be more fully dwelt upon, but it is mentioned here in order to show that the Indians are fully aware of the advantages of peace, though they are undoubtedly—the Araucanians especially—jealous of the encroachments of foreigners, and the traditions of their past history have caused them to hold the very name of Spaniard or 'Cristiano' in abhorrence. It is also difficult for the superior caciques in all cases to restrain the petty caciquillos from small depredations; but a fair and well-arranged system of 'rations' will prevent them from making forays, and it is much to be regretted that the well-intentioned and liberal plans of the Buenos Ayrean Government for the protection of the frontiers are too often thwarted by the unscrupulous agents who enrich themselves by appropriating the supplies intended for the Indians. Some may consider the method of keeping the chiefs quiet by pensions undignified; but it is certainly a more humane and economical policy than continual wars of reprisals, which in the end would lead to the extermination either of the Indians or

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parliamento a grand banquet was given by Chocoque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Chocoque sat, as the Spaniards say, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent ostrich mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and pifiones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there was ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Pincuches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their caciques. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed toldorias, some few in the valley near Mamanca, but the chief part more to the northward,

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better on the whole to keep friends for the present. The evening of this quarrel, as a party of three Indians were starting off to go to the Chupat, and Casimiro was desirous of extending his fame to the Welsh settlement, I wrote a letter to the authorities inquiring about some saddles, part of his Argentine rations sent thither by mistake, which the chief declared to have been intended for him, but which had been distributed amongst other Indians. The letter was forwarded by one of the Indians who was supposed to be of English parentage on one side, although he showed but little traces of English blood in his type, with the exception perhaps of his hair, which was of a lighter colour than that usually met with: he was a very good-natured fellow, and I regretted his departure, as he was one of my adherents, but being a man of very sober habits he did not wish to be mixed up in the universal orgie which would probably take place on arriving in the vicinity of Patagones. With this party the young widow, who had made overtures of marriage to me, also departed, after an affectionate farewell, and receiving a handkerchief as a remembrance. The following morning we also started, and one of the universal loafers who had gambled his property away, sobbing for a moment, was told to catch the 'white horse' presented by Orkeke: he accordingly borrowed a horse to catch him, and at the end of our day's journey had not succeeded in doing more than driving him in, to use a sentinel term, in our wake; this was exactly what I had intended, as this Indian was a great rogue, and had cheated me at cards out of a set of metal bolas, equivalent to a horse.

Our march lay up the valley, and the circle was formed on the surrounding volcanic hills, the sides of which, besides the vesicular lava, presented large masses of the ironstone noted as having been observed at Santa Cruz. Shrubs were sparsely scattered on these hills, and game was exceedingly scarce.

Towards evening we encamped on the borders of a stream in a place called by the Indians Tolish. There the sickness broke out afresh in its worst form, and several children died,

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were ignorant of their real strength, the cunning men of Carmen then displayed themselves as if for a reconnaissance, and retreated, but only to change their ponchos and reappear as a fresh detachment; the enemy was thus led by these repeated feints and transformations to considerably multiply the real numbers of the Argentine troops, and hesitate to attack so seemingly large a force. After nightfall the herbage in the neighbourhood of the bivouac of the invading army was set on fire. Bewildered by the smoke, the Brazilians retreated, but were encountered by other fires in their rear, and, seeing themselves apparently surrounded and opposed by superior numbers, their leader capitulated. The story is substantiated by the existence of the wreck of a Brazilian man-of-war, still visible in the river.

The fertile valley of the Rio Negro must needs be described in order to convey a proper idea of the resources of Patagonea as a colony. By far the greater extent of this valley is as uncultivated as when it was first explored by Don Basilio Villarino, who, under the orders of Viedma, ascended the river in order to ascertain its source, and whose diary is extant in the collection of De Angelis, a valuable abstract of it having been given by Sir W. Parish, though sufficiently long ago in our rapid age to be almost forgotten. He ascended with launches first as far as the Island of Choelechel, seventy leagues from Carmen, which he recommended should be fortified as an advance post against the Indians; thence, after incredible difficulties, he succeeded in reaching the foot of the Cordillera, always keeping on good terms with the natives. Here he met with the Araucanians (termed by me Manzaneros), and was in great hopes of reaching Valdivia through their aid, as they showed themselves friendly disposed; when, unfortunately, the Indians fell out amongst themselves, one of the chiefs being killed in the *mêlée*. The chief who caused this man's death came with his people to the Spaniards to implore their assistance, which was promised. This led to the whole of the remaining

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Indians forming a league and declaring war against the Spaniards, whose name up to the present they detest. Being obliged to abandon his intention of reaching Valdivia, Vallarino reluctantly determined to return, and accordingly after being supplied by his allies with a store of apples and pihones, descended the river and returned to Carmen.

From the description of this journey, together with the mention of the supplies of apples and pihones obtained at the farthest point reached, I am inclined to assume that this point was near, if not identical with, the place where we passed the Limay on our journey to Los Manzanas, a mile or two below the rapids where Mr. Cox was wrecked.

Vallarino states that he entered in his small boat a channel where the river flowed over rounded stones to the S.W. Now the point where Mr. Cox's boat was lost was a rapid to all appearance impassable for a boat: however, it is possible that Vallarino employed Indians on horseback to track his boat, and that the state of the river was more favourable for navigation at the period of his visit.

The mention of the friendly Indians who accompanied him on his return and settled under the protection of the Spaniards, suggests the idea that these may have been the ancestors of Los Manzos or the Tame Indians, at present in the service of the Government. Casimiro had a legend about Indians friendly to the first Spanish settlers, who were subsequently ill-treated by them, and I believe revolted. Luis Aguirre also asserted that his father was one of the original chiefs of the Rio Negro, who for a long time was friendly to the Spaniards, but at length, a revolt taking place, was imprisoned and kept in Carmen as a hostage, where he died. In the year 1833, when Rosas, for the protection of the southern frontier, made his great attack on the Indians, and driving them back to the neighbourhood of the Cordillera, forced them to submit to his terms, he established a military post at Choelechoel, as advised by Villarino. His scheme was, I believe, to extend from this point a chain of forts as

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726 and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xavier; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetrue.

177 They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

677 Between San Andrés and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barrancas, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barrancas then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large saline from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, on

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horses, as they descended from the travesia, and hastened back to the town to receive them, according to promise. It will be remembered that on my arrival as chasqui I presented to Señor Murga my despatches, in which Casimiro detailed his arrangements for the protection of Patagonia. A list of the chiefs to whom rations or gifts of cattle, horses, &c., were due, was also enclosed, and a request that a hundred mares should be sent out at once with the returning messengers. After some days' delay I was sent for by Señor Murga, who, it may be here remarked, is reputed to thoroughly understand the Indians, and to display considerable address in managing them. It was amusing to observe the natural suspicion and perplexity aroused in the mind of the Commandante concerning my position among the Indians; and my reply to his question as to what rank and influence I possessed among them, and how I was interested for them—that I was simply a guest and friend—did not seem at all sufficient to explain matters. But he discussed the question of the chiefs and their requests, and assured me that all the chiefs who should be found to be entitled to rations should duly receive them: he, however, absolutely refused to send out any mares, declaring that Casimiro should receive all his dues when he arrived.

As the grand cacique had for several years not drawn his annual allowance, amounting to 200 cows, 100 mares, 200 sheep, and a quantity of clothes and yerba, it can be well imagined that with fair play and prudence he would, on this visit, become a wealthy as well as powerful cacique, as a reward for his labours. At his previous visit he had left a quantity of cattle and sheep, under charge of some of the Tame Indians, to increase and multiply; but alas! on his arrival, in reply to his inquiries, only one small flock of sheep was forthcoming, the rest, instead of multiplying, having been gambled away by their guardians. The liberality of the Argentines and the largeness of the gifts may appear surprising; and indeed the nominal value, as charged to the Government for these annual gifts to the Indians, is very

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646 great. I saw myself 1,000 head of cattle pass on their way to Rouque, and Cheoeque was expecting 1,200. The cattle
648 were brought down from the Tandil by purveyors, whose
437 business must be as lucrative as that of the American army contractors; for the Indians are sometimes when sober, or oftener when intoxicated, induced to part with their newly-acquired possessions for a mere trifle, and the cattle, reverting to the dealer's hands, thus do duty over again as a ration perhaps to the same cacique. Thus the Indians benefit but little, while the Government pays a large amount, and the purveyors and other agents grow rich, Indians and Government being esteemed apparently as lawful and natural pigeons, to be plucked by any safe means.

273 The Commandante's reply had been duly forwarded to
579 Casimiro, together with some liquor and presents for my friends; and the morning following my return from the country I was awoke early by a knock at the door, and on opening it found five or six Tehuelches who had made their way over the river to my quarters. After giving them a maté, we all proceeded to the store, and I gave one or two some small presents. Among these first arrivals was my friend Jackechan, the cacique from the Chupat, who confided to me that he had been very drunk the night before. The Tehuelches had not, however, waited till they reached the settlements for an opportunity of abandoning themselves to the pernicious enjoyment of 'lum.' It soon came out that their delay at Valchita had been necessitated by a prolonged debauch on liquor procured from the Guardia. Casimiro had of course set the example, and the drink had, as usual, also led to quarrelling, which resulted in a general fight; several had been killed, including Cayuke, so often mentioned as a staunch friend; and I was greatly grieved at being unable to get any accurate tidings of my Herculean comrade the good-natured Waki, who had, beyond doubt, been killed at the same time.

579 Such common occurrences were little regarded by my visitors, all of whom were caciquillos, and whom I presently

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dismissed rejoicing, with a promise to visit them on the south side in the evening. But my troubles had only just commenced. All day long Tehuelches kept arriving, and not knowing what to do with themselves, followed me about wherever I went, much to the amusement of some of my acquaintances.

In the evening I crossed to the other side, and remained for the night with my old hosts. All were in a great state of delight, as their rations were to be given them without delay—the yerba, sugar, and spirits from Aguirre's stores, and the cattle and mares from the Guardia in front of Sauce Blanco. Old Orkeke, who had not expected to receive rations, had been allowed, in consequence of my urging his claims, the same as other minor chiefs, and was consequently in high delight.

They were, on the other hand, very dissatisfied at the extremely low prices which their feathers and peltries had realised, and abused the dealers very roundly as a lot of rogues. False weights and other tricks of trade had been freely employed to cheat the Indians; and the storekeepers also charged exorbitantly for necessaries supplied to them. Their custom is to bivouac in the yards or corrals at the back of the stores, where they light fires and cook as in their own country, and pay in the end as dearly for their accommodation as if in a West End hotel. I delighted the heart of Mrs. Orkeke by presenting her with a long-promised iron pot and a shawl; and to Hinchel's son I gave a promised pack of cards, and to the children raisins, sweets, or bread.

Jackechan's wife and daughter, who had always showed me great kindness, I took into the store, and told them to choose whatever they fancied most; whereupon they both, without hesitation, selected two small bottles of scent to put on their hair. I must remark, *en passant*, that all this family were exceptionally clean in their habits and persons, and I promised, if I returned to Patagonia, to travel in their toldo, as I had then some idea of journeying by the sea-coast to

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Humphreys's house one Sunday after church, and had a long talk relative to this Chupat settlement, and to the answer received to my letter brought by Jackechan's chasqui. The statement in it that the settlers had no stores of any sort, and that of the Indian messenger that they were almost destitute of clothing, have been fully corroborated by the despatches of Commander Dennistoun, H.M.S. Cracker, published whilst these pages were being written. Mr. Humphreys considered himself and the few companions who had accompanied him to the Rio Negro fortunate in having left when they did; and all agreed that the colonists would do better if transferred to the Rio Negro, where those who were skilled in trades would be able to live in comparative ease, and the mere labourers find plenty of work, and be able at any rate to maintain themselves. I cannot but record my astonishment that Mr. Lewis Jones—who, although I am not personally acquainted with him, must, from the report given me by the Indians, be a man of no ordinary understanding—should endeavour to maintain the colony in a place which had formerly been tried by others and abandoned as hopeless, the distance of the harbour—thirty miles off—alone being a certain obstacle to its prosperity.

The visionary scheme of a Welsh Utopia, in pursuit of which these unfortunate emigrants settled themselves, ought not to be encouraged, likely as it is to end in the starvation of the victims to it. Had it not been for the charity of the Argentine Government, this must have been their fate ere now. Jackechan described to me that he had seen the settlers 'eating grass,' and had taught some of them how to hunt, and furnished them with bolas. The Blue Book just published confirms the truth of this statement, and perhaps renders it needless for me to go more into the subject; but I must add that, though at that time friendly and well-disposed, this chief considered the settlers as intruders on his territory, and avowed his intention of demanding payment at a future time—a refusal of rent being in such a case sure to

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● 648 be followed by a very summary process of cattle driving and eviction.

000 The Rio Negro, with all its drawbacks of Indians, locusts, floods, and droughts, is certainly infinitely superior to the Chupat. If the Welsh wish to live as a separate community, I am sure that Señor Aguirre will only be too happy to let them settle on his tract of land between the Upper and Second Guardia, where already some of their countrymen—Messrs. Williams and Owen—have taken land.

After the Indians had left, I gave myself over to the enjoyments of social life in Patagones, which did not prove sufficient to reconcile me to the delay consequent on the non-arrival of the steamer. My days were spent in walking about, playing billiards, and taking maté; and a visit in the evening to Don Domingo's, where a party were in the habit of meeting to play 'truco' for sweetmeats. Sometimes we varied this by calling on some of the fair señoritas, or spending the evening at the house of Mr. Davis, the engineer of the Choelechel, in the company of his amiable señora. All the young ladies agreed that Patagones was very *triste*, especially those who had been to Buenos Ayres, and had enjoyed the delights of the opera and bands of music in the Plaza.

On Sundays, after mass and service in the mission station, attended by all the English, a race would sometimes take place, or, in default, there would be sure to be a cock-fight held on the south side; at either of which Commandante Murga invariably attended. There was also a fives court, where some Basques or natives were generally to be found playing. Once or twice I accompanied Dr. Humble—not, however, on Sunday—in a pull on the river. Every day we looked out anxiously for the steamer, which had been so long overdue as to make it appear probable that she had met with an accident. Tired of the delay, I had just negotiated my passage in a Dutch schooner laden with grain for Buenos Ayres, when one evening the steamer arrived, having been delayed in Bahia Blanca.

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CHAPTER II.

A proposal to go to Port Famine negatived — "Holland" — Discovery of vessels in the straits — Double disappointment — A crisis — Survey of Patagonia — Scanty vegetation — Animals and birds — Climate — The people — Their habits and character — Domestic relations — Weapons — Government — Superstition — Cannibalism — Their reputation abroad.

Returning to the encampment, it remained to devise some new way of escape. Some four or five days' ride to the westward would bring us to Port Famine, on the straits, a penal settlement of Chili, and the only settlement in the vicinity by which I could hope to reënter the civilised world. A journey thither was suggested to the Indians, as the most likely way of turning my captivity to profitable account; but they refused with a promptness and decisiveness which was rather unaccountable, till I afterwards learned that they had lately visited that part of the country on a horse-stealing expedition, in which their success had been too good to make them desirous of showing their faces there at present. Money, guns, pistols, cutlasses, brass, beads, and everything else that could be thought of to tempt their cupidity, were offered. I was not disposed to be niggard of promises; but in vain. To Port Famine they were determined not to go; but old Paronilver assured me, by way of compensation, that he

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would take me to "Holland," which was a "much better place." Whereabout on terra firma this South American Holland was situated,—if, indeed, there was any such place, and the chief was not indulging in a little extra lying,—was past all conjecture. I inquired the distance. He could not tell exactly. Was it inhabited by Americans or English? There were "twenty or thirty white men there, and plenty of rum and tobacco." They promised to start with me towards Holland the next day. In what direction? They pointed towards the Atlantic. Well, I cared little where it was, or who lived there, provided only they were not Patagonians, and I could once get free of these rascals. But on the following morning the migration was postponed, in consequence of unexpected tidings.

One of the tribe, who had been down to the shore, reported that my vessel had come back. This welcome, though rather improbable information, started me, with about a dozen of them, on the track of his story. On gaining a view of the straits, a vessel was plainly in sight, but it was a strange sail. Yet, if I could succeed in boarding her, my purpose would be answered. She came into the bight of the bay, and anchored about fifteen miles below us. I endeavored to make my smutty companions comprehend that as the tide was then running out they would not make the shore till it turned, which would not be till night. They waited till near night, when hunger and thirst were out their patience, and they ordered me off with them. Against this untimely mandate I warmly remonstrated, and after some dispute it was arranged that the chief should stay with me for the night. The rest returned to their encampment, and we made a good fire.

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desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be [202] made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks [203 without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news 537] and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "ε," "ε," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and 721 as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women 727 and children are made captives and the old women together with the able-bodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the 622 Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most open-handed, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Chocoque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Chocoque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of these Indians.

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being able to get dry; and in addition to our previous discomfort, towards evening a frost set in, and when I woke up about midnight to look round for the horses my mantle was like a board.

I kindled a fire, as the weather was now clear, and soon all the party were huddled round it to warm their half-frozen limbs before lying down again.

The next morning at daylight, thoroughly chilled and hungry, two of us started to fetch the horses, some of the new ones having, as we expected, found their way back to within a few miles of the Rio Limay. However, by the time the sun had risen to sufficient height to give some warmth, we had caught up the others of our party, and not sparing our horses, by two o'clock had passed through the street of rocks and come in sight of the toldos, where we shortly arrived.

Before sunset all the Tehuelches had returned to the bosoms of their families, and all were glad to sleep under the shelter of a toldo once more, after having passed twelve days and nights in stormy weather without any covering save our mantles.

The 14th of April, the morning after our return, a complaint was made by Foyel's people that the Tehuelche Indians left behind, thinking it useless to proceed to the plains, some miles distant, to hunt for the supply of the toldos whilst cattle and sheep were grazing in the immediate vicinity, had helped themselves in the obscurity of the night. Mafia corroborated the fact; and although he had been away hunting with the greatest assiduity, he had met with but little success, and complained bitterly of the hungry times they had endured.

Soon after our arrival Kai Chilemo was seized with illness, and in a few days several of the more aged and children sickened with headache and fever, showing all the symptoms of severe influenza. Alarmed lest the sickness should spread, on the 16th of April most of the Tehuelches struck

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a lance thrust clean through the thigh of Hummums, a young Indian, who seemed to care very little about it. The fight originated out of a vendetta between Cuastro and Camillo, the latter having some years before caused the death of a member of the family of the former, who had on a previous occasion endeavoured to avenge it on Camillo, and he had only attached himself to our party, in company with Crimé, in order to obtain an opportunity of assassinating Camillo. This Cuastro had been suspected on good grounds of making away with Mendoza, the Argentine sent from Buenos Ayres in company with Casimiro, and who mysteriously disappeared; and he had certainly, when under the influence of rum, at Santa Cruz, murdered his own wife Juana, a daughter of Casimiro, so that brave as he was he had richly deserved the fate he met with.

After the obsequies of the dead had been hurriedly performed—a description of which is reserved for another place—the tents were struck, and all marched off, the men remaining armed, and each party travelling separately. Cayuke was sent back some miles to ascertain if there were any signs of the other Southern Indians, who were half expected to overtake us; but he returned some hours later with no intelligence. We marched a few miles up the valley, rather coasting the northern hills, and encamped by a most beautiful circular spring, the water bubbling up through pure white sand and forming a tiny brook, while little fishes darted across in the basin. The Indians still remained with arms ready to hand—were very silent and ate nothing. Several of the Northerns came into our toldo towards evening, and remained a long time conversing by the embers of the fire, and ever and anon one of the widows of the deceased would break out into a wail of lamentation, sobbing in the most dismal and melancholy manner, the lament at times being taken up by some of the older hags.

On the following day Crimé sent for me to dress his leg, imagining, of course, that I undertook surgery; so I washed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lanketreu's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Chocsque—A Mounted Parliamento—Apples and Piñones—Graviel's Madness—Las Manzanas—Chocsque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolutions of Peace—A Grand Banquet—Power of Chocsque—Araucanian Customs—Farewell Presents—Invitation to Return—Orkeke's Generosity—Return to Geylum—Outbreak of an Epidemic—My Pretty Page—Departure from Geylum.

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THE day after our arrival at Geylum, Manzaneros or Araucanians arrived from the north with cider of their own manufacture stored in sheep skins, apples, and piñones, to trade; and a scene of debauchery ensued, as usual. At night an attempt, nearly successful, was made to rob our toldo: one of the women, however, was awake, and heard the thief endeavouring to get into the back of the sleeping places where some newly-finished mantles were stored; she gave the alarm to two of the men, and they endeavoured to catch the would-be intruder, who, hearing the alarm raised, started off at speed, not without receiving a cut from a knife which marked him deeply on his shoulder; and, what was worse, being recognised as he ran off.

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Foyel invited me to drink at his expense, but I merely stayed in his toldo long enough for the observance of

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

000 I knew of the superstitions of the savages, that in case of her death I should be held responsible. In this particular case, as very soon appeared, I misjudged; but of the general principle I had startling confirmation.

•674 The widow was better,—my prescription worked to a charm,—but her days were shortened. Late one night, after we had all retired to rest, a ferocious-looking rascal came into the chief's lodge; he muttered a few words to the chief, who arose, and went with him to the front of the wigwam. They conversed in a low tone several minutes, and separated, apparently with mutual satisfaction. I sounded the chief cautiously in reference to the matter in hand. Calmly, and without reserve, as if it were a very ordinary transaction, he said that the savages wished to kill the widow, in order to possess themselves of her horses, which they wanted to eat. I asked no further questions, being fully satisfied that he connived at the dark deed, which was consummated without delay. Before this tragic result, I had taken pains to disabuse the mind of the chief as to my supposed medical skill, and was able to relieve myself of the dangerous and burdensome honor.

266 Strange flesh was eaten by the Indians about this time; I was told it was *lion-meat*, but was not invited to partake of it. The same thing was observed several times; at times, too, when I was positive they had killed no wild animals without my knowledge, or which were not disposed of openly. The nature of my suspicions may be easily conjectured; yet I made no inquiries, in even the most casual manner, as to their disposition of their dead. It was painful to think of the atrocities, that were but too probably shrouded under the mystery they cast over these

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

transactions. On one occasion, however, a young Indian, who could speak a few words of Spanish and English, told me that they had killed and eaten three men. Whether he meant to have me understand this as a singular case, or as a common action of the tribe, I do not know; I made no inquiries of him. In fact, the statement was volunteered by him; and so painful was the subject, that I left him abruptly, in the middle of a sentence. 266

We again moved in a north-westerly direction, taking a goodly quantity of game on the route, and settled in a wretched, marshy spot. The wind was high, and made the tents quiver like a ship in a gale; a storm set in, beating through the roofs, drenching and chilling me through all the night. On the evening of the second day of our encampment here, an incident occurred which fearfully confirmed the wisdom of my decision to renounce all title to medical skill. As I was seated by the dying embers of a little fire, surrounded by our motley household, and tugging manfully at a bit of half-raw meat, which constituted my evening meal, while a large piece was in process of cooking over the fire, we were suddenly startled by a cry of distress, followed by the distinct alarm of *murder*. The chief drew back to the rear of his lodge, took down his cutlass, and ordered me back from the fire, which was at once extinguished by two of his squaws, while the other two ran to the door, and set up a loud, lamentable wailing. All the women throughout the camp were, in like manner, giving their voices to the air, and "making night hideous;" and not a male Indian ventured to show his head for an hour or more. It was to me an hour of fearful suspense, the agony of which I cannot describe. At last a man came 674

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

•674 and told the chief that a doctor had been murdered. He had visited a woman professionally, and treated her case with charms and spells, but his prescriptions effected no satisfactory result; and her husband went in a rage to his lodge, and stabbed him with repeated blows, to make the work of death more sure. It was a singular circumstance, that men capable of deliberate murder, and who had so recently, with the tacit or open sanction of the chief, strangled a woman for her horses, should have shown so much alarm at the cry of murder on this occasion. The victim was an enormously fat man, weighing, I should judge, nearly four hundred pounds. A horrible sight presented itself the next morning, on going out of our hut; the snow around the doctor's lodge was saturated with his blood. I drew back from the sickening spectacle, unable to look upon it with composure. Beyond their exhibition of stupid terror in the night, no notice was taken of the act; and about noon the camp broke up. We travelled till night, meeting with no success in the chase, and encamped on an extensive plain, near a good spring of water.

857 It was an occasional diversion to watch the children at their sports, of which a favorite one was throwing ostriches' feet, with the sinews of the legs attached. The toes are cut off, and a pair of the feet are tied together, with a piece of sinew about a yard long. The children begin to practise the sport as soon as they are able to walk, and will continue the amusement all day; one boy throwing them into the air, and others throwing and hitting them as they fly, therein serving an apprenticeship to the grand manly accomplishment of hurling the bolas.

[illegible] invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's
[illegible] family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it
often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his
father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct.
When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his posi-
tion he hands over his authority to a successor.

[illegible] Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father
[illegible] or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in propor-
tion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less ex-
pensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her
[illegible] father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each
[illegible] man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his
[illegible] wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a
chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives
which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling
his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and
for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this
way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered
improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or
brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the mar-
riages of this type which are consummated because of the expense involved
[illegible] in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet
young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should
[illegible] those hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those
married women who find that the husband who bought them from their
father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like
their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered
[illegible] a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case
the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment
is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as
[illegible] a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife
amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief
should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be
[illegible] considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives.
[illegible] All those head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live
secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their
position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian
[illegible] women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when
[illegible] drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife,
although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

extended rolling plains, which appeared to stretch away into the distance, interrupting the chain of the Cordillera, as though there were a depression or break in the mountains, no hills of large size being visible on the horizon. Whilst lying down smoking on this hill, I picked up several pieces of opal and cacholong combined, and as I was idly forming them into different patterns on the ground, and had arranged a circle resembling a miniature Indian grave, one of my companions observing what I was doing, grew very angry, and said, 'That will bring ill luck,' evidently believing that I was mentally compassing the death of some one by witchcraft. As I had no wish to be killed, by way of prevention of any imaginary spells, I quickly gathered up the specimens, many of which were afterwards lost in the ensuing journey. The Indian name for this place is Yaiken-Kaimak, signifying that it is the hill whence they espy the signal smoke denoting the approach of the Indians from the north.

We remained five days in this encampment, a general uneasiness prevailing, and arms being kept ready to hand. In addition to the usual hunting, under the orders of the cacique, we were engaged in performing exercises on horseback; this mounted drill being intended as a preparation in case we should find the northern Tehuelches at war with the Araucanos or Manzaneros Indians. The plains to the westward abounded with guanaco, some thousands being enclosed in the circle at one time. One day that I had not accompanied the hunting party, I was strolling across the camp, having volunteered to occupy the post of the vidette on an adjacent hill, when I observed a guanaco, very tired, coming towards me; so, hiding behind a bush, I waited till he unsuspiciously approached, and then rushing out, balled him with a pair of ostrich bolas. As he was so close to me, his forelegs were perfectly tied up, and I had not much difficulty in despatching him with a blow on the head from another set of bolas. By this time I had attained a tolerable dexterity in the use of the bolas, and it was my invariable custom when not otherwise

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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bows and arrows, but I am inclined to think that this must 411
have applied either to a tribe of Fuegians or a party of Pampas living in the valley of the Rio Negro. It is certain that no ancient flint arrow-heads are met with south of the Rio Negro, where they abound; also that there is but little, if any, wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses the Indian migrations were confined to a smaller area; besides, although no arrow-heads are found in the interior of Patagonia proper, ancient bolas are not unfrequently met with. These are highly valued by the Indians, and differ from those in present use by having grooves cut round them, and by their larger size and greater weight. The introduction and diffusion of firearms has 713
almost superseded the use of defensive armour; but chain suits, and hide surcoats studded thickly with silver, are still —as instances before given show—possessed and employed: and before going into battle the warriors are often padded like cricketers, corconillas or saddle-cloths, and ponchos being employed to form a covering, the folds of which will turn a sword cut or lance thrust.

During our long sojourn at Teckel, as hunting was avoided 461
as much as possible, in order to rest the horses, the men occupied themselves in Indian arts and manufacture, some account of which may be deemed interesting.

As the horse is the mainstay of the Indian, let the saddle- 492
gear take precedence. (See figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.)

The saddles are constructed in the following manner. A piece of timber is split in two, and reduced, by means of a small hand-adze, to the requisite size and thickness to form the side boards or flaps, skilfully adapted to the shape of the horse's back; in these boards holes are bored at each end, and the saddle-trees, which are chosen from angular limbs of trees, like knees for boat-building, and reduced to the requisite size, are lashed on by hide. Over this fresh guanaco hide, divested of its woolly coat and carefully cut to the

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133 sheet of water from the melting snows. Lake Viedma lies some miles to the southward from the head of the valley, and I should be inclined to think that the course of the Rio Chico, which undoubtedly flows from it, would be found to come from the south to north, and bend easterly at the head of the valley, where it unites the numerous streams as described by Viedma in his journey in 1580. I am also inclined to think that Viedma being taken twice across the Rio Chico mistook the river at the second crossing for another, which he has marked as the Chalia, a name, by the way, unknown to the Indians, save as applied to an unsavoury parasite only too common among them. The follow-
578 ing morning, September 2, we were sitting quietly round the fire discussing a breakfast of boiled ostrich prepared by the lady of the house, when suddenly the clash of knives was heard, and we saw two Indians, destitute of mantles, with naked swords in their hands, run across from Camillo's to Crimè's toldo. In a minute everything was in an uproar; arms were produced, guns and revolvers loaded, and some of
• [714] the Indians equipped themselves in coats of mail, and others, with the assistance of the women, padded themselves about the chest and upper part of the body with thick blankets and corconillas or saddle-cloths. Knowing what was about to happen, the women, and with them all the Chilian deserters, except one, beat a retreat to a safe distance from the toldos. Having assumed my arms, and feeling thoroughly mystified as to the real cause of this excitement, I went to Camillo's toldo, where the scene explained itself. He was lying on his bed dead, with a frightful gash in his side, having been murdered by Cuastro, one of the Indian whom we had seen running to Crimè's tents. On issuing from the toldo Casimiro met me, and asked for a revolver, as he had no firearms, and I lent him one accordingly. The Indians showed by their changed countenance all the fury of fight; their very complexions seemed ghastly, and their eyes glared and rolled, seeming to see blood. The two opposing parties.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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512 party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlemento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

888 Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify [537] for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My 755 compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We ● 714 greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by strips of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from 'foolish Indians.'

777 His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was 203 often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

but in neither case did practice measure up to ideal, to judge from the abundance of body vermin and from descriptions of toldos. Body lice were commonly eaten.

POLITICAL LIFE

Our best source on political life is Viedma. Musters, D'Orbigny, and Borgatello rank next in order as sources.

There were no sibs, no secret or other societies, and no ruling caste or marked social stratification.

The band.—The basic *Tehuelche* economico-political unit was the band, each with its own headman. There was no peace-time paramount chief of all the *Tehuelche*, or of either of the two great divisions, northern and southern. According to Fitz-Roy (1839, 2: 131), the *Tehuelche* of his time were divided into four groups or bands of about 400 adults each, each band under its own headman. D'Orbigny, however, who made his observations in 1829 just 4 years prior to Fitz-Roy's visit, states that the *Tehuelche* were divided into a great number of bands (1839, 2: 97–98)—a statement that is in closer agreement with most of our earlier and more recent sources.

To judge from our scattered data, these bands were usually, though not always, small. In 1749 there came to Pilar mission three *Tehuelche* caciques with 80 toldos, each toldo sheltering 3 or 4 families, and the families averaging 5 persons each (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 119)—thus, about 400-530 souls on the average per cacique. One band met by the Malaspina expedition in 1789 had 60 members in all (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 8). Other estimates are: At most 30 to 40 families per band (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 97); 5 to 30 families (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 229); never more than 20 toldos found in one camp (Borgatello, 1924, p. 20); and one large band, Mulato's, with over 500 persons (ibid., p. 134).

Some insight into the composition and functions of the band may be derived from Fitz-Roy, D'Orbigny, and later writers. Each of Fitz-Roy's four bands had its own cacique or headman, and each claimed "a separate though ill-defined territory" as its exclusive hunting ground; at times all four bands would foregather in one place; encroachment by members of one band on the hunting ground of another led to battles (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 131). Each toldería had its own territory, two or three of them on the banks of the Río Negro (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 98). Bands were made up of related or friendly families (Spegazzini, 1884, pp. 228–229). Each small band was composed of relatives and friends; each claimed exclusive hunting rights on its own territory, trespass being cause for war, and the most frequent cause (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 19-20).

I: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress and refused all offers. This evening she was in great trouble, having lost a new mantle and some other valuables, stolen no doubt by the Tehuelches. I promised to set inquiries on foot through Casimiro, which resulted in the stolen property being given up, and the thief proved to be the same individual who had endeavoured to rob our toldo.

Shortly after this two messengers were despatched to Cheoeque, who returned on March 25 with intelligence that the said chief would be ready to receive us on April 2, and 'that we were to bring our arms,' which latter message was rather ambiguous. I had been given the option of taking our chief's message to Cheoeque, but owing to one of my horses being lame, and for other reasons, preferred going with the mass later on. Meña, the Chilian, was therefore honoured with the despatches in my place, as he alone was competent to read the Spanish letters written by myself as secretary, and he returned with glowing accounts of the civility shown him at Las Manzanas, and the generally civilised appearance of those Indians.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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A 648 pine groves, gathering the autumn harvest; but I subsequently met some of these Indians at the Guardia waiting for Rouque's ration, and recognised one as having been present at our council and subsequent festivities in La Manzanas. The Government agent for Indian affairs, Bonifaccio, showed me a magnificent pair of stirrups sent from Buenos Ayres as a present to Rouque, the policy of the A 721 authorities being to keep him and Cheoeque from joining Calfieura in the threatened raid on the frontier. The reason assigned for the declaration of war by this latter chief was the death—by which he probably meant the imprisonment—of one of his inferior caciques; but the real reason probably was that the Argentine Government, on account of robberies committed by some of his people, had refused to renew his ration of animals. The outbreak in Entre Rios, resulting from the death of Urquiza, was then unforeseen, and it was intended to have despatched a large force, under the command of Señor Mitre, to reinforce the whole frontier, and if necessary crush Calfieura; but the troubles caused by Lopez Jordan necessitated the despatch of all available forces at once to Entre Rios, and the meditated scheme of rendering the frontier secure was postponed. Calfieura subsequently took advantage of this by attacking the frontier in various places, carrying off captives women and children, besides numerous herds of cattle, winding up by attacking and devastating the new settlements in the neighbourhood of Bahia Blanca, his Indians penetrating boldly, almost without resistance, into the very heart of the town, and returning with abundance of booty. Patagones was not attacked, which may partially be due to the arrangements effected in Las Manzanas, the unwillingness of the Tehuelches to join, and the gaining over of Rouque. The latter chief, however, most probably played a double game, and whilst receiving rations and gifts with one hand, allowed his people to join the raids and received plunder with the other.

T A 721 One reason for the Indians not committing great raids on

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the Rio Negro settlements is simply that cattle and horses hardly exist in sufficient numbers to reward a foray on a large scale. Small parties sometimes come in, as in the case described, when the horses were taken from the 'China Muerte,' the estancia of Mr. Fraser's neighbour; but these are rather robberies than hostile invasions—indeed no important raids have occurred since the time of Lenquetrou, who united all the Indians for the purpose, and swept the valley in a raid which, it may be remembered, was described to me by Gravino, a participator in it, at Inacayal's toldos, near the Pass of the Rio Limay. The settlers were naturally anxious to know my opinion as to the probable safety of the Rio Negro, and I assured them that, from what I knew, there was little chance of a raid, but that, on the contrary, Bahia Blanca was sure to be attacked, and I especially warned one of our countrymen who was on his way to Bahia Blanca not to hazard himself by settling outside the town at the present juncture. Englishmen are apt to suppose that because they possess good weapons, rifles and revolvers, and are able and ready to use them, they can resist an Indian attack; but the whole system of their warfare consists in sudden surprises. They secretly collect their forces, and waiting at a safe distance during the night, come in at the early dawn; and perhaps the unsuspicious settler, going to the corral or looking for his horses, observes in the distance what appears to be a troop of horses, driven, according to custom, by one or two mounted men; these approach unchallenged, but in a second every horse displays an armed rider, shouting his war-cry. They then spread out, as if to encircle the game, thus presenting no front to the rifles of their opponents, and dash down lance in hand; and whilst some secure the animals, others set fire to the dwellings and carry off the women—if there are any—captives. In some cases they kill the men, but generally only when much resistance is offered.

Although their chief object in warfare is to carry off cattle

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none of *his* Indians ate fish. This, and some similar incidents and conversations, convinced me that there were other Indian tribes in the vicinity. On one occasion I had noticed some places where a tribe, probably as numerous as our own, had encamped. Their fires appeared to have been very recently extinguished. Our tribe appeared to be considerably disturbed at these discoveries, and I judged that they were the traces of some enemies. It is certain that my captors had seen some desperate fights, of which they bore the marks on their persons. One of them had a deep scar on his breast, which he said was the mark of an arrow-shot received from the "*Yamaschoner*" Indians, a tribe that use the bow and arrow. His description suggested the probability that these were the Terra-del-Fuego Indians; but, on mentioning the conjecture at a later period to a person I met at the Chilian penal settlement, he informed me that those islanders invariably shoot *poisoned* arrows, which would not leave the victim much leisure to describe their effect. The scar in question was a deep one, in the region of the heart; and while I was examining it, the chief remarked that the arrow passed through his body and came out at his back. On examination, a distinct scar was visible on his back, so far corresponding in form and direction with the one in front, that it seemed likely to have been made by the same weapon. But how the arrow could have transfixed him through the chest, without wounding the vital organs, was not easily to be conjectured. The only explanation I could conceive of was, that the fellow's heart was so much harder than any material used for arrow-heads, that the missile, instead of penetrating that important organ, had glanced aside and passed without mortal hurt.

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Enough had been developed to assure me that the tribe generally had hearts of no ordinary toughness, capable of serving them for all practical purposes wherein impenetrable stuff was in request; but the tale of this miraculous escape gave a new impression of obduracy, and entitled the hero to bear the palm among his fellows. I pretended to pity him for his former sufferings, and went so far as to volunteer — in case I should ever be permitted to enter the enemy's territory — to make mince-meat of some of them, and so to avenge his cruel injuries. This spontaneous sympathy and forwardness to take up his quarrel was exceedingly gratifying to the sufferer and to the chief, and drew from them a more particular narrative of the combat.

They were out on a horse-stealing expedition, — the usual occasion, it seems, of Patagonian fights, — and made a swoop upon the camp of another tribe. The objects of this felonious invasion asserted title to the horses in their possession by certain tangible arguments, and induced a mortal combat. And now Old Boy waxed eloquent, and especially displayed that prime ingredient, "action." His broad-sword exercise was really animated, and taught us "how fields were won,"—or would have done so, but that, while his right hand was slashing the air with his good steel, his left *would* hold the bridle-rein, and his heels involuntarily drive the spur; — in short, though it was a part on which he did not linger in the narration any more than in the act, there was some tall running on the occasion. So artlessly was the tale told, that while the hero was cutting and thrusting and grunting, to make due impression of the desperate bravery displayed in the encounter, his subordinate action clearly depicted a running and

484 as before, but if he says nothing, then all know that for the while they are to remain in that place. Their camp site is usually in the area to which they know that the game has moved. When the chief sees that meat is running low he gives orders at sundown, in the same manner as when ordering a move to a new camp site, that the horses are to be brought in at some specified time on the following day. Once this has been done he harangues them once more, this time on horseback, and assigns the hunting stations and all else which each group of hunters is to do. Some women go with them to load the game, the men being [462] unwilling to do even this chore. The tents are left standing and in them [92] the remaining women, children, and disabled Indians wait. At sundown they return to their tents once more. The chief's authority is limited 622 to these few activities only, and he never for any crime punishes his people, although in the aforementioned matters in which obedience is required it is never found that they do not fulfill his orders faithfully. When 721 623 he wants to wage war on his neighbors, or on some other group which may have insulted their honor, this can only be carried into effect with the approval of his chief subordinates, to which effect they meet together in the chief's tent. The latter mulls over and explains the wrongs which have been done, the way in which they can be avenged, forces, ease and difficulties entailed in the waging of the war. The members of the council confer about the matter and either approve or reject the proposal of the chief, who does not take offense if he is overruled. Usually the chief's bid for war is approved and the council merely discusses ways and means of waging it, and the time of its commencing. This discussion 721 203 often lasts some days. Once they are agreed on the matter of beginning hostilities the chief, on three successive nights, shouts the news in a loud voice from his tent so as to inform his people of the declaration of war, the time which has been set for its [73] commencement, the manner in which it is to be conducted, who are the enemies, the cause of the war, and they are warned to be wary and prepared.

721 One of the principle causes for the declaration of war is the fol- 423 lowing: Each chief's territory has fixed boundaries, and no Indian may cross into the territory of a neighbor without obtaining permission from 484 the latter to do so. The Indian who wishes to obtain such permission [202] must make three smoke signals, and until he is answered by three other smoke signals he may not approach the encampment. Once he has been answered he must give an account of himself to the chief in whose territory he is, telling his reasons for coming, be it only because he is passing through or because he wishes to take up residence there. If the chief so

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desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask per- 648
mission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be [202]
made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks [203
without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news 537]
and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "ε," "ε," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and 721
as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women 727
and children are made captives and the old women together with the ablebodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the 622
Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife, although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:167) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 99) states that children's heads were

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tracks of many horses, but his known character as an incorrigible liar made his statement valueless. Still everybody became at last convinced that the Northern Indians were at war with the Araucanos, and consequently preparations to fight were commenced. After a watchful night, all fires out, and silence strictly observed, all armed, and mounting their best horses, sallied out. After a while the cause of the whole disturbance turned out to be Ariza, who had wandered for eleven days on foot, following our track, subsisting on birds' eggs, and narrowly escaping the pumas, though he had been more than once attacked by them in broad daylight, and had killed one with his knife, his story being vouched for by the boots he had contrived to manufacture out of his deceased enemy's skin. He looked worn and haggard, his feet were sore, and he told me that another night would have finished him. The Indians, who—owing to his desertion and subsequent pursuit of us—had been kept on the alert all night, without fire, and prohibited from conversing, were naturally indignant, and wanted to kill him. But Casimiro and Orkeke interceded for him, and he was brought back to the toldos behind another horseman. Casimiro, *apropos* of these signal fires, related to me a curious story, as follows. 'Many years ago, when I was quite young, I was travelling a few leagues to the northward, under my mother's charge. The party encamped near a large lagoon not far from the Sengal river, and were occupied in hunting in the neighbourhood. On several days in succession smoke was observed in different directions, which approached nearer and nearer each time. Being naturally supposed to be caused by the Indians, it was answered, and scouts were at last sent to ascertain the cause, as no messengers appeared. They returned, however, stating that they could discover nothing. At the end of four days an Indian, tall, gaunt, and emaciated, mounted on a very thin *mule*, arrived in the camp, and asked for a chief whose name was unknown. The stranger was taken, as is customary, to the chief's toldo, and his mule turned loose; but,

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the Rio Negro settlements is simply that cattle and horses hardly exist in sufficient numbers to reward a foray on a large scale. Small parties sometimes come in, as in the case described, when the horses were taken from the 'China Muerta,' the estancia of Mr. Fraser's neighbour; but these are rather robberies than hostile invasions—indeed no important raids have occurred since the time of Lanquetruz, who united all the Indians for the purpose, and swept the valley in a raid which, it may be remembered, was described to me by Gravino, a participator in it, at Inacayal's toldos, near the Pass of the Rio Limay. The settlers were naturally anxious to know my opinion as to the probable safety of the Rio Negro, and I assured them that, from what I know, there was little chance of a raid, but that, on the contrary, Bahia Blanca was sure to be attacked, and I especially warned one of our countrymen who was on his way to Bahia Blanca not to hazard himself by settling outside the town at the present juncture. Englishmen are apt to suppose that because they possess good weapons, rifles and revolvers, and are able and ready to use them, they can resist an Indian attack; but the whole system of their warfare consists in sudden surprises. They secretly collect their forces, and waiting at a safe distance during the night, come in at the early dawn; and perhaps the unsuspicious settler, going to the corral or looking for his horses, observes in the distance what appears to be a troop of horses, driven, according to custom, by one or two mounted men; these approach unchallenged, but in a second every horse displays an armed rider, shouting his war-cry. They then spread out, as if to encircle the game, thus presenting no front to the rifles of their opponents, and dash down lance in hand; and whilst some secure the animals, others set fire to the dwellings and carry off the women—if there are any—captives. In some cases they kill the men, but generally only when much resistance is offered.

Although their chief object in warfare is to carry off cattle

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and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xaviel; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetrou.

They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barranca, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barranca then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large salina from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, or

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181 Though their great size at first sight was fitted to inspire terror, it required no very long observation to discover that they were deficient in natural courage. This, in fact, might be inferred at once, from their habitual deceit, treachery and artifice, which are the defences of the weak and timorous, rather than the weapons of strong and daring [726] natures. They always select the night to inflict injuries; never meet an enemy in open combat whom they can stab from behind, or despatch in the dark; and, when obliged to 771 attack by day, always do so in large numbers. This defect [787 of courage is increased by their superstition; they have great faith in charms, signs and omens, a weakness which I 778] anticipated might exert great influence on my destiny in important conjunctures. Could I by any means so master their secret as to possess myself of its mystic power, it might prove an effective aid to my plans of self-defence, or of escape. Should it, on the other hand, be turned by any accidental causes against me, its impulse might prove irresistible by power or contrivance. There was no appearance of idolatrous worship among them, nor could I observe any allusion to a Supreme Being, or to any superior powers having personal attributes; and, except a single ceremony, of which more hereafter, the nature of which was and is still inexplicable, there was nothing that suggested to my 266 mind the idea of religious worship. Whether they are cannibals or not, has been a matter of some dispute. So far as I know, they have been, heretofore, only casually observed on the beach by voyagers, or vaguely reported of by the people of adjoining countries and neighboring settlements; neither of which is a sufficiently reliable source of information. My own personal advantages on this head

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133 224 by the Indians ran into it, and their pursuers waded after, and succeeded in capturing them.

●726 At one time I observed a large scar in the calf of the chief's leg; the mark of a wound that must have been inflicted a long time before, as it was completely healed. Its depression was so great as to indicate a very severe cut, unless the old fellow had grown uncommonly fat since he received it. On inquiring the cause of it, he said it was from a wound inflicted by the Alanagros, a tribe inhabiting a country to the northward. The name he gave them signifies the blacks; and, from the manner in which he spoke of them, I inferred they were in some respects superior to the Patagonians. He said they were armed with cutlasses, and very long knives,—had tobacco, and plenty of horses; and I conjectured that they might have been a party of Spanish Americans, or one of the mixed races of Spanish origin. The fight, he said, arose on occasion of his tribe being on a horse-stealing expedition; they encamped a short distance off, and at night he made a descent on the Alanagros, killed some of them, and plundered their camp, carrying off many of their horses. The plundered tribe rallied, hotly pursued them, and recaptured a part of the booty; in the struggle wounding him with a cutlass, and, as I judged by appearances, cutting to the bone. He told the story with great spirit, slashing right and left, and grunting with extraordinary emphasis, as if to give an impression that good hard blows were given and taken; but I afterwards learned that it was a cowardly running fight, in which more sweat than blood was spilled.

000 Nothing of importance occurred at our encampment near

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Enough had been developed to assure me that the tribe generally had hearts of no ordinary toughness, capable of serving them for all practical purposes wherein impenetrable stuff was in request; but the tale of this miraculous escape gave a new impression of obduracy, and entitled the hero to bear the palm among his fellows. I pretended to pity him for his former sufferings, and went so far as to volunteer — in case I should ever be permitted to enter the enemy's territory — to make mince-meat of some of them, and so to avenge his cruel injuries. This spontaneous sympathy and forwardness to take up his quarrel was exceedingly gratifying to the sufferer and to the chief, and drew from them a more particular narrative of the combat.

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retreating fight, and convinced me that they got a sound drubbing for their pains. He said he killed one Indian, with an air that would have done justice to the slaying of a regiment. Shocking to relate, there were found persons who slanderously reported to me that Old Boy's legs had the unhappy propensity of Pat O'Flaherty's, whose heart was as brave as any man's, but his cowardly legs ran away with his body; and they scrupled not to affirm that in this same hard-fought battle he crawled into the bushes, and there secreted himself till the cessation of hostilities enabled him to rejoin his tribe.

The reader has doubtless noticed that "the tribe" has been all along anonymous. The explanation comes rather late, but, in point of fact, I never could learn that they had any distinctive name; they never used any. Indeed proper names were very seldom heard. Even in conversation concerning each other, they managed to avoid "naming names" as strictly as so many honorable senators, though for no reason that I could discover. By signs and gestures, and other hints, they indicated the personal subject of remark, and seemed to suffer no inconvenience from what would be felt among us as a serious want.

While out hunting one day with the chief, we ascended a slight eminence, commanding a view of an extensive plain. The chief suddenly stopped his horse, and looked steadily forward. I bent my eyes in the same direction, and saw two or three mounted Indians moving towards a common point. There was nothing unusual to be seen, but Old Boy seemed to discover something. I inquired what it was. He answered by pointing; and, on a second view, I observed a horse loose, which I took to be that of some

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

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Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

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159 sheep-farm, where he learnt to speak Spanish fluently. When thirteen years old he ran away and rejoined the Tehuelches Indians, with whom he remained in obscurity for some years, until being in the Southern district, near the Chilian colony of Port Famine, he gained the friendship of
● [727] one Santorin, a native of Patagones, who had been taken captive by the Indians, but having adopted their manners and customs, and marrying one of the tribe, had risen to the position of a chief. Together these two performed a voyage to Chili, to negotiate with the Government in some matters regarding the protection of Port Famine from Indian raids. Santorin died during the voyage, but Casimiro was well received at Santiago by the then President, Señor Bulnés,* loaded with honours, and given the rank, pay, and rations of a captain in the army. He then returned to Port Famine, where he resided, off and on, for some time. By his own account, he was absent on a hunting excursion when the *émeute* took place which resulted in the destruction of the colony. The old wandering habits appeared to have taken possession of him, for he subsequently returned to the Rio Negro, and having entered the service of the Buenos Ayrean Government, again proceeded to the South. During this
[797] time he resided occasionally with the missionaries, during their journey to the South, and at their station at Santa Cruz, and entrusted to them his two sons for the purpose of education. The missionaries soon discovered that his objects were purely selfish, and that he had no idea of allowing others to participate in the advantages they could offer; and I am afraid that the labour and cost bestowed on the boys were thrown away, as neither of them appeared to have profited much by their chances. Sam, indeed, could still sing a hymn if there were grog to the fore, and had a lively recollection of material advantages, often saying, 'He was good man, give me gun,' &c. But the youngest 'Graviel,' who also understood a little English, was one of the laziest of the

* Casimiro gave the name as 'Bourne.'

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only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at 50° 12′ of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams, an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses, which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian. This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "a," "a," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the ablebodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual

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133 of a barberry (Berberis axifolia), called by the Chilians calafate, and also saw plenty of the red and white tea-berries, so common in the Falklands, we entered a wide plain or valley, at the farther end of which rose a peculiar pointed hill, one of a range that stretched away east and west, pierced by a pass. In the midst of it a huge square flat rock shone white in the sunlight, forming a striking object: it looked like a megalith, deposited by giants to cover the grave of some deceased hero. Others of less dimensions lay strewn here and there, giving somewhat of a graveyard aspect to the scene. As we advanced the ground was encumbered with rocks and scoriæ, lying in heaps in all directions, making it very difficult travelling for the horses, and on arriving at the hills themselves their appearance was decidedly volcanic. The whole immediate vicinity of this range of hills presented a peculiarly wild, blasted, and weird appearance; nevertheless ostriches and guanaco were observable in great quantities. My first thought on passing one hill, where, among the other fantastic forms into which the rocks had been tossed, was a natural corral, or circle of huge fragments, built with apparent regularity, but of superhuman dimensions, was, 'What a hell this must have been when the volcanoes were in an active state, belching out the streams of lava and showers of rock, and that perhaps at no distant period!' While at Santa Cruz, Casimiro told me of an active volcano situated at a distance and in a direction which would fix it as belonging to this range. Formerly its neighbourhood had been frequented by the Indians, as the guanaco resorted thither in great numbers during the winter; but the Indians' horses most of them had been poisoned by
133 drinking the water of a stream close to the range, and soon
731 after all the toldos were shaken down by an earthquake or the vibration of an explosion, and since then they had not ventured to go near the place. Casimiro and Gonzalez had, however, subsequently ascended the volcano, and had killed numbers of guanaco in the neighbourhood. It was also

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mentioned that when they were encamped on the Cuheyli, or Coy Inlet River, tremendous volumes of thick black smoke, rolling from the west, enveloped the Indians and terrified them exceedingly. No signs were afterwards found of burned pasture, and it was conjectured that the Canoe Indians of the Chonos Archipelago had fired the western forests, but it was much more likely to have been due to volcanic eruption. While trotting along the defile through these hills formed by a chasm, with perpendicular walls of rock rising on each hand, as evenly scraped as the sides of a railway cutting, I observed several caves, which J'aria had a tradition the Indians formerly used as dwelling-places. This pass led into another valley still more rugged, and strewn with sharp angular fragments of rock, amongst which stunted shrubs began to appear; and lagoons, some of which were encrusted round the edges with saltpetre, and contained brackish water, might be seen at intervals. Towards evening we encamped by the side of a small lagoon of circular form with wall-like cliffs rising some 200 feet from its banks, and nearly surrounding it. I took a stroll, rifle in hand, whilst the men were getting firewood; and plenty guanaco were visible, but I only succeeded in wounding one, which escaped on three legs. Traces of puma, in the shape of carrion, were also there, but Leon himself was hidden. So I returned empty-handed to the fire, where I found a cheerful supper of wild duck and guanaco meat just ready. The moon was beautiful, and the air just frosty enough to be bracing and exhilarating, so some of us staid smoking and spinning yarns until the small hours. The stories were chiefly of adventures on the Pampas. José narrated how, when in pursuit of a party of runaways in the depth of winter, when the snow lay thick on the ground, he and his comrade rode into a valley where countless guanaco had taken refuge from the storm in the upper heights, and stood huddled together, too benumbed by the cold to attempt to escape, and were slaughtered like oxen in the shambles. In

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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502 gation, made them so liable to mischief, that it seemed wise to prepare for it; and I at once began ingratiating myself with two of the worst fellows in the whole tribe, by professions of special good will and admiration for them, and confidential hints that they would share more liberally in the bounties of "Holland" than any of their fellows. Whilst thus engaged, with cautious glances across the river, to make sure that all was right, I perceived that there was quite a commotion among the people below; some were springing upon their horses, — others, ready mounted, were dashing furiously down the bank. On looking some distance below, a boat appeared to be in distress; the lariat that bound it together had snapped asunder, and the pressure within, and the strain of the horse without, had broken the front stake; the horse, relieved of his freight, pulled for the shore, and could neither be coaxed nor beaten into a return to duty. The horsemen on the banks dashed into the stream, and swam for the wreck, which contained, among other passengers, a young child. It was already filled with water, and was partially turned on her side. The surface of the river was dotted with dark forms, struggling with the mad current; one horseman after another each grasped a floating object, and made for the shore. The craft had drifted nearly half a mile, and nothing could be made out very distinctly. The squaws, on first perceiving the mischance, watched the [533] wreck, and sung in a loud and plaintive strain, all the while casting unfriendly glances at me, and gradually approaching the place where I stood. My apprehensions were so far confirmed by this movement, that I told John (the name I gave one of my present particular friends),

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as he loved rum and tobacco, and expected to get any, not to leave me. John saw at a glance what was in the wind, and appreciated both the immediate danger and the ultimate reward of averting it; namely, the privilege of being gloriously drunk at my expense. He told me to go into his hut, and pointed me to the furthest corner; where, I being duly ensconced, he took his station, cutlass in hand, directly in front of me. The singing grew louder, and the voices more numerous about the door; the song was their regular powwow strain, which invariably preluded the killing of a horse. The Indians began to enter the lodge, and looked unutterable things in the direction where I was crouching; the wigwam was soon filled with them, and they were beginning to crowd towards me, when old John opened upon them, and told them they ought to be ashamed of themselves, to come in there in that manner; they did not even know what had happened, — they did not know whether any lives were lost. They were threatening on account of the death of a child, when, for aught they knew, the child was alive; they had better wait patiently, till they knew more about the matter, before they made any further uproar about it. In this strain he parleyed with them for some time, till they concluded to retire, uttering, as they went, the most horrible sounds. I felt less relief from their absence than if John had not, by implication, fully assented that *if* the brat was drowned, my life should answer for it. News soon came that the children were all safe, but that the boat was lost.

An instant change ensued: the fire appeared to be quenched, but I feared it might break out at any moment afresh. Knowing their treachery, I kept a pretty sus-

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

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CHAPTER VI.

TECKEL TO GEYLUM.

Casimiro's Household—Cargo-kaik—Quintuhual's Son—Woolkein—Partridges—Meeting with the Araucanians—The Cacique Quintuhual—Esgei-kaik—Araucanian Belles—Communication with Chupat Colony—Diplaik—Calficura's Declaration of War—Tehuelches learn Fishing—My Indian Relatives—Woodland Rambles—An Indian Paradise—The Upper Chupat—Cushamon—Losing Horses—Official Functions—Message from Las Manzanas—Blessing the Liquor—Casimiro Intoxicated—Foyel's Encampment—Great Parlemento—Foyel's Ideas—Gatchen-kaik—Arrival at Geylum.

ON January 21 the word was given to march, and all the 621
united forces of the Tehuelches, numbering 200 men, with the usual allowance of women and children, prepared to advance to join the Araucanos. Ten toldos, forming Crimé's party, lingered behind, in consequence of the continued sickness of this caciquillo, who, however, sent word that he would follow in our rear.

All the horses were in excellent condition, and it was with 592
great delight that I saw the immense cavalcade set out. Our family party in Casimiro's toldo included, besides the chief and his wife, sons, and little daughter Chingook, an old brother-in-law, Kai, nicknamed Chileno, and his wife and son Macho; and an old deaf and dumb woman of most repulsive aspect. The only good feature in Casimiro's character was his charity. He was always ready to afford an [736]
asylum to any destitute or infirm people, and his toldo was never without some such object of his pity. My honourable

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possible and pay another visit to the toldo, where I had been made to feel myself at home.

Her father asked me to procure him a grinding organ, as Casimiro had informed him that he had seen music made by turning a handle. I promised to get one if I could, and after a cordial farewell returned to our toldo, as we intended going away at daylight on the 17th.

Accordingly we prepared for a start; and a boy came over from the other toldos to join us. He was a Tehuelche, whose father had been killed on suspicion of witchcraft, and being a remote connexion of Casimiro's, had claimed his protection, which of course was granted, and he (Casimiro) had agreed to take him with us, informing him that he was to act as my page, look after my horses, &c., and make himself generally useful. This was a very fine idea, but one glance at the face and figure of this illustrious youth was sufficient to show me that I should probably spend my time in looking after him, and a more mischievous imp I never saw. When told that he might catch one of my horses to travel on, he immediately fixed on the wrong one, and a horse that I had myself barely mounted for perhaps six weeks, in order to get it into condition for the journey into Patagones.

This horse he caught, and came down to the toldos at full gallop over rocks, stones, and bushes, with a grin of delight on his face. After being warned in mild terms that he was not to ride that horse, which I took from him and turned loose, he proceeded to catch one of Casimiro's, which he treated in the same manner, but at length got the right one, and then, without saying 'With your leave, or by your leave,' galloped off, yelling at the top of his voice, to follow the road which the Indians had taken the previous day.

We were about to start ourselves when, at the last moment, Quintuhual sent to say that he wished to have a council. So Casimiro and myself remained in the pouring rain squatting on the grass listening to a repetition of what we had heard the previous day.

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drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was cur- 203
rent that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them, and various other stories, most of which were declared to be lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish their hearers. Crimé's widow took up her abode in our toldo; [736]
and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the 622
rank of lieutenant in the Buenos Ayrean army, and the right of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique, who at last declared that he should name his almost insane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated by annual pay! On April 22 a start was made, but we remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing, so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was 133
presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular hills, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after 261
it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce, what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given to those recovering from sickness.

Jackechan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as 755
the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for. He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, muttering a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

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574 164 strange to say, it never moved from the spot where it was unsaddled, and the Indian during the time he remained in the toldo neither ate nor drank. At the end of three days he mounted his mule, which appeared as fresh as when he arrived, and rode away to the northward. On the following day, whilst hunting, a sickness struck the Indians—some falling dead from their horses, while others, though able to return home, only survived a short time. As is usual when [361 disease breaks out, the toldos were removed to some distance 751] from each other, to escape infection, but many men, women, and children died.' Of the fact that a plague or sickness did cause the death of many Indians within a few days at some encampment in these plains, I received further and reliable confirmation, my informant, who was in the party, stating that the Pampa tribe was decimated.

133 In the cliffs above the river on the eastern side of our encampment I observed many balls of sandstone of various sizes. On breaking one in two, a piece of what seemed to be ironstone formed a nucleus, around which layers of sand appeared to have been aggregated. By what process these balls could have been formed was to me a mystery; but they proved very handy for bolas, only requiring to be slightly reduced in size. Hunting to the westward from the encampment, we came across several muddy, or rather clayey bogs, into one of which, when in full pursuit of an ostrich, I rode, and my horse sank deep, throwing his rider a complete summersault; and with much ado I first picked up myself, and then with greater difficulty extricated my horse from the tenacious morass.

000 After Arica's return, the Chilians manifested a restless spirit, and frequently asked me the direction of the Chupat settlement. I replied that it lay about 150 leagues to the E.N.E. from this point, as far as I could judge; but that it would be better for them to remain with the Indians, and do the women's work of providing wood and water, &c., than to start off into a wild and dreary pampa, where they

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 582
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751●
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

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hill,' and certainly is worthy of its name; for during our stay a succession of S.W. winds blew with great violence. After our arrival a small boy cut his finger, and, according to custom, a mare was killed. Some of the meat sent to our toldo was thankfully received, as we were all half starved. Having strolled through the camp and visited Cayuke's toldo, I found that Casimiro had not arrived, having started, to my great disgust, with the party travelling to the S.W., and taken with him a specially good horse, which he had given me in exchange for a revolver. I was, however, glad to find that Jackechan, the Pampa chief, was there, and we had a confabulation and smoke together. On the 23rd, the previous day having been too rough, the Indians started to hunt the enclosing grassy basin before mentioned as existing at the foot of the mountains. Immense herds of guanaco were driven down, and being encircled by men and fires the sport soon commenced. The Tehuelches had for some reasons set light to the grass in every available part, and the wind rising to a furious gale, the fires soon spread and joined in an advancing line. Jackechan, myself, and several other Indians were in the centre of the circle, each employed in skinning the guanaco we had already killed, when suddenly we found that we were encircled in flame and smoke, and that if we did not want to be well scorched we had better look out for means of exit. Leaving our game, we galloped at the spot where the smoke appeared thinnest, but after riding three or four minutes with our faces covered up, found an impassable barrier of flame; so, half-maddened with the hot sand dashed in our eyes by the gale, and nearly suffocated with smoke, we galloped down the line of flame to a spot where, the grass being stunted, we managed to get through without injury, although our horses' legs were singed a little. We were very thankful to breathe pure air, though the atmosphere was still thick with smoke, and nothing could be distinguished of valley or anything else. Jackechan, with unerring Indian instinct, led the way to a stream of water, where we were

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291 out, will keep the wearer dry for a considerable time in the wettest weather. This is often dispensed with in the chase, but, if worn when riding, is secured at the waist by a belt of hide or leather if it can be obtained. When in camp the belt is not used, and the garment is worn loose, something after the fashion of the 'melodramatic assassin's' cloak. When sitting by the fireside, or even when walking about, the furred part of the mantle is generally kept over the
● [753] mouth—as the Tehuelches aver that the cold wind causes sore gums—a habit which assists in rendering their guttural and at all times rather unintelligible language more difficult of comprehension to the novice.

Their potro boots (fig. 5) or buskins are made from the skin of horse's hock, and occasionally from the leg of a large puma, drawn on up to the knee and fastened round the foot. It is thus worn for a day or two until the boot has taken the shape of the foot, when the leather is cut at the toes and sewn up to fit. When the sole is worn, or in very wet or snowy weather, hide overshoes are worn besides, and the footprints thus made are really large enough to convey the idea of giant's feet, and partly explain the term 'Patagon,' or large feet, applied to these Indians by the Spanish discoverers. The boots are rarely put on in camp, for economical reasons, though turning out barefoot in the frozen grass at daylight is unpleasant even to a Tehuelche. But the material of the boot would soon wear out if used for walking. In riding they are secured by garters, either gay coloured woven bands, or, which is *de rigueur* for chiefs, of hide, with massive silver buckles. Although the usual head-dress of the men is simply a coloured fillet to confine the hair, yet sometimes, and especially on state occasions, hats, if procurable, are indulged in. Old Orkeke frequently wore a felt wideawake, which was, on returning from hunting, carefully put up by his thoughtful spouse.

The women's dress consists of a mantle similar to that worn by the men, but secured at the throat by a large silver

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thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive faculty for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

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met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife. Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I explained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.

With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and sometimes employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

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dered observation and record, in addition to hunting and the usual toils of marching, impossible. It was the more needful for me to endeavour to keep up, as all were more or less ill, and becoming increasingly gloomy and dispirited. To add to the troubles which weighed down the Indians' spirits at this place, the doctor's horse fell while descending a precipitous rocky hill. The unfortunate physician was stunned, and very nearly crushed to death by the horse falling on him; great grief was universally expressed at this catastrophe, as no one was left to cure the invalids and contend with the malignant Gualichu, who, it was natural for the Indians to imagine, had laid a trap for his opponent, and upset the medicine man's steed in order to have the field clear for himself.

We encamped in a sort of morass, by the side of the hills overlooking the plain, and were woke at daylight by the chattering of a flock of blue and orange paroquets; these birds, which brought back old pleasant associations of the banks of the Parana, and almost seemed to be harbingers of civilised life, were numerous in this locality, though they were the first of the species that I had observed in the country.

The distant signal smoke was concluded to indicate the presence of Jackechan and the Pampa Indians under Teneforo, and all were in spirits at the prospect of obtaining news, and perhaps luxuries in the shape of flour, yerba, &c., from Patagones. The order was accordingly given to march, and a large answering signal fire kindled in some dry pasture bordering the hill side, a messenger being at the same time despatched to ascertain the news. After a rather long march over a barren plain strewn with angular masses of chalcedony and projecting rocks resembling alabaster, we arrived at a dreary encampment, sheltered under a bank, from which a spring gushed out, forming a refreshing rivulet.

The mutiny of my page had compelled me to enjoy the pleasure of driving my own cattle, following the track in

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516]
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 76[]
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [756]

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Mbaya SK11

A 123 797 (77 former customs, raved when they found their medicines laughed at, and the fountain of their gains dried up. The jugglers, who had sucked the bodies, and drained the property of the sick, were despised by their countrymen as a set of worthless drones.

T 75-3 756 The Patagonians, and other southern savages, think the body of a sick person to be possessed of an evil demon. Their physicians carry about T [534] drums, with horrible forms depicted on them, which they strike by the sick man's bed, either to consult the demon concerning the nature of the disease, or to drive it from the body of their patient. If any one dies of a disease, the relations persecute the physician most terribly, as T [166] the author of his death. If a Cacique dies, they put all the physicians to death, that they may not fly elsewhere. Actuated by an irrational T [763] kind of pity, they bury the dying before they expire. Father Strobl pulled one man alive from the grave. The Guaycurùs call their phy- M 756 sicians Nigienigis. A gourd filled with hard seeds, and a fan of dusky emu feathers are their chief insignia, and medical instruments, which they always carry in their hands that they may C 756 be known. I must not omit to speak of the physicians of the Chiquitos. A juggler physician, when he goes to visit the sick, fills his belly with the most exquisite dainties, chickens, hens,

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychubèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kck-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774, p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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the paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a noble savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is composed of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gelatine being carefully skimmed off and secured. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair enslaver, and confess that the process was rather painful.

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The office of wizard is not hereditary; indeed those I met 756
with were unmarried. A boy or a girl, if what we should 791
call odd, as in the case of Cayuke's daughter, an old-fashioned and eccentric girl of thirteen, is considered to be marked out as a wizard; but the functions, so far as directing ceremonies, are sometimes performed by an ordinary member of the party. The stock in trade of the regular wizard consists [778]
of a few fetishes, or charms, carried in a bag, carefully concealed from public gaze, and exhibited to his colleagues alone. In addition to these, they seem to possess a real knowledge of simples, although this is not confined to them. Their professional operations are never accompanied by epileptic seizures and real or simulated convulsions. They, of course, are expected to prognosticate the success or failure of undertakings, and the issue of sickness, and foretell the future generally; and their position in this respect is a dangerous one, as a failure of their predictions is frequently punished with death; but, to make up for this risk, they are universally received with honour and hospitably entertained, and are usually enriched by the accumulation of presents. The power of witchcraft is by no means believed to be con- 754
fined to them; any person may be suspected of this crime, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for people when dying to lay their death to the charge of some person by name. All the missionaries' instructions did not prevent Casimiro, after the death of either his mother or one of his wives, from sending an agent to kill a woman who, as the deceased averred, had bewitched her. Certain signs and 767
omens are superstitiously regarded; one particularly dreaded 825
is the cry of the nightjar, common on the slopes of the Cordillera, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness or death to some of the inmates. They hold this bird in great veneration, and object to its being injured in any manner. Another animal supposed to be possessed of magical powers is a flat toad-like lizard, which is believed to lame horses by mysterious agency, and is killed whenever met with.

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possible and pay another visit to the toldo, where I had been made to feel myself at home.

Her father asked me to procure him a grinding organ, as Casimiro had informed him that he had seen music made by turning a handle. I promised to get one if I could, and after a cordial farewell returned to our toldo, as we intended going away at daylight on the 17th.

Accordingly we prepared for a start; and a boy came over from the other toldos to join us. He was a Tehuelche, whose father had been killed on suspicion of witchcraft, and being a remote connexion of Casimiro's, had claimed his protection, which of course was granted, and he (Casimiro) had agreed to take him with us, informing him that he was to act as my page, look after my horses, &c., and make himself generally useful. This was a very fine idea, but one glance at the face and figure of this illustrious youth was sufficient to show me that I should probably spend my time in looking after him, and a more mischievous imp I never saw. When told that he might catch one of my horses to travel on, he immediately fixed on the wrong one, and a horse that I had myself barely mounted for perhaps six weeks, in order to get it into condition for the journey into Patagonea.

This horse he caught, and came down to the toldos at full gallop over rocks, stones, and bushes, with a grin of delight on his face. After being warned in mild terms that he was not to ride that horse, which I took from him and turned loose, he proceeded to catch one of Casimiro's, which he treated in the same manner, but at length got the right one, and then, without saying 'With your leave, or by your leave,' galloped off, yelling at the top of his voice, to follow the road which the Indians had taken the previous day.

We were about to start ourselves when, at the last moment, Quintulmal sent to say that he wished to have a council. So Casimiro and myself remained in the pouring rain squatting on the grass listening to a repetition of what we had heard the previous day.

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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow-bones of the guanaco killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry gnat.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kow", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

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chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, putting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen not by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

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and sometimes his whole family, are destroyed. Casimiro, an enlightened Indian, for some time under the auspices of the missionaries at Santa Cruz, informed me that when his mother, or one of his wives—I forget which—died, he sent and had a woman killed who had caused the death by witchcraft.

Any instrument, the use of which is not understood, is looked upon as having some connection with witchcraft. For instance, a watch, which they look upon as bringing luck at play; my compass also was in frequent request, and a locket I wore round my neck was supposed to be a talisman securing the wearer from death.

I have not touched upon the language of the Tehuelches, but shall be happy to answer questions as to any words of common use amongst these people, and hope at a future time to publish a partial vocabulary of their language compiled during my residence amongst them.

From the data I was enabled to acquire I should estimate the numerical strength of their population at seventy fighting men of the south, and about two hundred of the northern, making with women and children a total of about 1,400.

Pampas.—North of the Sengel river, a tributary of the Chupat, in latitude 44 deg. south, and about thirty miles from the Cordillera, we joined company with a party of the Pampa or Penck Indians already alluded to. It is impossible now to do more than mention the chief characteristic differences which, besides that of language, mark them out as a distinct race from the Tehuelche. Their stature and proportions are smaller, their countenances are inferior in intelligent expression. The women, however, who seem to have appropriated the marks of the not infrequent admixture of Spanish blood, are, as a rule, better-looking than the Tehau of the Tehuelches; the men when mounted on horseback are armed with peculiar long light lances, the shafts of which are made from a cane resembling bamboo found in the Cordillera. As to their religion I have reason to believe that they are worshippers of the sun; they however practise similar rites to those already described for propitiating the evil spirit, who is known by the same name. One custom not practised amongst the Tehuelches is a ceremony the Pampas perform before drinking intoxicating liquor. Four lances are pitched in the ground, round which the chiefs walk, each carrying a pannikin containing a little liquor which they sprinkle partly on the lances and partly on the ground, muttering incantations all the time. These Pampa Indians I believe to have been the race armed with bows and arrows met with and described by the early navigators, and to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Negro, where great quantities of flint arrow-heads and

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304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were so bandaged as to produce [intentionally!] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73–74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

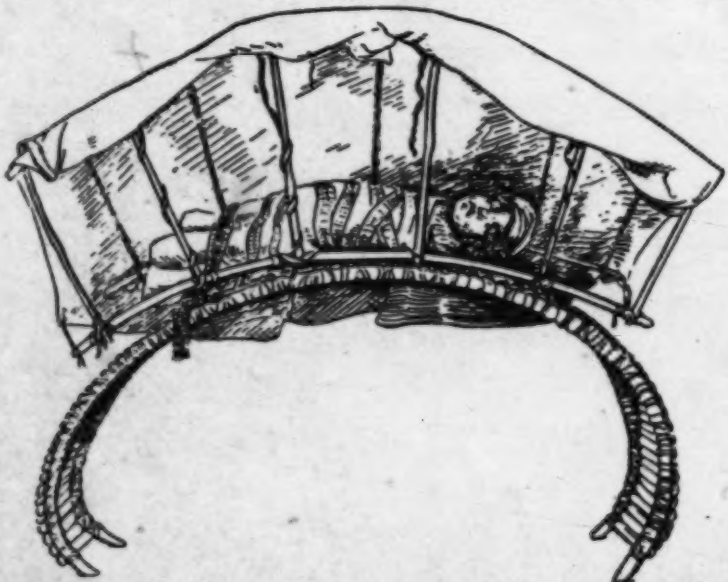

FIGURE 20.—Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Vaulx, 1901, p. 165.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their beads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199–200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202).

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on the occasion
of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76).

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sañchez Labrador, 1936, p. 52), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 158; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 128) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives.

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 58; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 358), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it.

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story.

LORE AND LEARNING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183;

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche;* see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua.*

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For bibliographic references, see pages 138–139.

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512 party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlemento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

888 Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify [537] for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My 755 compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We 714 greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by strips of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from 'foolish Indians.'

777 His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was 203 often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

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drunken brawl since our departure, and that a rumour was current that the Valdivians had had their cattle taken from them, and various other stories, most of which were declared to be lies by Orkeke, who, having lost a horse, had returned to look for it in Geylum; the budget of alarming news thus proving to be a fresh illustration of the Indian's proneness to invent if they have nothing of real importance wherewith to astonish their hearers. Crimè's widow took up her abode in our toldo; and as, by this chief's death, the post of capitanejo, with the rank of lieutenant in the Buenos Ayrean army, and the right of drawing rations, was vacant, Casimiro consulted me as to his successor. But successive proposals of those who seemed most fit, beginning with Wáki, were objected to by the cacique, who at last declared that he should name his almost insane son Graviel as the chief to be placed by the Argentine Government upon the list of the caciques to be conciliated by annual pay! On April 22 a start was made, but we remained to the last, as four of Casimiro's horses which I had brought down to the valley the previous evening were missing, so the chieftain returned to look for them, and the rest of the toldo pursued their journey.

After taking a farewell look at the Cordillera, which was presently shut out from view by the hills, the counterslope of which we descended, a hurried march led us through a very barren rocky country entangled in broken irregular hills, with scarcely a bush to shelter under, and little or no pasture. We encamped, or rather reached the camp after it was pitched, in a cañon containing a small spring and a very little green pasture, and went to bed supperless, as, not being in time for the hunt, and game being very scarce, what we could beg from our neighbours was naturally given to those recovering from sickness.

Jackechan's wife and child were still very unwell, and, as the child was supposed to be dying, the doctor was sent for. He proceeded to cure it by laying it on the ground, muttering a charm and patting it on the head; after which he put

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●755 his mouth close to its chest and shouted to bring the devil out: he then turned it on its face and repeated the same process. The child's health mended next day, and it was shortly out of danger.

224 About ten o'clock at night Casimiro returned with his horses, which had strayed a considerable distance on the road back to Geylum. The next day a long march of twenty miles brought us to an encampment on the western verge of a broad plain, watered by a brooklet. During the [136] hunt the first Patagonian hares, or cavies, were caught. These little animals live in burrows, but are generally out feeding or sleeping in the grass during the day. They are excessively swift for perhaps a mile, but, like the foxes of this country soon get tired. The chase of these small deer afforded an agreeable relief to the monotony of the journey. As soon as we entered a plain or valley where they abounded, as they always were found in numbers where the pasture was good, all hurried off to 'stop the earths,' *i.e.*, close up the burrows with bushes; but the cunning little beasts often evaded us by slipping into a burrow overlooked by the earth, stoppers. It required considerable skill to bring them down with the bolas, as, if only caught round the legs or body, they disentangled themselves quickly, but a blow on the head proved at once fatal. They are good eating, though the flesh [262 281] is somewhat dry when roasted. Their skins are made up into mantles, but are of little value, as the hair soon comes off.

133 About a mile below the encampment, where the sandy plain narrowed and sloped down to a low-lying grassy valley, a singular phenomenon presented itself. The morning after our arrival, when going out to look for the horses, a furious easterly gale whirled the dust aloft in dense clouds, and, to my great surprise, the sand, which was driven into our faces, was as hot as when the fire so nearly encircled us. Almost blinded in forcing our way through this curtain of driving sand, we rode right into a hollow, where the earth appeared to be on fire; as the horses plunged

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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud, and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in which everybody joined. After dark, when many were sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the toldos, and yelling 'kow-w!' at each blow; firebrands being, at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking, the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect darkness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place, in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a general *mêlée* or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race-course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since leaving the Rio Sengel, was a regular beaten level track of about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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He narrated how he himself had occupied twelve days in crossing it, and had been obliged to abandon a horse and the saddle and gear of his remaining steed, and with difficulty, nearly starved, on foot, and driving his almost worn-out horse before him, had made his way to a station.

At the same time a young Indian started to cross the desert, but lost his way, and, quoth the cacique impressively, 'His bones are there now.'

One statement, that the chañals or white thorns grew higher than the horses' heads and tore the unlucky riders' mantles to pieces as they forced their way through them, my own after-experience fully verified. I, however, adhered firmly to my original intention of going, as agreed to by him, and conveying with my own hand the letter I had written: and it was finally settled that Meña, Nacho, and I should, on arriving at Margensho, start on our journey as chasquis. Casimiro's real motive for dissuading me was distrust, as we had on two or three occasions disagreed, and once nearly come to blows; he was therefore afraid that I should, on arriving at Patagones, work against his interests and give him a bad character. Meña, who had taken a great fancy to me, volunteered for the purpose of keeping an eye on Nacho, who was my 'bête noire,' and not to be trusted.

These arrangements having been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, we proceeded to the toldo of a friend and assisted at the ceremony performed by the doctor of curing a sick child, more especially concerning the part of painting with red ochre, killing and eating a white mare.

On this occasion the parents formally invited the principal chiefs and their relations and friends, and the ceremony commenced as follows. All the men were either sitting or standing in a circle, in the centre of which sat the mother holding her infant in her arms. The doctor then came in, and under his direction the mother plastered the infant from head to foot with white clay, the wizard meanwhile mutter-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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ing incantations; when this was completed, the doctor 755
disappeared for a minute or two, returning with an ornamented hide bag in his hand; this he opened, and produced from the bottom some charms carefully enveloped in rags, which he, after performing some mystic hocus-pocus, returned to the bag. He next took the baby from the mother, and patting it gently on the head, and muttering in a low tone, dipped its head into the bag two or three times, and then returned it to its mother. A white mare was brought up, and, after being daubed all over with hand-marks of red ochre, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten on the spot, the heart, liver, and lungs being hung on a lance, to the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Care was taken, as in other ceremonies, that no dogs approached to eat the offal, which was buried, the head and backbone being removed to a neighbouring hill.

On the 9th of May we started, arriving the same evening 133
at Margensho, which was, as the Indians had previously described it to me, a large grassy plain lying below a step or barranca, and watered by a brook running N.E. and S.W. During the hunt over the previously described plains there was nothing remarkable except the extreme scarcity of game, skunks alone being numerous; fortunately I killed a male guanaco, and as I had the previous day corrected my page he brought up the horses most carefully, so that all was in readiness for an early start. Before sundown the chiefs 622
were collected, and the contents of the letter read to them; they all appeared pleased, and after adding a postscript setting forth the names and number of the chiefs who required rations I closed the correspondence.

Hinchel came and provided me with tobacco, asking as a favour that if any of his friends in the settlement should inquire if he got drunk when occasion offered in the pampas, I would bear witness to his sobriety; he also entreated that I would either return to the Indians or remain in Patagones until he arrived, which latter I promised to do.

[Letter to be delivered to the Argentine authorities -- Analyst]

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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[782] house erected, and a feast and dance takes place. If a child falls
755 ill, the doctor is sent for, and if he says it will live, great rejoicing and a feast take place. The doctors, although they depend chiefly on incantations and magic to perform their cures, must have some other knowledge, which they keep to themselves, as I have known them perform two or three cures when the sick people appeared to be rapidly sinking. I will cite one instance of their treatment which came under my particular notice. The patient, a child of about a year and a half old, was very ill with influenza, and we all thought it would die. The doctor arrived in the toldo, and laying the child on its back, proceeded, after patting it lightly on the head, and murmuring an incantation, to place his mouth close to the patient's chest, and shout, as far as I could understand, to exhort the evil spirit to leave the child; after this he took it up, carefully handed it to its mother, who under his directions, smeared it all over with gypsum. This over, it was handed back to the doctor, who had been absent a minute. He then produced a hide bag, at the bottom of which were some charms; into this he inserted the baby's head several times, muttering incantations; after this a white mare was brought up, and after being painted with red ochre hand-marks all over, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten, care being taken, as before, that no dogs approached. The liver, heart, and lungs were hung on a lance, at the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Whatever effect these ceremonies may have had, the child recovered. On the death of a
766 child great anguish is displayed by the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on on the march, is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, when fully caparisoned, strangled by means of lazos, the saddle gear, cradle, and all appertaining to the child burnt, the women crying and singing; the parents, moreover, throw their own valuables into the fire to notify their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out as a recompense for their services; however, they seldom benefit much.

776 I have now described most of the principal ceremonies observed amongst these Indians, but have not touched on their religion in any way. They believe in a good spirit gifted with much power, who made the Indians first, and also the animals necessary for their maintenance, which he dispersed from a hill visited by us in our wanderings, situated about lat. 47 degs. south, long. about 71 degs. 40 mins. west. This great spirit, however, according to their ideas, takes but little trouble as to their welfare; consequently most of their religious ceremonies are for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, which are several. The chief devil, however, who rejoices in the name of "Gualy-

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, patting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

take up his challenge, he would go on croaking the same things with tedious iteration. After listening very patiently to one of his harangues, I inwardly applauded the taste of his subjects in getting as far as possible out of the reach of his voice.

One forenoon, as I was beginning to feel impatient to move, — for every movement seemed to fan the flickering hope that we would soon reach a place affording some avenue of escape, and this restlessness always made camp-life doubly dismal, — the chief informed me that we should decamp that day. Preparations had commenced, when one of his daughters came in with a child crying at a tempestuous rate. The version which she gave of his complaints arrested the marching orders. A messenger was forthwith despatched for one skilled in the healing art. The physician soon arrived, armed with two small packages rolled up in pieces of skin, about a foot long and three or four inches in diameter, which I took to be his medicine-chest. He walked gravely in, laid down the packages, and squatted beside the mother, who held the little patient in her arms. Whatever his ailment might have been, his lungs could not have been impaired, for he was roaring like a young buffalo. Not a word was spoken for some time. the doctor all the while looking him very steadily in the eye. Then came a sudden calm, importing that the little fellow experienced some relief, or, more probably, that he was exhausted. The doctor ordered an application, — not of hot water, according to the prescription of Sangrado, but of a mortar made of clay. The clay was brought, the anxious mother worked it over with her two hands, spitting upon it to give it the requisite moisture, and having re-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

•755 duced it to the consistency of thick paint, bedaubed the little fellow from head to foot, giving him a decidedly original appearance. He evidently took umbrage at this unction, and discoursed in his shrillest tones till he was fairly out of breath. The medicine-chests were opened, but, instead of medicinal herbs, disclosed only a bunch of ostrich's sinews and a rattle eight or ten inches long. The physician commenced fingering the strings, and muttering almost inaudibly. This lasted four or five minutes, at the expiration of which he seized his rattle, and clattered away furiously for a minute or two, and resumed his place by his patient, eying him intently as before. He then turned with an air of importance to the chief, who had been crouching cross-legged on his couch. leaning forward. with his arms tightly folded on his breast, and watching anxiously the progress of the treatment. The man of skill broke silence: "I think he is better; don't you?" The chief nodded, and grunted assent. The same appeal was made to the mother, and received a like response. Another plastering was ordered, another burst of melody followed the application, the mysterious strings were again fingered, duly followed by the rattle. The parent and grandparent once more assented to the leech that the child was better. The chief took out a piece of tobacco, and cut off enough for about two pipefuls, which was tendered and gratefully accepted as a professional fee. The strings were tied up and replaced in their proper receptacle, and the rattle was shaken with hearty good will, whether by way of finale to the cure, or as a note of gratitude for the fee, or of triumph for success, could not easily be guessed. But the practitioner had scarcely evacuated the lodge, before his patient

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

broke out more vociferously than ever; which I thought would somewhat shake the faith of his guardians in the treatment he had received. But no; their confidence in their medical adviser was not to be blown away by a breath, or even a tempest. They evidently regarded him as nearly infallible. His remedies were obviously aimed more at the imaginations of his spectators than at the body of his patient, but it was no concern of mine. Patients among us have to endure more disagreeable applications than wet clay. The noisy brat became quiet, to our great relief. He shortly appeared to be quite well, and continued to thrive for some time, as I had opportunity to witness.

The tribe went ahead with alacrity, to make up for the loss of time this sickness occasioned. We moved off another day's journey towards nowhere in particular, and settled there at night. Then ensued another season of camp life, feasting and fasting, gambling and quarrelling, and venting superfluous wrath in an abundance of "Casharan caskaly's." The chief was slightly indisposed, and I amused him with a description of the manner in which our physicians count the pulse of their patients. He listened with considerable interest, and sat thoughtfully ruminating on the matter. He came to an unexpected and alarming conclusion; putting this and my story of the *opodeldoc* together, he made up his mind that I was a physician myself! I protested against this inference, fearing that no good would come of the responsibilities he was inclined to impose on me. But the disclaimer was useless, — he stuck to the opinion; and in no long time it was understood through all the tribe that I was a distinguished doctor.

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all 755
the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she [534]
takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those
within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of
the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or [782]
sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but
this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is 764
a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the
favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all
the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on
the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is
lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over
the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the
horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's
trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the
funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has
on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and
friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment
which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they
take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to
the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate
greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they
disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all
those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains
in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives [765]
and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they
cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over
their foreheads up to their eyebrows; they claw their faces, scarify their
cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge
in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending
that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take
over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the
whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and
from all others, and if the old women are asked to reveal the place
where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourn-
ing goes on for fifteen days, with the same moaning, and every day 765 768
horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left,
as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone,
and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was
dead because this is a sacred matter [77] for them, and inviolable. 766

[i.e., any sick virgin.—Paulyst]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

On the occasion

of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or holes (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76). 755

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 52), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 158; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 158), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 128) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives. 756 [338] [534]

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:38; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2:10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 350), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it. [755]

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* fixed story. 773

LIME AND LEVELING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:155; Musters, 1871, pp. 161, 163; [804] [202] 278

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

776 Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 137) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

839 Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*.
756 Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche*; see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

773 Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LOSS AND LEARNING

755 Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the
777 *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course
802 "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For bibliographic references, see pages 125–128.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive faculty for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

756 between his knees, and performing a short ceremony of incantation, shouts in his ear, exhorting the devil to come out. Mr. Clarke, when travelling with the Indians south of Santa Cruz, was treated in this fashion when suffering from feverish headache, and said that at the time it relieved him.

775 788 Beside this Gualichu, there are many others which are supposed to inhabit subterranean dwellings, underneath certain woods and rivers and peculiarly-shaped rocks. I was very much surprised at seeing the Indians salute these objects by placing the hand to the head and muttering an incantation; and for a long time held to the belief that they were only expressing admiration for the Creator's handiwork; but subsequently I learned that they sought thus to conciliate the spirits of these places, reputed to be the spirits of deceased members of the faculty. These devils' powers, however, are confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

789 776 On one occasion, a horse about to run a match was taken up to a neighbouring hill before daylight by the owner, and some secret ceremony was performed by the wizard. Previous to the race the owner (Wáki) came to me and advised me to put my stakes on his horse, as he had been made safe to win by mysterious incantations which had secured the favour of the local Gualichu; and, strange to say, the horse, which by his appearance was much inferior to the other, did win, thereby establishing a reputation for the wizard and the Gualichu.

776 I remember on one occasion when riding with Hinchel we came in sight of a peculiarly-pointed rock, which he saluted. I did the same, at which he appeared much pleased; and on our subsequently arriving at a salina, where we found good salt, much needed at the time, he explained to me that the spirit of the place had led us in that direction. In the meeting of Indians the devils are supposed to be driven away by the horsemen chasing at full speed round and round, and firing off their guns.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The office of wizard is not hereditary; indeed those I met with were unmarried. A boy or a girl, if what we should call odd, as in the case of Cayuke's daughter, an old-fashioned and eccentric girl of thirteen, is considered to be marked out as a wizard; but the functions, so far as directing ceremonies, are sometimes performed by an ordinary member of the party. The stock in trade of the regular wizard consists of a few fetishes, or charms, carried in a bag, carefully concealed from public gaze, and exhibited to his colleagues alone. In addition to these, they seem to possess a real knowledge of simples, although this is not confined to them. Their professional operations are never accompanied by epileptic seizures and real or simulated convulsions. They, of course, are expected to prognosticate the success or failure of undertakings, and the issue of sickness, and foretell the future generally; and their position in this respect is a dangerous one, as a failure of their predictions is frequently punished with death; but, to make up for this risk, they are universally received with honour and hospitably entertained, and are usually enriched by the accumulation of presents. The power of witchcraft is by no means believed to be confined to them; any person may be suspected of this crime, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for people when dying to lay their death to the charge of some person by name. All the missionaries' instructions did not prevent Casimiro, after the death of either his mother or one of his wives, from sending an agent to kill a woman who, as the deceased averred, had bewitched her. Certain signs and omens are superstitiously regarded; one particularly dreaded is the cry of the nightjar, common on the slopes of the Cordillera, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness or death to some of the inmates. They hold this bird in great veneration, and object to its being injured in any manner. Another animal supposed to be possessed of magical powers is a flat toad-like lizard, which is believed to lame horses by mysterious agency, and is killed whenever met with.

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, patting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516]
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 76]
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [758]

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes 775
around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded 782
that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so
that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others
think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with
all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family ac- 778
cording to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives him- 756
self and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of
his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen
to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe
that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then
they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the
people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol,
and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says
that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe
the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the 776
deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities 778
and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved
them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it
into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power
consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful
game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 per- [16]
sons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been 13
indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in
on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas
Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain
which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered
with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they
are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction pur- 137
poses, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burn- [313]
ing, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco,
thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies 133
and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from
San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna.
There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the 312
gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two,
three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822

SI4 Abipon SI4

Tehuelche SH5

Chiquito SF9

Mbaya SK11

A 123 797 177

former customs, raved when they found their medicines laughed at, and the fountain of their gains dried up. The jugglers, who had sucked the bodies, and drained the property of the sick, were despised by their countrymen as a set of worthless drones.

T 753 756

The Patagonians, and other southern savages, think the body of a sick person to be possessed of an evil demon. Their physicians carry about drums, with horrible forms depicted on them, which they strike by the sick man's bed, either to consult the demon concerning the nature of the disease, or to drive it from the body of their patient. If any one dies of a disease, the relations persecute the physician most terribly, as the author of his death. If a Cacique dies, they put all the physicians to death, that they may not fly elsewhere. Actuated by an irrational kind of pity, they bury the dying before they expire. Father Strobl pulled one man alive from the grave. The Guaycurùs call their physicians Nigienigis. A gourd filled with hard seeds, and a fan of dusky emu feathers are their chief insignia, and medical instruments, which they always carry in their hands that they may be known. I must not omit to speak of the physicians of the Chiquitos. A juggler physician, when he goes to visit the sick, fills his belly with the most exquisite dainties, chickens, hens,

T [534]

T [766]

T [763]

M 756

C 756

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya
Puelche SE 10

T 771 **Religion.**—Of *Poya* religion we are merely told that there was a belief in a superior being called Chahuelli or Chechuelli (Olivares, 1874, pp. 511, 514, 516, 519), who could do good or evil to people. Olivares compares him (and/or it) to the *Araucanian* huecubu (1874, T p. 511).

757 **Curing.**—Bloodletting was medicinally practiced.

PUELCHE CULTURE

Pu 114 The bulk of our information on *Puelche* culture is derived from Sánchez Labrador (1936), Falkner (1774), and D'Orbigny (1835–47, 4:221–223, and esp. 2:266–272). If and how far the description by Ovalle (1888, pp. 178–179) of "*Pampa*" culture refers to the *Puelche* is doubtful. Very frequently Sánchez Labrador and Falkner, especially the latter, give rather detailed cultural data for tribes of the Pampa and vicinity in general, without specifying any particular tribe, *Puelche* or other. D'Orbigny clearly distinguishes between *Puelche* and others, but gives few details on *Puelchean* culture, dismissing, for instance, practically the whole of material and social culture with the statement that *Puelche* culture was in these phases like *Tehuelche* and Argentine *Araucanian*. In the following account we shall confine ourselves to those data that can clearly or with reasonable probability be assigned to the *Puelche* as such—not an easy task, since by D'Orbigny's time and even Sánchez Labrador's and Falkner's time great acculturation with *Araucanian* and *Tehuelche* culture had taken place.

Pu 197 If Lehmann-Nitsche's theory of a fourth Pampean language, the *Het* family, spoken, he believed, by Falkner's *Chechehet* of the southern Buenos Aires Province region, and by some of the *Diuihet*, should turn out to be fully validated, then it would be imperative to draw a distinction between the culture of the *Het* peoples and that of the *Puelche*. Lehmann-Nitsche, for example, considered that gualichu, the name for the evil spirit(s), was of *Het* provenance. At present, however, even though we accept the *Het* hypothesis, there is very little of Pampean culture that can be assigned specifically to the *Chechehet* or *Het*-speaking peoples. In the following summary of *Puelche* culture, only at a point here and there will the possibility be considered that a given cultural trait assigned to the *Puelche* may actually have been *Het* instead. This approach is not all that might be desired, but appears to be the most satisfactory one under present limitations of space and knowledge.

Pu 101 Scattered through the early Chilean sources, such as Rosales and the Proceso Criminal de 1658, are certain sparse data on the culture of the nomadic hunting peoples living at the time in Pampean territory, often called in these sources by the generic geographic name of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

000 met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco
753 exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner
764 of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife.
776 Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects
[777] are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I ex-
823 plained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally
777 satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.
757 With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and some-
278 times employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting in the surrounding country (where hares abounded), we observed a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
● 757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter, reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific, being administered to the invalids with great success. In
133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swelling eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a salina was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner, determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been destitute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
[135] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.
132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much lighter: indeed whilst in Telek some warm days were experienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously described as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in abundance, and was collected by the women and children.
[136] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

up,—my only alternative to starvation. Famine has no scruples of delicacy; if the reader is disgusted, he is in a state of sympathy with the writer.

Early the next day we (literally) pulled up stakes, and were on the move; and, after journeying all day, encamped in a situation very like the one we left in the morning. The Indians spent their time, as usual, in gambling and in combing each other's hair, with a brush made of stiff dry roots, tied up together. The operator received as a fee the *game* captured in the process. The reader will excuse a more explicit statement of what, though less abominable than cannibalism, is hardly less repulsive.

One evening our family circle were seated round a fire, which sent up volumes of smoke sufficiently dense to suit a savage of the most exacting taste, and which drove me, as usual, to the back part of the hut, where I lay flat on my face. One of the chief's wives was inveighing against me, as was her wont, and a second occasionally joined in the strain, by way of chorus. A third was cracking the bones of a guanaco, that her son Cohanaco might eat the marrow. The fourth and last of the women was attending to a piece of meat for our supper, fixed on a forked stick, in the smoke. Two sons were engaged, as usual, in doing nothing, except occasionally begging a little of the marrow, and scraping their dirty legs with a sheath-knife, by way of diversion; sundry by-plays, and little pieces of mischief, served to fill up the spare minutes. The old chief, who had been silently regarding the scene, now commenced talking, in a low, mumbling, guttural tone, to one of his wives. She was busily eying the toasting-fork, and studying the process of cooking; but, at her husband's instance,

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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757 [413] left them and drew from their repository of tools a sharpened nail fixed in a wooden handle, like an awl. The chief stretched himself on the ground, face downwards; a surgical operation was plainly impending. What could the matter be? Had the chief, in the excess of his plumpness, burst open, like ripe fruit, requiring to be sewed up? I drew my head from beneath the protection I had provided against the smoke, and rose on my knees, to get a better view; the huge, black, greasy monster lay extended at his full length, his wife pinched up the skin on his back, pierced it with her awl, and continued the process till a number of perforations were made, from which the blood oozed slowly. I asked the meaning of this operation, and was told by the chief that he had pains in his back, for which this was the best remedy. Blood-letting, it seemed, is no monopoly of the faculty. I told him that in my country we applied, in such cases, a liquid called opodeldoc, an infallible remedy, and promised to procure him some when we got to Holland. This was henceforth added to my list of inducements.

264 The old fellow righted himself, and leaned against one of the pillars of his palace; one of his partners pulled up the toasting-fork, and jerked the half-roasted and more than sufficiently smoked meat upon the ground, seized the knife which the boys had been playing with, and cut the mess into liberal pieces, which were thrown broadcast on either side. The chief's appetite did not appear to be affected either by his indisposition or by the extraordinary remedy applied; his portion of the *cárne* disappeared behind his great white teeth with a haste that seemed to involve no waste.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Rheumatic affections, they told me, are very common among them; the chief showed me the arm of one of his wives, which was scarred from the wrist to the shoulder by the awl; and the operation was afterwards performed on other members of the family.

Again we took up the line of march, travelling, as near as I could judge, west-north-west, and killing a quantity of game, both guanaco and ostrich. But the hardship of my life, aggravated by a constant flesh diet, and that eaten half raw, and at irregular seasons, — often going two days without food, — had, by this time, brought on a dysentery. This was no more than I had expected; but I knew of no remedy, and had to endure it as I could. We encamped, on the second day, near the banks of the river Gallegos; a fine spring of water issued from the river-bank into a low marshy ground, skirting the margin of the stream. By this time my illness had increased, till I felt unfit to travel further, and began to think that death could not be distant. No change of diet was practicable, and there was nothing to counteract its effect on my system. The pain and weariness of travelling did their part to aggravate the disorder; and mental discouragement — the sickness of hope deferred — completed my prostration. No human being in that desolate land cared for my sufferings, more than they would for those of a dog. Worn out with the constant irritations of a state of existence odious to every sensibility tired and disheartened, but for one thought I could have gladly laid myself down to die, to get at once and forever beyond the reach of my savage tormentors. The thought of home, of wife and child, of friends and country, and all the unutterable emotions that

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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cared for nothing but the ticking. The breaking of the crystal was explained, and he was informed that another should be procured as soon as we reached "Holland," — another inducement, I hoped, to speed our passage there.

The inspection disclosed a state of the cuticle which would be thought dreadful in a civilised land. The chief, however, looked as calm as beseemed a surgical examiner, and in a good-natured guttural exchanged a few words with his assistant, who placed himself by my side, and fixing his eyes steadily upon me, began swinging his hands and howling like a wild beast. The comparison was not far out of the way, for he gave a sudden spring, fastened his teeth on my neck, and commenced sucking the blood, growling all the while like a tiger! For a moment I thought my hour had come. I weaned the rascal as soon as possible, not knowing what his taste for blood might come to, if too freely indulged. It seemed like a refinement upon cannibalism, but was, in fact, as I soon ascertained, the regular treatment made and provided by Patagonian science for the relief of severe cutaneous affections.

The chief, all this while, recurred with undiminished pleasure to the ticking of his new toy. When his curiosity had at length abated, he returned it to me. I wrapped it carefully in a rag, and enveloped it afterwards in a young colt's skin provided for its reception, when, by direction of its present august proprietor, it was suspended among other valuables from one of the stakes of the hut, near the spot where his highness customarily reposed. It was not, however, allowed long to remain quiet. I was ordered to take it down and hold it to the ears of all the visitors to the lodge. Forty times a day it had to come down for this

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Nothing of importance occured at our encampment near the lakes, except — what was a very noteworthy fact with me — such an abundance of ostrich that I was surfeited with the delicious fare, and was compelled by the chief to take a horse-rein emetic, — a more precise description of which the reader will have no difficulty in excusing. Had I not so completely disavowed the medical character, the chief might probably have allowed me to feel my own pulse, — if I could find it, — and to prescribe for myself; but the renunciation of professional honors brought me under the sanitary, as well as the political, jurisdiction of Parosilver.

Our line of march was now in a northerly direction, soon deflecting to the eastward, — a movement that revived my sinking hopes. There seemed to be some prospect of striking the Atlantic coast, and coming within reach of civilized men. On our way we observed the tracks of some animals different from any I had met with. The chief said it was the *limerer*, with which lucid definition I was fain to be content; and, as no specimens were visible, the inquisitive naturalist must trust to his imagination for the rest.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-
kaik or Rocky Hills, Crimé's illness caused us to remain en-
camped until March 21, during the greater part of which
time I and several others were suffering from neuralgia and
ulcerations in the mouth, caused I think, by the bad water
we had to drink, perhaps also by the want of salt, which had
become a very scarce commodity.

Friendly rivalry was kept up between the tribes in play,
hunting, and other sports, in which fortune varied from one
side to the other. Every other day I visited poor Crimé,
whose groans might be heard at night accompanied by the
chant of some old hag. The sick man always asked me
how long he would live. I at first tried to persuade him that
he would get well, but after a time, as he was really fast
sinking, gave him to understand that he might live a month
if he was lucky. I offered to open his leg and endeavour to
cure him, but this he would not allow, stating that if he died
under the operation it would go hard with the doctor, which
was indeed true, so I gave up my intentions of performing
a surgical operation.

Before we broke up the camp, a Valdivian and other
Indians arrived from Chocoque's, but brought little news,
stating that the Manzaneros were still dispersed amongst
the valleys of the Cordillera engaged in gathering the yearly
harvest of apples and piñones: of these we had already re-
ceived plenty from Foyel's people, who kept up a constant
communication with their relations near the Rio Limay.

On the 21st all left the valley and travelled a few leagues
through a diversified country. On the line of marsh cliffs,
which stood out in the glens in irregular, picturesque manner,
were of yellow and red sandstone, but to the westward black
basaltic heights could be seen abutting on the plains, while
in hunting over the higher ground masses of ironstone and
igneous rock were met with scattered over the surface. We
remained for the night in a valley called Changi, and, pro-
ceeding next day, arrived about noon at a large plain shut
in by sandstone cliffs on the eastern side, at the northern

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

occupied or distracted, and the business of catching the [64]
horses devolved on myself, single-handed at first. Having OUT
secured the troop, the next task was to catch my newly-
acquired steed; the sight of a lazo was sufficient to make
him gallop a league, and as he was very swift, three hours
were spent in ineffectual efforts, but at last, two or three of
my comrades coming up to my assistance, he was caught.
Giving my fifteen-year-old page charge of the remaining
horses, I started, in company with one of my friends, to join
the hunting circle, already in course of formation.

We rode up a valley in an easterly direction, on our way 758 ●
passing the invalid Cristé, who, groaning with pain, lay
stretched out at full length on a sort of couch composed of
blankets on the horse's back, his wife leading the horse and
wailing out loud. But as condolences were of little use, we 123
passed on in silence, and shortly emerged from the valley
which sloped up by gradual ascent to a wide plain of sandy
soil and stunted bushes, bounded on the eastern horizon by
a line of high jagged hills, which stretched to the southward
as far as the eye could reach. While sitting under a bush
by the fire, I was attacked with headache and sickness,
the premonitory symptoms of the epidemic; however, I
mounted and joined the hunting party, and at the end of the
circle felt much better, although unable to eat.

The finish brought us to the entrance of a valley which
wound among the precipitous rocky hills of the range seen
from the farther verge of the plain. While watching the cava-
cade of women and baggage, I looked long in vain for my
own troop of four horses, but at last descried them trotting
without a guide in the rear of the column, their natural
sagacity or perhaps thirst having induced them to follow
their comrades. The trusty page had left them to take care
of themselves, and gone off hunting on his own account,
which behaviour, repeated on a subsequent occasion, caused
the loss of the steed. Towards evening we encamped in a
valley enclosed by three hills, one of which, of decidedly

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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had been further diminished by several deaths. One of this day's victims to the epidemic being Algo, Tankelow's youngest daughter, the father was in great distress and anger, as he attributed the death not to the distemper, but to witchcraft. [761]

The warm and tolerably fine weather experienced since our departure from Telek had been succeeded by a heavy, murky, still atmosphere, and the clouded sky promised a downfall of rain, which speedily came. The next day more children and the old deaf and dumb woman died; over her little moan was made, but the lamentations over the children were terrible to hear, and on all sides mares were slaughtered. The abundance of meat, and the general confusion, combined with the rain to defeat Casimiro's anxious desire to proceed. The accumulation of miseries had rendered all the Indians gloomy and ill-humoured; and since our departure from Geylum we had had ample experience of the wretched side of Pampa life.

This district is always dreaded by the Indians, who assert that they invariably are attacked by a similar sickness when in it, notwithstanding that some considered it to have been occasioned by poison or deleterious drugs administered by our late neighbours. The marches had therefore been forced and prolonged, and the increased fatigue had doubtless aided the distemper in its fatal effects. Nearly half the children and several of the elder people died during our progress to Margensho, and the utter misery and discomfort cannot be described. The rain had continually drenched us; the women, distracted with their endeavours to soothe the sick children, and their grief over the dead, could not attend to their domestic duties; our mantles were unmended, and proved but a poor shelter from the rain, no small misery in this climate, and the arrangements of the toldos were utterly devoid of their customary care and comfort. The usual good temper and cheerfulness of all had fled, and grief, sickness, and angry suspicion cast a gloom over every countenance.

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516]
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 76[]
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [754]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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volcanic aspect, was named 'Oerroè.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimè's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Chocoque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
Tehuelche SH5
Chiquito SF9
Mbaya SK11

A 123 former customs, raved when they found their 777 medicines laughed at, and the fountain of their [177] gains dried up. The jugglers, who had sucked the bodies, and drained the property of the sick, were despised by their countrymen as a set of worthless drones.

T 753 756 The Patagonians, and other southern savages, think the body of a sick person to be possessed of an evil demon. Their physicians carry about T [534] drums, with horrible forms depicted on them, which they strike by the sick man's bed, either to consult the demon concerning the nature of the disease, or to drive it from the body of their patient. If any one dies of a disease, the relations persecute the physician most terribly, as the author of his death. If a Cacique dies, they T [166] put all the physicians to death, that they may not fly elsewhere. Actuated by an irrational T [763] kind of pity, they bury the dying before they expire. Father Strobl pulled one man alive from the grave. The Guaycurùs call their M 756 physicians Nigienigis. A gourd filled with hard seeds, and a fan of dusky emu feathers are their chief insignia, and medical instruments, which they always carry in their hands that they may C 756 be known. I must not omit to speak of the physicians of the Chiquitos. A juggler physician, when he goes to visit the sick, fills his belly with the most exquisite dainties, chickens, hens,

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Education.—Children were indulged and seldom corrected. Whether the *Tehuelche* ever had the Elel bugaboo rite (cf. infra under *Puelche*, Education) is uncertain. Gusinde (1926 a, p. 310; 1931, p. 1083) was told by the *Tehuelche* of the upper Río Gallegos, to whom he paid a very brief visit in 1924, that they had a rite called, as among the *Ona*, klóketen; the rite was held in a tent covered with guanaco skin, and face covers of feathers were used instead of the *Ona* masks. Field work on the point here raised is imperative, to gather details, and to determine, if possible, whether this rite is an ancient *Tehuelche* one or one introduced more recently by immigrant *Ona*. (Cf. supra Introduction, on *Ona* immigration into Patagonia.)

Girls' puberty rite.—The *Tehuelche* had a simple puberty rite for girls. This first menses rite, as described in detail by Musters from personal observation (1871, pp. 76–78), followed the general pattern of the birth rite as regards painting and bleeding by the medicine man, erection of the "pretty house," slaughter of mares with feast, evening bonfire, dancing in fours by plumed and girdled men to instrumental accompaniment (pl. 39, *bottom*). The main differences were: The girl was placed in seclusion in the "pretty house," and the old women sang while the men danced.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Peña (1789, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordovez (1905, p. 47), tent(s) painted red.

Muñiz (1917, p. 205) reported two small huts, with the girl seated in one, and a young man with the title of "king" armed with a whip and bolas, who castigated the men or women who executed poorly the dance around the fire between the two tents. Muñiz ascribed this rite to the Pampean Indians in general, not specifically to the *Tehuelche*. The role of the "king" in it suggests that it may have been exclusively *Puelche*, or else *Tehuelche* influenced by *Puelche*. (Cf. Elel first menses rite, pp. 165–166.)

Marriage.—See page 149.

Death observances.—The most common form of disposal of the dead in the Patagonian area was cairn burial on a hilltop, the body resting on the surface of the ground with knees to thorax; other forms were sand interment and cave and crevice disposal. Some belongings were buried with the dead.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him *to old age had he lived*, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or *proto-Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of
525 horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish), and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

tions: first, 'Who is cacique of the English?' I explained to him that it was Her Gracious Majesty. 'Is she married?' 'She is a widow.' 'Has she any children, and how many? Has she lots of horses and mares and silver ornaments?' And so on until I had satisfied him; after which he rode along, repeating, 'A woman cacique! A woman cacique! Four sons and five daughters! Lots of horses, mares, sheep, and cattle!' On the 22nd of September we left the encampment in the cañon about sunrise, and, mounting the ridge on the north side, halted close to the grave of an Indian; the broad and high cairn of stones erected over it denoting him to have been a cacique of importance, which fact was communicated to me in a low whisper by Wáki. Here a fire was made, and a few stones added to the pile. Whilst the Indians were warming themselves the sun rose, and the view of the Cordillera, seen through the clear atmosphere, with the sun's first rays illuminating the snowy mountain summits with a roseate flush was magnificent. We pursued our route over sandy plains, crossed at intervals by shallow streams of water, and halted near some lagoons in a place called by the Indians 'Kinck.'

The following day we marched again, hunting as usual on the way. A fat ostrich at this time of the year was a rarity, but eggs abounded, and formed the main staple of food; and the armadillos were also getting into condition, and assisted to furnish a repast at the camp fire. On the 27th we arrived at a place named 'Gelgel,' situated on the banks of a rapid river, probably that debouching at Port Desire. This was the point of divergence from the northern route to Patagones for any party proceeding to hunt in the western plains. During our stay in Gelgel we hunted in the surrounding country, and on several occasions observed columns of smoke to the south, as if made by a party approaching. These at last appeared nearer, and as no distinct answer was made to our signal fires, scouts were sent out, but returned with no information, one, however, asserting that he had found the

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides: and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

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volcanic aspect, was named 'Oerroè.' The side of this hill was thickly scattered with fragments of the vesicular lava which furnishes the favourite material for the hand bolas. As most of us had exchanged our weapons of the chase for apples, piñones, &c., in Las Manzanas, many were soon employed picking stones and fashioning bolas. I took very good care that my page should be unprovided with hunting implements, but, alas! here he fell sick, or pretended to be, and was just as useless as before. The day after our arrival Crimè's sufferings were terminated. I received a summons to his death-bed; the cacique, though wandering, knew his friends, and called all to witness that his death had been caused by a Southern Tehuelche whom he named and described, and then, raising his arm, pointed to a vacant space and cried, 'Look at him, there he stands.' He then asked me to 'feel his arm,' and as, to please him, I laid my finger on his pulse, it beat slower and slower, till, with a sudden gasp, he died. According to etiquette, we silently retired, and the toldo resounded with the clamorous crying of the women and the wailing of his widow. The usual funeral rites were hurriedly gone through, but most were too absorbed in their own troubles to participate in them. During the night three children died, and more were at death's door; and, the supply of horseflesh from the funeral victims being abundant, all thoughts of marching were abandoned, and the camp resounded with the lamentations of the women. In our toldo all the inmates were sick, and the duty of looking after the horses devolved on myself and Casimiro, who was recovering from his attack.

We were joined in this place by Hinchel's son with his Araucanian wife, with whom another man came to look for a girl who had run away from Foyel's toldo, but his quest proved fruitless, as she remained invisible, stowed away in some of the toldos. This man brought further news that Cheoeque's people, renewing the old feud, were arming to fight now that we had gone; also that a man had been killed in a

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000 it better on the whole to keep friends for the present. The
648 evening of this quarrel, as a party of three toldos were starting off to go to the Chupat, and Casimiro was desirous of extending his fame to the Welsh settlement, I wrote a letter to the authorities inquiring about some saddles, part of his Argentine rations sent thither by mistake, which the chief declared to have been intended for him, but which had been distributed amongst other Indians. The letter was forwarded
144 by one of the Indians who was supposed to be of English parentage on one side, although he showed but little traces of English blood in his type, with the exception perhaps of his hair, which was of a lighter colour than that usually met with: he was a very good-natured fellow, and I regretted his departure, as he was one of my adherents, but being a man of very sober habits he did not wish to be mixed up in the universal orgie which would probably take place on arriving
000 in the vicinity of Patagones. With this party the young widow, who had made overtures of marriage to me, also departed, after an affectionate farewell, and receiving a handkerchief as a remembrance. The following morning we also started, and one of the universal loafers who had gambled his property away, asking for a mount, was told to catch the 'white horse' presented by Orkeke: he accordingly borrowed a horse to catch him, and at the end of our day's journey had not succeeded in doing more than driving him in, to use a nautical term, in our wake; this was exactly what I had intended, as this Indian was a great rogue, and had cheated me at cards out of a set of metal bolas, equivalent to a horse.
133 Our march lay up the valley, and the circle was formed on the surrounding volcanic hills, the sides of which, besides the vesicular lava, presented large masses of the ironstone noted as having been observed at Santa Cruz. Shrubs were sparsely scattered on these hills, and game was exceedingly scarce.
165 Towards evening we encamped on the borders of a stream
764 in a place called by the Indians Telek. There the sickness broke out afresh in its worst form, and several children died,

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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud, and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in which everybody joined. After dark, when many were sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the toldos, and yelling 'kow-w!' at each blow; firebrands being, at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking, the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect darkness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place, in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a general *mêlée* or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race-course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since leaving the Rio Sengel, was a regular beaten level track of about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit; the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed; his ponchos, if he possesses any ornaments, bolas, and other belongings, are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womenkind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations; and the widow (who cuts her hair short in front, and assumes black paint) repairs bag and baggage to the toldo of her relations, if she has any, if not, to that of the chief. The body, sown up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, is taken away by some of the relations, and buried in a sitting posture with its face to the east, a cairn of stones being generally erected over the place. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's book; but as I never travelled much by the sea-coast, they may exist and be the burial-places of some of the Pampa tribe.

A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[i.e. as for a newborn child. — Analyst]

She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all [755]
the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she [534]
takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those
within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of
the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or [782]
sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but
this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is [764]
a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the
favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all
the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on
the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is
lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over
the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the
horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's
trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the
funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has
on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and
friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment
which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they
take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to
the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate
greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they
disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all
those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains
in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives [765]
and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they
cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over
their foreheads up to their eyebrows, they claw their faces, scarify their
cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge
in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending
that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take
over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the
whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and
from all others; and if the old women are asked to reveal the place
where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourn- [765]
ing goes on for fifteen days, with the same meaning, and every day [768]
horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left,
as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone,
and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was
dead because this is a second manner [??] for them, and inviolable. [766]
[to many sick ones.--Bandelier]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 256; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 18) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of
525 horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish), and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1872
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The same ceremonials is observed on the attainment of puberty 581
by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, 584 583
her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one. 585 [777] 595

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[i.e. as for a western child. — Analyst]

She is put into it and there the chanting brewers loading because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over their foreheads up to their eyebrows; they claw their faces, scarify their cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and from all others, and if the old women are asked to reveal the place where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourning goes on for fifteen days, with the same moaning, and every day horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left, as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone, and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was dead because this is a sacred matter [77] for them, and inviolable.

[illegible]

Every moon a day of mourning and weeping is repeated, and a horse or 756
mare is slaughtered if a friend or relative can be found who will donate
one, since the deceased no longer has any. On the first anniversary a
three-day mourning period is observed, with weeping, a bonfire into
which offerings are thrown, and as many of the other ceremonies which
were done on the day of death as can be, as a memorial to it. After
these three days are passed they forget all about the deceased person,
and that is the end of the matter. All this funeral pomp and ceremony
is done only for young or mature and robust persons, while for those
who die in old age there is no mourning or weeping, the belief being [455]
that their death was necessary, and so only one horse is killed, and at
that the worst and of least value from among the deceased's herd.

Horses are killed for weddings and deaths, on the occasion of a 757
child's teething, when the menstruation period starts in women, for any
minor evil, to placate the idol when it is angry, which they believe is
the case when they become sick, when the taking of game is very diffi-
cult, when other Indians harass them and they are themselves not strong
enough to declare war -- when they are not strong enough to war with
others they endure any wrong the others care to do to them. And all
this slaughter of horses and mares is the reason why the whole region is
not full of horses, for although the mares foal every year, the Indians
kill so many mares that they do not have enough horses for their needs
and must make up the difference by trading for them with the Pampas,
Indians of Buenos Aires. In order to replenish their stock of horses [457]
they bring hides with them when they come down to the Rio Negro, and
exchange them for these animals, from which it happens that the In-
dians of San Julian have few horses than those of the gulfs of San Jorge
and Santa Elena, because they cannot go down to the Rio Negro as often
as the former can.

They believe in the transmigration of the soul, and that the souls 775
of those who die pass back into the babies who are born into the same
family, and in this way: If a person dies in old age his soul transmi-
grates without having to wait, and that is why he is not wept for or
mourned since they say that the soul is passing into a more fortunate
life; but the soul of one who dies young and strong remains detained
beneath the earth and is fated to sojourn there a length of time equal to
that which would have been required for him to reach old age. Once
this time is fulfilled his soul passes into the next-born infant. It is be- 776
cause of this long wait during which it is thought that the soul is cramped 777
and strained, that they make so many sacrifices to the idol, in order that

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them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 93). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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[782] 755 house erected, and a feast and dance takes place. If a child falls ill, the doctor is sent for, and if he says it will live, great rejoicing and a feast take place. The doctors, although they depend chiefly on incantations and magic to perform their cures, must have some other knowledge, which they keep to themselves, as I have known them perform two or three cures when the sick people appeared to be rapidly sinking. I will cite one instance of their treatment which came under my particular notice. The patient, a child of about a year and a half old, was very ill with influenza, and we all thought it would die. The doctor arrived in the toldo, and laying the child on its back, proceeded, after patting it lightly on the head, and murmuring an incantation, to place his mouth close to the patient's chest, and shout, as far as I could understand, to exhort the evil spirit to leave the child; after this he took it up, carefully handed it to its mother, who under his directions, smeared it all over with gypsum. This over, it was handed back to the doctor, who had been absent a minute. He then produced a hide bag, at the bottom of which were some charms; into this he inserted the baby's head several times, muttering incantations; after this a white mare was brought up, and after being painted with red ochre hand-marks all over, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten, care being taken, as before, that no dogs approached. The liver, heart, and lungs were hung on a lance, at the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Whatever effect these ceremonies may have had, the child recovered. On the death of a child great anguish is displayed by the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on on the march, is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, when fully caparisoned, strangled by means of lazos, the saddle gear, cradle, and all appertaining to the child burnt, the women crying and singing; the parents, moreover, throw their own valuables into the fire to notify their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out as a recompense for their services; however, they seldom benefit much.

I have now described most of the principal ceremonies observed amongst these Indians, but have not touched on their religion in any way. They believe in a good spirit gifted with much power, who made the Indians first, and also the animals necessary for their maintenance, which he dispersed from a hill visited by us in our wanderings, situated about lat. 47 degs. south, long. about 71 degs. 40 mins. west. This great spirit, however, according to their ideas, takes but little trouble as to their welfare; consequently most of their religious ceremonies are for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, which are several. The chief devil, however, who rejoices in the name of "Gualy-

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
Tehuelche SH5
Chiquito SI-9
Mbaya SK11

A 123 777 (77) former customs, raved when they found their medicines laughed at, and the fountain of their gains dried up. The jugglers, who had sucked the bodies, and drained the property of the sick, were despised by their countrymen as a set of worthless drones.

T 753 756 The Patagonians, and other southern savages, think the body of a sick person to be possessed of an evil demon. Their physicians carry about T [534] drums, with horrible forms depicted on them, which they strike by the sick man's bed, either to consult the demon concerning the nature of the disease, or to drive it from the body of their patient. If any one dies of a disease, the relations persecute the physician most terribly, as the author of his death. If a Cacique dies, they T [166] put all the physicians to death, that they may not fly elsewhere. Actuated by an irrational T [763] kind of pity, they bury the dying before they expire. Father Strobl pulled one man alive from the grave. The Guaycurûs call their physicians Nigienigis. A gourd filled with hard M 756 seeds, and a fan of dusky emu feathers are their chief insignia, and medical instruments, which they always carry in their hands that they may be known. I must not omit to speak of the physicians of the Chiquitos. A juggler physician, C 756 when he goes to visit the sick, fills his belly with the most exquisite dainties, chickens, hens,

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all 755
the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she [534]
takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those
within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of
the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or [782]
sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but
this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is 764
a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the
favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all
the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on
the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is
lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over
the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the
horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's
trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the
funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has
on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and
friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment
which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they
take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to
the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate
greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they
disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all
those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains
in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives [765]
and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they
cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over
their foreheads up to their eyebrows; they claw their faces, scarify their
cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge
in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending
that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take
over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the
whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and
from all others, and if the old women are asked to reveal the place
where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourn-
ing goes on for fifteen days, with the same moaning, and every day 765 768
horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left,
as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone,
and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was
dead because this is a sacred matter [77] for them, and inviolable. 766

[i.e., any sick virgin.—Analyst]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5.Tehuelche SH5

hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *A*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 *a*, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *I*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1833, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1904, pp. 26–32).

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 *b*, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1873, p. 222; Borgatello, 1904, p. 32.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soycha (*Tehuelhet* and *Diuihet*, Ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

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Poya
Puelche SE 10

T 771 **Religion.**—Of *Poya* religion we are merely told that there was a belief in a superior being called Chahuelli or Chachuelli (Olivares, 1874, pp. 511, 514, 516, 519), who could do good or evil to people. Olivares compares him (and/or it) to the *Araucanian huecubu* (1874, T p. 511).

757 **Curing.**—Bloodletting was medicinally practiced.

PUELCHE CULTURE

Pu 114 The bulk of our information on *Puelche* culture is derived from Sánchez Labrador (1936), Falkner (1774), and D'Orbigny (1835–42, 4: 221–222, and esp. 2: 266–272). If and how far the description by Ovalle (1888, pp. 178–179) of "*Pampa*" culture refers to the *Puelche* is doubtful. Very frequently Sánchez Labrador and Falkner, especially the latter, give rather detailed cultural data for tribes of the Pampa and vicinity in general, without specifying any particular tribe, *Puelche* or other. D'Orbigny clearly distinguishes between *Puelche* and others, but gives few details on *Puelchean* culture, dismissing, for instance, practically the whole of material and social culture with the statement that *Puelche* culture was in these phases like *Tehuelche* and Argentine *Araucanian*. In the following account we shall confine ourselves to those data that can clearly or with reasonable probability be assigned to the *Puelche* as such—not an easy task, since by D'Orbigny's time and even Sánchez Labrador's and Falkner's time great acculturation with *Araucanian* and *Tehuelche* culture had taken place.

Pu 197 If Lehmann-Nitsche's theory of a fourth Pampean language, the *Het* family, spoken, he believed, by Falkner's *Cherkehet* of the southern Buenos Aires Province region, and by some of the *Diuihet*, should turn out to be fully validated, then it would be imperative to draw a distinction between the culture of the *Het* peoples and that of the *Puelche*. Lehmann-Nitsche, for example, considered that gualichu, the name for the evil spirit(s), was of *Het* provenance. At present, however, even though we accept the *Het* hypothesis, there is very little of Pampean culture that can be assigned specifically to the *Cherkehet* or *Het*-speaking peoples. In the following summary of *Puelche* culture, only at a point here and there will the possibility be considered that a given cultural trait assigned to the *Puelche* may actually have been *Het* instead. This approach is not all that might be desired, but appears to be the most satisfactory one under present limitations of space and knowledge.

Pu 101 Scattered through the early Chilean sources, such as Rosales and the *Proceso Criminal de 1606*, are certain sparse data on the culture of the nomadic hunting peoples living at the time in Pampean territory, often called in these sources by the generic geographic name of

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of laces, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 98). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Though their great size at first sight was fitted to inspire terror, it required no very long observation to discover that they were deficient in natural courage. This, in fact, might be inferred at once, from their habitual deceit, treachery and artifice, which are the defences of the weak and timorous, rather than the weapons of strong and daring natures. They always select the night to inflict injuries; never meet an enemy in open combat whom they can stab from behind, or despatch in the dark; and, when obliged to attack by day, always do so in large numbers. This defect of courage is increased by their superstition; they have great faith in charms, signs and omens, a weakness which I anticipated might exert great influence on my destiny in important conjunctures. Could I by any means so master their secret as to possess myself of its mystic power, it might prove an effective aid to my plans of self-defence, or of escape. Should it, on the other hand, be turned by any accidental causes against me, its impulse might prove irresistible by power or contrivance. There was no appearance of idolatrous worship among them, nor could I observe any allusion to a Supreme Being, or to any superior powers having personal attributes; and, except a single ceremony, of which more hereafter, the nature of which was and is still inexplicable, there was nothing that suggested to my mind the idea of religious worship. Whether they are cannibals or not, has been a matter of some dispute. So far as I know, they have been, heretofore, only casually observed on the beach by voyagers, or vaguely reported of by the people of adjoining countries and neighboring settlements; neither of which is a sufficiently reliable source of information. My own personal advantages on this head

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

last argument was decisive, and she kept her huge mouth closed for the night. There was a silent pause for some minutes, and, without another word, we ranged ourselves for repose. I thought the old heathen's conscience troubled him through the night; his sleep was broken, and he appeared very restless. Early the next morning he went to the lodge of the newly-married pair, and had a long chat with them. They thought him rather severe upon them at first; but, after a good deal of diplomacy, a better understanding was brought about. The young people could hardly get over a sense of the indignities they had received; but in the course of the day they returned, bag and baggage, to the old chief's tent, and made it their permanent abode.

We now moved in a westerly direction, and on the way succeeded in capturing a good deal of game. Their mode of dealing with the carcass of the guanaco is enough to dissipate whatever appetising qualities the meat — in itself very palatable — would otherwise possess. It was no uncommon circumstance, while the squaws were removing the hide, to see the dogs tugging at the other extremity, the women, meantime, crying out "Eh! Ah!" in a dissuasive, though not angry, tone. If the animals become too audacious, the ire of their mistresses is kindled, and they break out with "Casharan cashahy!" a phrase equivalent to that which, in English, directs its object to a region unmentionable in aure polite.

The Indians have, strictly speaking, no profane expressions. I never could learn that they worshipped or had any idea of a Supreme Being. The only observance which bore any aspect of religion was associated with something we

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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should little think of as an object of adoration — the tobacco-pipe; — though, how far this is, in fact, an object of idolatry in Christian lands, it might not become me to speculate. The only occasions on which the Indians discovered any appearance of devotion were those of smoking. This may have been only a symptom of intoxication, but the reader may judge for himself.

A group of a dozen or more assemble, — sometimes in a wigwam, sometimes in the open air. A vessel made of a piece of hide bent into a saucer-shape while green and afterwards hardened, or sometimes an ox-horn, filled with water, is set on the ground. A stone pipe is filled with the scrapings of a wood resembling yellow ebony, mixed with finely-cut tobacco. The company then lay themselves in a circle flat on their faces, their mantles drawn up to the tops of their heads. The pipe is lighted. One takes it into his mouth and inhales as much smoke as he can swallow; the others take it in succession, till all have become satisfied. By the time the second smoker is fully charged, the first begins a series of groanings and gruntings, with a slight trembling of the head, the smoke slowly oozing out at the nostrils. The groaning soon becomes general, and waxes louder, till it swells into a hideous howling, enough to frighten man or beast. The noise gradually dies away. They remain a short time in profound silence, and each imbibes a draught of water. Then succeeds another interval of silence, observed with the most profound and devotional gravity. All at length arise, and slowly disperse. Now, this may or may not have been a form of worship; but the circumstances attending it, the numbers uniformly engaged in it, the formality with which it was invariably conducted

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Cexalenque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [71]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is

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of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76).

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 32), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1860, p. 136; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1860, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamanness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 125) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives.

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 56; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 356), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it.

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story.

USES AND CREATIONS

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183;

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 92) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalaenpe, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche*; see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 86) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

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For bibliographic references, see pages 220–226.

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useless. Tankalew, however, found an ostrich and nest, the eggs from which, about thirty in number, he, according to Indian custom, divided among those who came up before they were removed from the nest; among these lucky individuals was myself; for, seeing him make to the spot, and the male bird get up, and being moreover, well mounted and exceedingly hungry, I was among the first arrivals. Far away to the right of our track, extending thirty or forty miles eastward, lies a district called by the Indians 'The Devil's Country,' which, they assured me, is never entered, probably from the barren and impracticable nature of the surface, which seems, from description, to be even worse than the wilderness traversed by us. Beyond this district there is a practicable track, sometimes followed by the Indians, leading northward, probably used as a route to the Chupat; but from that line to the sea the country is so impassable that the Indians say it would require two years to proceed by the sea-coast from Santa Cruz to the Rio Negro. The existence of such tracks as these, and the desolate Travesias encountered near the coast, have probably caused Patagonia to be described as an arid, almost waterless country; but, in reality, after passing the coast barrier most of the interior abounds in lagoons, springs, and frequent streams; and, even in the Travesias, the numerous wild animals met with show that water exists.

Towards evening we left the snow behind us; and descending a lofty hill, which had bounded our view all day, came to a large swelling down, from which the prospect was far more encouraging. Rolling plains extended to the north and north-east, whilst the Cordilleras rose like a wall on the western side. This hill is called by the Indians 'God's Hill;' and the tradition, as communicated by Casimiro, relates that from this spot the Great Spirit dispersed the animals which he had made in the caverns. But some of the animals must have remained behind, as, out on the lower slope of the downs, two pumas were chased and killed. An hour's ride

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S315 Tehuelche S85

764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Pelia, 1914, p. 11; Mulix, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 98; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22-23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836-7, pp. 16-17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 98) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77-78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

● 775 Future life.—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 28), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

See pages 153-154.

531 Art.—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1928, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 Games and gambling.—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of horse-racing, a ball game (the *Arocanoxon pillmia*), dice (Spanish), 525 and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Seeom or Seeó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kch-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanats (Falkner, 1774, p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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756 between his knees, and performing a short ceremony of incantation, shouts in his ear, exhorting the devil to come out. Mr. Clarke, when travelling with the Indians south of Santa Cruz, was treated in this fashion when suffering from feverish headache, and said that at the time it relieved him.

775 788 Beside this Gualichu, there are many others which are supposed to inhabit subterranean dwellings, underneath certain woods and rivers and peculiarly-shaped rocks. I was very much surprised at seeing the Indians salute these objects by placing the hand to the head and muttering an incantation; and for a long time held to the belief that they were only expressing admiration for the Creator's handiwork; but subsequently I learned that they sought thus to conciliate the spirits of these places, reputed to be the spirits of deceased members of the faculty. These devils' powers, however, are confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

789 776 On one occasion, a horse about to run a match was taken up to a neighbouring hill before daylight by the owner, and some secret ceremony was performed by the wizard. Previous to the race the owner (Wáki) came to me and advised me to put my stakes on his horse, as he had been made safe to win by mysterious incantations which had secured the favour of the local Gualichu; and, strange to say, the horse, which by his appearance was much inferior to the other, did win, thereby establishing a reputation for the wizard and the Gualichu.

776 I remember on one occasion when riding with Hinchel we came in sight of a peculiarly-pointed rock, which he saluted. I did the same, at which he appeared much pleased; and on our subsequently arriving at a salina, where we found good salt, much needed at the time, he explained to me that the spirit of the place had led us in that direction. In the meeting of Indians the devils are supposed to be driven away by the horsemen chasing at full speed round and round, and firing off their guns.

Every moon a day of mourning and weeping is repeated, and a horse or 765
mare is slaughtered if a friend or relative can be found who will donate one, since the deceased no longer has any. On the first anniversary a three-day mourning period is observed, with weeping, a bonfire into which offerings are thrown, and as many of the other ceremonies which were done on the day of death as can be, as a memorial to it. After these three days are passed they forget all about the deceased person, and that is the end of the matter. All this funeral pomp and ceremony is done only for young or mature and robust persons, while for those who die in old age there is no mourning or weeping, the belief being [493]
that their death was necessary, and so only one horse is killed, and at that the worst and of least value from among the deceased's herd.

Horses are killed for weddings and deaths, on the occasion of a 782
child's teething, when the menstruation period starts in women, for any minor evil, to placate the idol when it is angry, which they believe is the case when they become sick, when the taking of game is very difficult, when other Indians harass them and they are themselves not strong enough to declare war -- when they are not strong enough to war with others they endure any wrong the others care to do to them. And all this slaughter of horses and mares is the reason why the whole region is not full of horses, for although the mares foal every year, the Indians kill so many mares that they do not have enough horses for their needs and must make up the difference by trading for them with the Pampas [494]
Indians of Buenos Aires. In order to replenish their stock of horses they bring hides with them when they come down to the Rio Negro, and exchange them for these animals, from which it happens that the Indians of San Julian have less horses than those of the gulfs of San Jorge and Santa Elena, because they cannot go down to the Rio Negro as often as the former can.

They believe in the transmigration of the soul, and that the souls 776
of those who die pass back into the babies who are born into the same family, and in this way: If a person dies in old age his soul transmigrates without having to wait, and that is why he is not wept for or mourned since they say that the soul is passing into a more fortunate life; but the soul of one who dies young and strong remains detained beneath the earth and is fated to sojourn there a length of time equal to that which would have been required for him to reach old age. Once this time is fulfilled his soul passes into the next-born infant. It is be- 776
cause of this long wait during which it is thought that the soul is cramped 782
and strained, that they make so many sacrifices to the idol, in order that

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, <u>verbisco</u>, thyme and <u>gomeles</u>. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Ceuna. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is probable that these parts are

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hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards. 526 525

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1854, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 a, and Fischer, 1908.) [533] 534

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1893, pp. 94-95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199): some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100). 273 276

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20-22). 574 533 579

RELIGION

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe. 771

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soyehu (*Tahuhet* and *Diuihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer, 776

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychubàt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–94); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soycha (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualicha may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 38) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 32) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche*; see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Viguati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 66) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

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them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 93). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

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thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive facility for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

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756 between his knees, and performing a short ceremony of incantation, shouts in his ear, exhorting the devil to come out. Mr. Clarke, when travelling with the Indians south of Santa Cruz, was treated in this fashion when suffering from feverish headache, and said that at the time it relieved him.

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000 met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco
753 exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner
164 of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife.
● 776 Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects
[777] are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I ex-
823 plained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally
777 satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.
757 With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and some-
278 times employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

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[712] 755 house erected, and a feast and dance takes place. If a child falls ill, the doctor is sent for, and if he says it will live, great rejoicing and a feast take place. The doctors, although they depend chiefly on incantations and magic to perform their cures, must have some other knowledge, which they keep to themselves, as I have known them perform two or three cures when the sick people appeared to be rapidly sinking. I will cite one instance of their treatment which came under my particular notice. The patient, a child of about a year and a half old, was very ill with influenza, and we all thought it would die. The doctor arrived in the toldo, and laying the child on its back, proceeded, after patting it lightly on the head, and murmuring an incantation, to place his mouth close to the patient's chest, and shout, as far as I could understand, to exhort the evil spirit to leave the child; after this he took it up, carefully handed it to its mother, who under his directions, smeared it all over with gypsum. This over, it was handed back to the doctor, who had been absent a minute. He then produced a hide bag, at the bottom of which were some charms; into this he inserted the baby's head several times, muttering incantations; after this a white mare was brought up, and after being painted with red ochre hand-marks all over, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten, care being taken, as before, that no dogs approached. The liver, heart, and lungs were hung on a lance, at the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Whatever effect these ceremonies may have had, the child recovered. On the death of a 766 child great anguish is displayed by the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on on the march, is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, when fully caparisoned, strangled by means of lazos, the saddle gear, cradle, and all appertaining to the child burnt, the women crying and singing; the parents, moreover, throw their own valuables into the fire to notify their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out as a recompense for their services; however, they seldom benefit much.

I have now described most of the principal ceremonies ob- 776 served amongst these Indians, but have not touched on their religion in any way. They believe in a good spirit gifted with much power, who made the Indians first, and also the animals necessary for their maintenance, which he dispersed from a hill visited by us in our wanderings, situated about lat. 47 degs. south, long. about 71 degs. 40 mins. west. This great spirit, however, according to their ideas, takes but little trouble as to their welfare; consequently most of their religious ceremonies are for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, which are several. The chief devil, however, who rejoices in the name of "Gualy-

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che", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with loose skulls or bones. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, putting their hands and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produce a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless
she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all
reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according
to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female rela-
tives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage cere-
mony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 584
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft
and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are
bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are
tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 584
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders
are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers
usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing
from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the
march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and
sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they
line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and
ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure
them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to
weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 771
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs
the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power
they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape
of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as
masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the
preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to
have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which
can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one
of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those
belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get
out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance
upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 761
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, com-
pletely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [754

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo 756 [776] holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This [778] person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which [579] is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or [789] die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's ordering for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in 755 their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future. If the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these 756 singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the [837] latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his [778] own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be [592] remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor 755 comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oema. There are in it immemorable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts are

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 296) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleull, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774. p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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133 extended rolling plains, which appeared to stretch away into the distance, interrupting the chain of the Cordillera, as though there were a depression or break in the mountains, no hills of large size being visible on the horizon. Whilst 777 lying down smoking on this hill, I picked up several pieces of opal and cacholong combined, and as I was idly forming them into different patterns on the ground, and had arranged a circle resembling a miniature Indian grave, one of my companions observing what I was doing, grew very angry, and said, 'That will bring ill luck,' evidently believing that I was mentally compassing the death of some one by witchcraft. As I had no wish to be killed, by way of prevention of any imaginary spells, I quickly gathered up the specimens, many of which were afterwards lost in the ensuing journey. The Indian name for this place is Yaiken-Kaimak, signifying that it is the hill whence they espy the signal smoke denoting the approach of the Indians from the north.

702 We remained five days in this encampment, a general uneasiness prevailing, and arms being kept ready to hand. In addition to the usual hunting, under the orders of the cacique, we were engaged in performing exercises on horseback; this mounted drill being intended as a preparation in case we should find the northern Tehuelches at war with the 000 Araucanos or Manzaneros Indians. The plains to the westward abounded with guanaco, some thousands being enclosed in the circle at one time. One day that I had not accompanied the hunting party, I was strolling across the camp, having volunteered to occupy the post of the vidette on an adjacent hill, when I observed a guanaco, very tired, coming towards me; so, hiding behind a bush, I waited till he unsuspiciously approached, and then rushing out, balled him with a pair of ostrich bolas. As he was so close to me, his forelegs were perfectly tied up, and I had not much difficulty in despatching him with a blow on the head from another set of bolas. By this time I had attained a tolerable dexterity in the use of the bolas, and it was my invariable custom when not otherwise

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512 party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlemento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

888 Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify [531] for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My 755 compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We 714 greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by strips of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from 'foolish Indians.'

777 His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was 203 often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is [illegible] to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

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000 met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco
753 exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner
164 of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that time rife.
776 Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects
[777] are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I ex-
823 plained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which th[illegible] inquiries were generally
777 satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.
757 With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and some-
278 times employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

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Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

T A 525

The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

T A [777]

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137 We remained some days in this place, and whilst hunting in the surrounding country (where hares abounded), we observed a new description of spinous shrub with small ovate leaves and yellow flowers, resembling holly, and growing to about two feet in height. Casimiro and myself agreed to try
757 whether the leaves might not be medicinal, so a quantity were bruised and boiled: the infusion proved exceedingly bitter, reminding me of quinine, and acted as an admirable sudorific, being administered to the invalids with great success. In
133 one of our excursions we had crossed the hills and descended on a high elevated plain, concluding our hunt near a swelling eminence exactly resembling a huge 'barrow' thickly overgrown with shrubs, from which what appeared to be a saling was espied, to our great delight. Hinchel and myself being alone, and having a fat ostrich to discuss for dinner, determined to enjoy our meal by its shore, first testing the quality of the salt, a luxury which we had long been destitute of. Dismounting, we proceeded to investigate it; but to our great disappointment, after walking over every part of
[135] it, and digging down with knives a foot below the surface, the supposed salt proved to be bitter and nauseous nitrate of soda.

132 After quitting the vicinity of the Cordillera the weather had every day become warmer, and the frosts at night much lighter: indeed whilst in Telck some warm days were experienced, although the winter season was fast approaching.
137 Near this encampment the small edible root previously described as growing in the dried-up lagoons was found in abundance, and was collected by the women and children.

[136] Cavies were plentiful in the hollows and valleys in the neighbouring hills, and even close to the encampment, but the chase of other game proved difficult, the hill sides being so strewn with stones as to render galloping a horse a
777 certainty of laming him. In this neighbourhood Hinchel pointed out a detached pinnacle of rock, much resembling that noticed at Geylum, and according to custom invoked a
135 blessing from the guardian spirit; and then he informed me

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The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

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A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[i.e. as for a newborn child. — Analyst]

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and sometimes his whole family, are destroyed. Casimiro, an enlightened Indian, for some time under the auspices of the missionaries at Santa Cruz, informed me that when his mother, or one of his wives—I forget which—died, he sent and had a woman killed who had caused the death by witchcraft.

Any instrument, the use of which is not understood, is looked upon as having some connection with witchcraft. For instance, a watch, which they look upon as bringing luck at play; my compass also was in frequent request, and a locket I wore round my neck was supposed to be a talisman securing the wearer from death.

I have not touched upon the language of the Tehuelches, but shall be happy to answer questions as to any words of common use amongst these people, and hope at a future time to publish a partial vocabulary of their language compiled during my residence amongst them.

From the data I was enabled to acquire I should estimate the numerical strength of their population at seventy fighting men of the south, and about two hundred of the northern, making with women and children a total of about 1,400.

Pampas.—North of the Sengel river, a tributary of the Chupat, in latitude 44 deg. south, and about thirty miles from the Cordillera, we joined company with a party of the Pampa or Penck Indians already alluded to. It is impossible now to do more than mention the chief characteristic differences which, besides that of language, mark them out as a distinct race from the Tehuelche. Their stature and proportions are smaller, their countenances are inferior in intelligent expression. The women, however, who seem to have appropriated the marks of the not infrequent admixture of Spanish blood, are, as a rule, better-looking than the Tehau of the Tehuelches; the men when mounted on horseback are armed with peculiar long light lances, the shafts of which are made from a cane resembling bamboo found in the Cordillera. As to their religion I have reason to believe that they are worshippers of the sun; they however practise similar rites to those already described for propitiating the evil spirit, who is known by the same name. One custom not practised amongst the Tehuelches is a ceremony the Pampas perform before drinking intoxicating liquor. Four lances are pitched in the ground, round which the chiefs walk, each carrying a pannikin containing a little liquor which they sprinkle partly on the lances and partly on the ground, muttering incantations all the time. These Pampa Indians I believe to have been the race armed with bows and arrows met with and described by the early navigators, and to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Negro, where great quantities of flint arrow-heads and

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502 in the centre of the closely-packed craft. One end of a lariat was fastened to the boat, and the other tied to the tail of a horse. A savage mounted, with one rein attached to the wooden bit on the up-stream side. Two others took the oars, one on each side, and a squaw was stationed on [533 the top-gallant forecastle for the purpose of singing, to •777] insure good luck. All is ready. The old horse wades till the depth of water compels him to swim, and the boat is pushed off. The rider floats on the horse's back, kicking the water with his feet, holding the rein in one hand, and grasping the mane with the other. "Chew! chew!" he shouts, at the top of his voice. The black swan in the forecastle opens her capacious mouth and sings, "Yek yah, youri miti! yek yah youri miti!" The two oarsmen dig away with might and main, while the younger fry swell the chorus with a "Yah! yah! yah!" The boat brings some heavy lurches to the windward, then yaws off to leeward; all owing to those lubberly oarsmen not meeting her with the helm in season. At length, after innumerable shiftings we reached the opposite shore, and waded up on dry land.

Several boats were constructed after the same unique model, and succeeded in crossing safely. Some of the horses, being better adapted to towing, were swam back to repeat the process, and our craft returned for a second freight. I watched the proceedings from the bank with intense interest, speculating on the probable consequences of an accident to any of the fleet. Such was their superstition, that, in the event of any ill befalling them, they would be quite likely to ascribe it to me, and serve me worse than Jonah was treated by his shipmates. The swiftness of the current, and the rudeness of their navi-

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The office of wizard is not hereditary; indeed those I met 756
with were unmarried. A boy or a girl, if what we should 791
call odd, as in the case of Cayuke's daughter, an old-fashioned and eccentric girl of thirteen, is considered to be marked out as a wizard; but the functions, so far as directing ceremonies, are sometimes performed by an ordinary member of the party. The stock in trade of the regular wizard consists [778]
of a few fetishes, or charms, carried in a bag, carefully concealed from public gaze, and exhibited to his colleagues alone. In addition to these, they seem to possess a real knowledge of simples, although this is not confined to them. Their professional operations are never accompanied by epileptic seizures and real or simulated convulsions. They, of course, are expected to prognosticate the success or failure of undertakings, and the issue of sickness, and foretell the future generally; and their position in this respect is a dangerous one, as a failure of their predictions is frequently punished with death; but, to make up for this risk, they are universally received with honour and hospitably entertained, and are usually enriched by the accumulation of presents. The power of witchcraft is by no means believed to be con- 754
fined to them; any person may be suspected of this crime, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for people when dying to lay their death to the charge of some person by name. All the missionaries' instructions did not prevent Casimiro, after the death of either his mother or one of his wives, from sending an agent to kill a woman who, as the deceased averred, had bewitched her. Certain signs and 787
omens are superstitiously regarded; one particularly dreaded 825
is the cry of the nightjar, common on the slopes of the Cordillera, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness or death to some of the inmates. They hold this bird in great veneration, and object to its being injured in any manner. Another animal supposed to be possessed of magical powers is a flat toad-like lizard, which is believed to lame horses by mysterious agency, and is killed whenever met with.

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181 Though their great size at first sight was fitted to inspire terror, it required no very long observation to discover that they were deficient in natural courage. This, in fact, might be inferred at once, from their habitual deceit, treachery and artifice, which are the defences of the weak and timorous, rather than the weapons of strong and daring [726] natures. They always select the night to inflict injuries; never meet an enemy in open combat whom they can stab from behind, or despatch in the dark; and, when obliged to 771 attack by day, always do so in large numbers. This defect [787 of courage is increased by their superstition; they have great faith in charms, signs and omens, a weakness which I • 778] anticipated might exert great influence on my destiny in important conjunctures. Could I by any means so master their secret as to possess myself of its mystic power, it might prove an effective aid to my plans of self-defence, or of escape. Should it, on the other hand, be turned by any accidental causes against me, its impulse might prove irresistible by power or contrivance. There was no appearance of idolatrous worship among them, nor could I observe any allusion to a Supreme Being, or to any superior powers having personal attributes; and, except a single ceremony, of which more hereafter, the nature of which was and is still inexplicable, there was nothing that suggested to my 266 mind the idea of religious worship. Whether they are cannibals or not, has been a matter of some dispute. So far as I know, they have been, heretofore, only casually observed on the beach by voyagers, or vaguely reported of by the people of adjoining countries and neighboring settlements; neither of which is a sufficiently reliable source of information. My own personal advantages on this head

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516]
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778●
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeased by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 76[]
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [756]

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [76] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by birds.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, <u>torbisco</u>, thyme and <u>gomieles</u>. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Ocuna. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts are

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1923, 2:96, who also gives synonyms, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Skottsberg Labrador, 1908, p. 66, and Hervás, 1800-1805, 1:132) Setebos (Figafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 79), Soosan or Susi (Moreno, 1879, pp. 330, 367); Kih-e-mon, Tihlit (Gardiner, 1839, pp. 25-26); Maipú (Beauvoir, 1913, pp. 166, 168, "spiritu buenu," "nombre"); Maipé (Borgatello, 1924, p. 33). The reinterpretation of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Chelenlle, Chelenle (Figafetta, 1906, 1:60, 79), Atakannakanets (Falkner, 1774, p. 116), Arbelenet-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agnelem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 336, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Skottsberg Labrador, 1908, p. 66; Moreno, 1879, p. 190; Borgatello, 1924, p. 33), Camalequen (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75-76), Kéwuk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1924, p. 337) Kerrhenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 367), Kelengo, Kelenjáken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 496-497, "dios"); Jesenni (Pelia, 1916, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of chen meat and the first bottle of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1873, p. 203). The cry of the nighthjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1873, p. 209). It was taboo to injure nighthjars (Musters, 1873, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1899, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 209). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 33). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1873, p. 208). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1873, pp. 201-202). On the occasion

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place at the settlement between Gonzalez and Antonio, in 574
which the latter had been killed or mortally wounded, and 273
the former had escaped to the Pampas, but had subsequently been captured and taken as a prisoner in the schooner to Buenos Ayres; and other news of trivial importance. Meanwhile the grog was fast disappearing, and the pot had to be replenished. This in turn was about half-emptied by the time the other Indians and women arrived, and Jackechon, very inebriated, was vowing eternal friendship to me, while Tehang was howling in my other ear a lovely Tehuelche ditty. As I had drunk in moderation, I thought it about time to clear, so, on the plea of looking after my horse, retired and re-read my letters, which any one may imagine, although not coming from my relations, were of great interest. After my departure no more liquor was given away, El Sourdo selling two bottles for a young horse or a [437]
silver-sheathed knife, so that he soon found himself a rich man. By midnight all the liquor was exhausted and many drunk, but no disturbances occurred worthy of mention, all arms having previously been stowed away safely. I was roused from my first sleep by a lady from a neighbouring table, who wished to embrace me, and, with feminine curiosity wanted to know the contents of my letters. She was, I am sorry to say, in an advanced stage of intoxication, so after giving her a smoke, Orkeke, who had roused up and was dying of laughter, politely showed her the door. Most of the party went out hunting in the morning, the ride no doubt proving beneficial to those suffering from headache, though little game was killed; but the Sourdo, whom I had joined in a morning bowl of coffee, remained at home, as his horses were very much used up, one of his boys going on a friend's mount to procure meat. For four days after this 782
drinking bout we did nothing but slaughter and eat mares, somebody's child having been slightly hurt in some manner. Although I have read in various books that the Indians have a religious festival at which mares are slaughtered as a

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782 sacrifice to the Deity at a certain time of the year, I never saw anything of it. Whenever this sort of sacrificial feast took place, there was always a special occasion for it—either a death, or a child hurt, or some escape from danger, when the animals are killed as a thankoffering. Rather tired of remaining so long in one place, on the 12th we marched due north across the plain, which was called 'Gisk,' and encamped under a hill covered with trees, and the sides furrowed with small gullies, densely filled with vegetation
137 and shrubs of two or three species. Here there were plants of the description of potatoes before mentioned, but growing very deep in such unfavourable ground that few were extracted. On the hill sides a plant bearing a yellow flower grew in abundance, the leaf of which, the Chilians informed me, was an excellent remedy for wounds and bruises, and much used in Chili. Four days' hunting took place here, at
000 the end of which Orkeke, who had heard some story that the Pampas had been stealing a march by hunting at night, and was rather disgusted at his continual ill-success, proposed that we should separate, and, in company with the toldos of Tchang, go westward to a plain below the higher mountains, which he stated to be abounding in guanaco. He also proposed a trip into the Cordillera in search of wild cattle. This plan was eagerly approved, as I anticipated persuading him, if possible, to penetrate to the Chilian shores of the Pacific. We accordingly set out on our travels, but had not gone far before a frightful storm of wind, sleet, and rain set in, which wetted us all completely. We huddled for shelter under a bush for some time, but as it continued there was nothing for it but to push on, and about three P.M. the weather cleared up; we then entered a glen with a wooded stream running down it, expanding higher up into an open plain. A short distance up the valley the intended camping-ground lay, so a small circle was made, in which some ostriches and guanaco were killed. We then adjourned across the river under the trees, and soon had a roaring fire blazing, by the side of

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

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thus to combine the marvels told them, or even to cap what they consider one legend with another; but there is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives 'careless of mankind.' They have no idols or objects of worship, nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival, on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians. The belief which prompts all their religious acts is that in the existence of many active and malicious evil spirits or demons, of whom the principal one is always on the watch to cause mischief. To propitiate or drive away this spirit is the function of the wizard, or doctor, or medicine man, who combines the medical and magical arts, though not possessed of an exclusive faculty for either. All sacrifices of mares and horses, not at stated times, but as occasion requires, such as a birth, death, &c., are intended to propitiate the Gualichu. When a child hurts itself, the slaughter of mares seems to partake at once of the nature of a thank-offering that the hurt was no worse, and a propitiation to avert further harm.

In camp the Gualichu takes up his position outside the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to molest the inmates, and is supposed to be kept quiet by the spells of the doctor, who is not only gifted with the power of laying the devil, but can even detect him by sight. I inquired of one of the doctors what he was like, but received an evasive answer; on which I informed him that my devil took all sorts of shapes—sometimes appearing as a guanaco, ostrich, puma, skunk, or vulture, at which the medical man was intensely amused. This household devil is, as far as I could ascertain, supposed to enter into the different parts of the bodies of people, and cause sickness which the doctor is appealed to to cure. The treatment in the case of headache, for instance, is very simple: the doctor takes the patient's head

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which, invisible to our eyes, lay our destination, viz., the toldos of Cheoeque. For weeks Las Manzanas and Cheoeque had been almost the sole topic of conversation, and the general excitement, which had been intense at starting, now culminated at the sight of our distant bourne. As we halted the Indians all raised their hands to their foreheads, saluting the distant river, and inviting the Spirit of the locality to be propitious to our undertaking, as to the issue of which there was great uncertainty. The night before Casimiro had pointed out the redness of the setting sun, and declared it to be an omen of war; but without paying attention to the omen, which indeed was not perceptible to my eyes, the unprecedented visit of 250 Tehuelches ostensibly for peace might very possibly be otherwise understood by Cheoeque: indeed, it afterwards appeared that he, in reality, was by no means assured of our pacific intentions.

When all were collected and prepared to descend the mountain, it transpired that Casimiro, who had been missing since the hunt commenced, had, in company with several other Tehuelches and Foyel's Indians, returned to drink. This was very annoying, and all present united in abusing him for setting such an example when about to enter a part of the country whither we were going on sufferance, amongst a not remarkably friendly-disposed set of people. We halted after nightfall in a valley at the side of a small rapid stream, the banks of which, for a short distance, were covered with high tussocks of broad-leaved pampa grass, amidst the shelter of which we bivouacked, although the night was cold and frosty. Firewood was plentiful, supplied by drift-wood brought down by winter or spring floods, so with blazing fires and under the lee of the pampa grass we slept warmly enough. It was necessary, however, to keep a sharp look-out on the horses, as pasturage was scanty. Before daylight, after a slight consultation, Guenalto was given chief command, and we again started; after following a winding valley for a short distance and scrambling up a steep slope, we continued

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The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit; the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed; his ponchos, if he possesses any ornaments, bolas, and other belongings, are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womenkind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations; and the widow (who cuts her hair short in front, and assumes black paint) repairs bag and baggage to the toldo of her relations, if she has any, if not, to that of the chief. The body, sown up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, is taken away by some of the relations, and buried in a sitting posture with its face to the east, a cairn of stones being generally erected over the place. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's book; but as I never travelled much by the sea-coast, they may exist and be the burial-places of some of the Pampa tribe.

A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[i.e. as for a newborn child. — Analyst]

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[782] house erected, and a feast and dance takes place. If a child falls ill, the doctor is sent for, and if he says it will live, great rejoicing and a feast take place. The doctors, although they depend chiefly on incantations and magic to perform their cures, must have some other knowledge, which they keep to themselves, as I have known them perform two or three cures when the sick people appeared to be rapidly sinking. I will cite one instance of their treatment which came under my particular notice. The patient, a child of about a year and a half old, was very ill with influenza, and we all thought it would die. The doctor arrived in the toldo, and laying the child on its back, proceeded, after patting it lightly on the head, and murmuring an incantation, to place his mouth close to the patient's chest, and shout, as far as I could understand, to exhort the evil spirit to leave the child; after this he took it up, carefully handed it to its mother, who under his directions, smeared it all over with gypsum. This over, it was handed back to the doctor, who had been absent a minute. He then produced a hide bag, at the bottom of which were some charms; into this he inserted the baby's head several times, muttering incantations; after this a white mare was brought up, and after being painted with red ochre hand-marks all over, was knocked on the head, cooked, and eaten, care being taken, as before, that no dogs approached. The liver, heart, and lungs were hung on a lance, at the top of which was suspended the bag containing the charms. Whatever effect these ceremonies may have had, the child recovered. On the death of a child great anguish is displayed by the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on on the march, is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, when fully caparisoned, strangled by means of lazos, the saddle gear, cradle, and all appertaining to the child burnt, the women crying and singing; the parents, moreover, throw their own valuables into the fire to notify their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out as a recompense for their services; however, they seldom benefit much.

I have now described most of the principal ceremonies observed amongst these Indians, but have not touched on their religion in any way. They believe in a good spirit gifted with much power, who made the Indians first, and also the animals necessary for their maintenance, which he dispersed from a hill visited by us in our wanderings, situated about lat. 47 degs. south, long. about 71 degs. 40 mins. west. This great spirit, however, according to their ideas, takes but little trouble as to their welfare; consequently most of their religious ceremonies are for the purpose of propitiating the evil spirits, which are several. The chief devil, however, who rejoices in the name of "Gualy-

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chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, patting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

every available crone joins in and one of them attaches to a stick all 755
the bells she can lay hold of and, making a great noise with them, she [534]
takes a turn around the outside of the tent every once in a while, those
within redoubling their shouting when this occurs. During the time of
the person's sickness mares and horses are slaughtered as an offering or [782]
sacrifice to the idol in order to bring about the sick one's recovery; but
this offering is then eaten by the invalid and the chanters.

If the invalid should die, either in the new poncho tent if she is 764
a virgin, or in the home tent if it be a man or a married woman, the
favorite horse is brought to the tent, is saddled and harnessed, and all
the dead person's valuables are placed on it. A boy is then mounted on
the horse and made to ride once around the tent in which the corpse is
lying. The boy is then taken off the horse and a noose is placed over
the horse's neck from the two ends of which two Indians pull until the
horse is choked to death. A bonfire being already prepared, the horse's
trappings and valuables are hurled into it and the person who heads the
funeral proceedings starts to take off all his clothes and all else he has
on and hurls them into the fire, and all the deceased's relatives and
friends throw some article of clothing into the flames, either a garment
which they have brought for the purpose from their tents or else they
take off a garment on the spot, each competing with the others as to
the value of the articles thrown into the fire, by which they demonstrate
greater obligation to the deceased, or deeper friendship, etc. Then they
disembowel the throttled horse and the meat is distributed amongst all
those who have thrown garments into the fire. The bereaved remains
in her tent, completely covered up and silent. All the women relatives [765]
and friends go to keep them [sic] company, and in order to do this they
cut big locks of hair from their heads so that their hair hangs down over
their foreheads up to their eyebrows; they claw their faces, scarify their
cheeks, weep even if they do not really feel like doing so, and indulge
in wailing and other expressions of sorrow so pitiable and heart-rending
that it seems that their very hearts would break. The old crones take
over the body at night and bury it where it seems best to them, the
whereabouts of the burial place being withheld from the mourners and
from all others, and if the old women are asked to reveal the place
where the body has been laid they are not allowed to do so. The mourn-
ing goes on for fifteen days, with the same moaning, and every day 765 768
horses belonging to the deceased are slaughtered until not one is left,
as all his goods are to be destroyed and cannot be given away to anyone,
and nobody would receive them anyway knowing that their owner was
dead because this is a sacred matter [77] for them, and inviolable. 766

* [i.e., any sick virgin. - Analyst]

Every moon a day of mourning and weeping is repeated, and a horse or 765
mare is slaughtered if a friend or relative can be found who will donate one, since the deceased no longer has any. On the first anniversary a three-day mourning period is observed, with weeping, a bonfire into which offerings are thrown, and as many of the other ceremonies which were done on the day of death as can be, as a memorial to it. After these three days are passed they forget all about the deceased person, and that is the end of the matter. All this funeral pomp and ceremony is done only for young or mature and robust persons, while for those who die in old age there is no mourning or weeping, the belief being [688] that their death was necessary, and so only one horse is killed, and at that the worst and of least value from among the deceased's herd.

Horses are killed for weddings and deaths, on the occasion of a 782
child's teething, when the menstruation period starts in women, for any minor evil, to placate the idol when it is angry, which they believe is the case when they become sick, when the taking of game is very difficult, when other Indians harass them and they are themselves not strong enough to declare war -- when they are not strong enough to war with others they endure any wrong the others care to do to them. And all this slaughter of horses and mares is the reason why the whole region is not full of horses, for although the mares foal every year, the Indians kill so many mares that they do not have enough horses for their needs and must make up the difference by trading for them with the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires. In order to replenish their stock of horses [439] they bring hides with them when they come down to the Rio Negro, and exchange them for these animals, from which it happens that the Indians of San Julian have less horses than those of the gulfs of San Jorge and Santa Elena, because they cannot go down to the Rio Negro as often as the former can.

They believe in the transmigration of the soul, and that the souls 775
of those who die pass back into the babies who are born into the same family, and in this way: If a person dies in old age his soul transmigrates without having to wait, and that is why he is not wept for or mourned since they say that the soul is passing into a more fortunate life; but the soul of one who dies young and strong remains detained beneath the earth and is fated to sojourn there a length of time equal to that which would have been required for him to reach old age. Once this time is fulfilled his soul passes into the next-born infant. It is be- 775
cause of this long wait during which it is thought that the soul is cramped 782
and strained, that they make so many sacrifices to the idol, in order that

he ease the soul's distress somewhat until the decreed time comes around. They are so superstitious in this matter that some are persuaded that it is desirable to put a little food and valuables in the grave so that the souls of the deceased may eat and entertain themselves; others think that this is fruitless, believing that the idol will supply them with all that is necessary. This matter is ordered in each [78] family according to the opinion of the imposter witch doctor, who deceives himself and hoodwinks the others as he pleases, no notice being taken of his inconsistencies, even when his thoughts and his commands are seen to be continually at variance. These liars make the others believe that the idol makes signs with its hands, and that it speaks, and then they repeat what they say they have heard the idol say, before the people are present at the time when the witch doctor unwraps the idol, and they see with their own eyes that it is a lie, if the witch doctor says that it has spoken or gesticulated, that is enough for them to believe the thing blindly.

They are of the opinion that nothing they can do can offend the deity they worship in any way, and so they believe that the adversities and punishments which he sends them are not because they have deserved them because of their transgressions, but because the idol just gets it into its head to treat them badly. Thus the graciousness of this power consists in having good horses, health and peace, in finding plentiful game, and in the faithfulness of their neighbors.

The number of Indians who are here settled is about 4,000 persons. They occupy the territory on the coast which has already been indicated. They cannot leave this region because they are hemmed in on the east by the sea, on the north by the Rio Negro and the Pampas Indians of Buenos Aires, and on the west and south by the mountain chain which it is impossible to cross owing to its height and because it is covered with snow the year round. So forbidding are these mountains that they are to all intents uninhabited, even by bird.

In all this land there is absolutely no lumber for construction purposes, but there is an abundance of firewood on all hands, good for burning, and the greater part of the ground is covered with sabine, torbisco, thyme and gomieles. All the land is rugged and cut up into hills, gullies and valleys. One of these latter is to be found twenty leagues away from San Julian, and is a very pleasant place which the Indians call Oenna. There are in it innumerable springs with good water. In most of the gullies and valleys springs are to be met with at a distance of one, two, three or four leagues from the shore. It is improbable that these parts

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on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

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784 them never to mention the name of, and to avoid all allusion to, the deceased, their idea being that the dead should be utterly forgotten, though they will add a stone in passing to the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero. The death of a
766 child is marked by a display of sincere grief on the part of the parents. The horse it has been accustomed to travel on during the march is brought up, the gear placed on it, even to the cradle, and the horse, thus fully caparisoned, is strangled by means of lazos, whereas in all other ceremonies where horses are killed they are knocked on the head with bolas. The saddle-gear, cradle, and all belonging to the child are burned, the women crying and singing. The parents moreover throw their own valuables into the fire to express their grief. These things some of the women who cry are allowed to snatch out, as a recompense for their services, but they seldom benefit much. On the occasion of the death of an only child of rich parents, fourteen horses and mares were slaughtered, in addition to the one it had been accustomed to travel on. Towards evening of the day of the event, previous to the burial of the corpse, a select party of old women marched in procession round and round
[431] the camp, crying and wailing. Gifts were also sent to the bereaved parents by the chiefs and relations, as a well-meant effort to divert their minds from dwelling on their loss.

771 The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Pampas and Araucanians by an absence of any trace of sun-worship, although the new moon is saluted, the respectful gesture being accompanied by some low muttered words which I never could manage to hear. They believe in
776 a good and great Spirit, who according to the tradition
177 related by Casimiro at the place, created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from 'God's-hill,' as he explained the Indian name of the down (page 93). I am not at all certain that this was not a confused combination of the story of the Creation, as told by the missionaries, with his own ideas. There is a great tendency in the Indian mind

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Starting thence on March 3, and travelling always north-
648 wards over the barren upper pampas with scarcely a shrub on them, the wall-like Cordillera rising on the west, and ranges of hills bounding the view to the east, about two P.M. we arrived at a marshy plain: there, as we were halting to make a fire, a cloud of smoke rose suddenly from the opposite side, indicating the near approach of the chasqui sent to Las Manzanas. Half a dozen of us were immediately despatched to verify the supposition, and, leaving our dinner for a future occasion, raced across the valley at full speed, the Indians firmly believing that the messengers would bring liquor with them, and every one being ambitious of the first drink. We at length made them out, and perceiving us in return they halted and dismounted by a small hillock, where we shortly joined them, Casimiro following sedately, as became so grand a personage. The Indians were disappointed as to the advent of liquor, the messengers having brought
[137] nothing with them except a few apples, some of which, distributed to us, proved to be very juicy and refreshing, equalling any European apple. The only answer to our letter was a verbal message to the effect that we should be welcome at Las Manzanas, and that Cheoeque would collect a force to meet us, all his people being at present busy in
[137] the mountains gathering the harvest of apples and piñones; he also stated that he had received late news from Patagones, one Mariano Linares, brother of the head chief of the tame Indians in that settlement, being at present a visitor at Las Manzanas. Casimiro was rather irritated at not receiving a written answer, but on my pointing out that it was just possible Cheoeque did not own a secretary in his suite, the chief was somewhat pacified, although his dignity was rather hurt, and he recurred again and again to the subject.

784 On our way to the toldos,—which, during the intervals of our hearing the news, roasting apples, &c., had been pitched,—Casimiro pointed out to me the scene of a former fight in which a chief and several Indians had been killed. It was a very desirable place for encampment, but owing to these

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kck-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Chelculle, Chelcule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774, p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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The office of wizard is not hereditary; indeed those I met with were unmarried. A boy or a girl, if what we should call odd, as in the case of Cayuke's daughter, an old-fashioned and eccentric girl of thirteen, is considered to be marked out as a wizard; but the functions, so far as directing ceremonies, are sometimes performed by an ordinary member of the party. The stock in trade of the regular wizard consists of a few fetishes, or charms, carried in a bag, carefully concealed from public gaze, and exhibited to his colleagues alone. In addition to these, they seem to possess a real knowledge of simples, although this is not confined to them. Their professional operations are never accompanied by epileptic seizures and real or simulated convulsions. They, of course, are expected to prognosticate the success or failure of undertakings, and the issue of sickness, and foretell the future generally; and their position in this respect is a dangerous one, as a failure of their predictions is frequently punished with death; but, to make up for this risk, they are universally received with honour and hospitably entertained, and are usually enriched by the accumulation of presents. The power of witchcraft is by no means believed to be confined to them; any person may be suspected of this crime, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for people when dying to lay their death to the charge of some person by name. All the missionaries' instructions did not prevent Casimiro, after the death of either his mother or one of his wives, from sending an agent to kill a woman who, as the deceased averred, had bewitched her. Certain signs and omens are superstitiously regarded; one particularly dreaded is the cry of the nightjar, common on the slopes of the Cordillera, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness or death to some of the inmates. They hold this bird in great veneration, and object to its being injured in any manner. Another animal supposed to be possessed of magical powers is a flat toad-like lizard, which is believed to lame horses by mysterious agency, and is killed whenever met with.

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133 which, invisible to our eyes, lay our destination, viz., the toldos of Chocoque. For weeks Las Manzanas and Chocoque had been almost the sole topic of conversation, and the general excitement, which had been intense at starting, now cul-
782 minated at the sight of our distant bourne. As we halted the Indians all raised their hands to their foreheads, saluting the distant river, and inviting the Spirit of the locality to be propitious to our undertaking, as to the issue of which there was great uncertainty. The night before Casimiro had
787 pointed out the redness of the setting sun, and declared it to be an omen of war; but without paying attention to the omen, which indeed was not perceptible to my eyes, the unprecedented visit of 250 Tehuelches ostensibly for peace might very possibly be otherwise understood by Chocoque: indeed, it afterwards appeared that he, in reality, was by no means assured of our pacific intentions.

122 When all were collected and prepared to descend the mountain, it transpired that Casimiro, who had been missing since the hunt commenced, had, in company with several other Tehuelches and Foyel's Indians, returned to drink. This was very annoying, and all present united in abusing him for setting such an example when about to enter a part of the country whither we were going on sufferance, amongst a not remarkably friendly-disposed set of people. We halted
372 after nightfall in a valley at the side of a small rapid stream, the banks of which, for a short distance, were covered with high tussocks of broad-leaved pampa grass, amidst the shelter of which we bivouacked, although the night was cold and frosty. Firewood was plentiful, supplied by drift-wood brought down by winter or spring floods, so with blazing fires and under the lee of the pampa grass we slept warmly enough. It was necessary, however, to keep a sharp look-out on the horses, as pasturage was scanty. Before daylight, after a
133 slight consultation, Gonzalo was given chief command, and we again started; after following a winding valley for a short distance and scrambling up a steep slope, we continued

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was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that he would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Gravial, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Chenequa consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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chief", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the tolde, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with heavy sticks or poles. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, so far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, putting their hands and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or tolde, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordilleras. Its power is confined chiefly to horning horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his propounding a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realized, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen not by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

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Though their great size at first sight was fitted to inspire terror, it required no very long observation to discover that they were deficient in natural courage. This, in fact, might be inferred at once, from their habitual deceit, treachery and artifice, which are the defences of the weak and timorous, rather than the weapons of strong and daring natures. They always select the night to inflict injuries; never meet an enemy in open combat whom they can stab from behind, or despatch in the dark; and, when obliged to attack by day, always do so in large numbers. This defect of courage is increased by their superstition; they have great faith in charms, signs and omens, a weakness which I anticipated might exert great influence on my destiny in important conjunctures. Could I by any means so master their secret as to possess myself of its mystic power, it might prove an effective aid to my plans of self-defence, or of escape. Should it, on the other hand, be turned by any accidental causes against me, its impulse might prove irresistible by power or contrivance. There was no appearance of idolatrous worship among them, nor could I observe any allusion to a Supreme Being, or to any superior powers having personal attributes; and, except a single ceremony, of which more hereafter, the nature of which was and is still inexplicable, there was nothing that suggested to my mind the idea of religious worship. Whether they are cannibals or not, has been a matter of some dispute. So far as I know, they have been, heretofore, only casually observed on the beach by voyagers, or vaguely reported of by the people of adjoining countries and neighboring settlements; neither of which is a sufficiently reliable source of information. My own personal advantages on this head

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774. p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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756 between his knees, and performing a short ceremony of incantation, shouts in his ear, exhorting the devil to come out. Mr. Clarke, when travelling with the Indians south of Santa Cruz, was treated in this fashion when suffering from feverish headache, and said that at the time it relieved him.

775 788 Beside this Gualichu, there are many others which are supposed to inhabit subterranean dwellings, underneath certain woods and rivers and peculiarly-shaped rocks. I was very much surprised at seeing the Indians salute these objects by placing the hand to the head and muttering an incantation; and for a long time held to the belief that they were only expressing admiration for the Creator's handiwork; but subsequently I learned that they sought thus to conciliate the spirits of these places, reputed to be the spirits of deceased members of the faculty. These devils' powers, however, are confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

789 776 On one occasion, a horse about to run a match was taken up to a neighbouring hill before daylight by the owner, and some secret ceremony was performed by the wizard. Previous to the race the owner (Wáki) came to me and advised me to put my stakes on his horse, as he had been made safe to win by mysterious incantations which had secured the favour of the local Gualichu; and, strange to say, the horse, which by his appearance was much inferior to the other, did win, thereby establishing a reputation for the wizard and the Gualichu.

776 I remember on one occasion when riding with Hinchel we came in sight of a peculiarly-pointed rock, which he saluted. I did the same, at which he appeared much pleased; and on our subsequently arriving at a salina, where we found good salt, much needed at the time, he explained to me that the spirit of the place had led us in that direction. In the meeting of Indians the devils are supposed to be driven away by the horsemen chasing at full speed round and round, and firing off their guns.

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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and sometimes his whole family, are destroyed. Casimiro, an enlightened Indian, for some time under the auspices of the missionaries at Santa Cruz, informed me that when his mother, or one of his wives—I forget which—died, he sent and had a woman killed who had caused the death by witchcraft.

Any instrument, the use of which is not understood, is looked upon as having some connection with witchcraft. For instance, a watch, which they look upon as bringing luck at play; my compass also was in frequent request, and a locket I wore round my neck was supposed to be a talisman securing the wearer from death.

I have not touched upon the language of the Tehuelches, but shall be happy to answer questions as to any words of common use amongst these people, and hope at a future time to publish a partial vocabulary of their language compiled during my residence amongst them.

From the data I was enabled to acquire I should estimate the numerical strength of their population at seventy fighting men of the south, and about two hundred of the northern, making with women and children a total of about 1,400.

Pampas.—North of the Sengel river, a tributary of the Chupat, in latitude 44 deg. south, and about thirty miles from the Cordillera, we joined company with a party of the Pampa or Penck Indians already alluded to. It is impossible now to do more than mention the chief characteristic differences which, besides that of language, mark them out as a distinct race from the Tehuelche. Their stature and proportions are smaller, their countenances are inferior in intelligent expression. The women, however, who seem to have appropriated the marks of the not infrequent admixture of Spanish blood, are, as a rule, better-looking than the Tehau of the Tehuelches; the men when mounted on horseback are armed with peculiar long light lances, the shafts of which are made from a cane resembling bamboo found in the Cordillera. As to their religion I have reason to believe that they are worshippers of the sun; they however practise similar rites to those already described for propitiating the evil spirit, who is known by the same name. One custom not practised amongst the Tehuelches is a ceremony the Pampas perform before drinking intoxicating liquor. Four lances are pitched in the ground, round which the chiefs walk, each carrying a pannikin containing a little liquor which they sprinkle partly on the lances and partly on the ground, muttering incantations all the time. These Pampa Indians I believe to have been the race armed with bows and arrows met with and described by the early navigators, and to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Rio Negro, where great quantities of flint arrow-heads and

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

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The office of wizard is not hereditary; indeed those I met 756
with were unmarried. A boy or a girl, if what we should 791
call odd, as in the case of Cayuke's daughter, an old-fashioned and eccentric girl of thirteen, is considered to be marked out as a wizard; but the functions, so far as directing ceremonies, are sometimes performed by an ordinary member of the party. The stock in trade of the regular wizard consists [778]
of a few fetishes, or charms, carried in a bag, carefully concealed from public gaze, and exhibited to his colleagues alone. In addition to these, they seem to possess a real knowledge of simples, although this is not confined to them. Their professional operations are never accompanied by epileptic seizures and real or simulated convulsions. They, of course, are expected to prognosticate the success or failure of undertakings, and the issue of sickness, and foretell the future generally; and their position in this respect is a dangerous one, as a failure of their predictions is frequently punished with death; but, to make up for this risk, they are universally received with honour and hospitably entertained, and are usually enriched by the accumulation of presents. The power of witchcraft is by no means believed to be con- 754
fined to them; any person may be suspected of this crime, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for people when dying to lay their death to the charge of some person by name. All the missionaries' instructions did not prevent Casimiro, after the death of either his mother or one of his wives, from sending an agent to kill a woman who, as the deceased averred, had bewitched her. Certain signs and 787
omens are superstitiously regarded; one particularly dreaded 825
is the cry of the nightjar, common on the slopes of the Cordillera, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness or death to some of the inmates. They hold this bird in great veneration, and object to its being injured in any manner. Another animal supposed to be possessed of magical powers is a flat toad-like lizard, which is believed to lame horses by mysterious agency, and is killed whenever met with.

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chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

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should little think of as an object of adoration — the tobacco-pipe; — though, how far this is, in fact, an object of idolatry in Christian lands, it might not become me to speculate. The only occasions on which the Indians discovered any appearance of devotion were those of smoking. This may have been only a symptom of intoxication, but the reader may judge for himself.

A group of a dozen or more assemble, — sometimes in a wigwam, sometimes in the open air. A vessel made of a piece of hide bent into a saucer-shape while green and afterwards hardened, or sometimes an ox-horn, filled with water, is set on the ground. A stone pipe is filled with the scrapings of a wood resembling yellow ebony, mixed with finely-cut tobacco. The company then lay themselves in a circle flat on their faces, their mantles drawn up to the tops of their heads. The pipe is lighted. One takes it into his mouth and inhales as much smoke as he can swallow; the others take it in succession, till all have become satisfied. By the time the second smoker is fully charged, the first begins a series of groanings and gruntings, with a slight trembling of the head, the smoke slowly oozing out at the nostrils. The groaning soon becomes general, and waxes louder, till it swells into a hideous bowling, enough to frighten man or beast. The noise gradually dies away. They remain a short time in profound silence, and each imbibes a draught of water. Then succeeds another interval of silence, observed with the most profound and devotional gravity. All at length arise, and slowly disperse. Now, this may or may not have been a form of worship; but the circumstances attending it, the numbers uniformly engaged in it, the formality with which it was invariably conducted

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the solemnity of visage, the reverential grimace, the prostration, the silence, the trembling, — these, and traits of expression which are more easily discerned and remembered than described, gave me a decided impression that the whole had a superstitious meaning. The natural operation of the tobacco, and of the substance mixed with it, might explain part of the symptoms,— the writhing and groaning, — but these appeared to be a good deal in excess, and there were other features of the case which appeared to require another solution.

I never asked any explanation. The mystery which savage tribes are so apt to throw around their religious rites, and their resentment at any unhallowed curiosity, I was not inclined to meddle with or provoke. If my conjectures were just as to the nature of this ceremony, inquiry might lead to unpleasant consequences. Ignorance appeared, on the whole, safer than knowledge of good or evil, gained at the risk of being caught trespassing on things forbidden. If any one thinks my precaution excessive, he is at liberty to take a different course whenever he finds himself in the jurisdiction of Parosilver, or any other Patagonian chief.

The inquiry may arise, especially in the mind of the religious reader, whether I attempted to impart to my captors any knowledge of God, his attributes and laws. The answer is quite ready, — No, and for a variety of reasons. The writer did not understand enough of either Spanish or Indian to communicate intelligible ideas on any matters beyond the range of the senses, and Patagonia is pretty barren of sensible phenomena, which made my stock of words more limited than it might have been under more favorable circumstances. There was no finding "tongues

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expedition, was to be had in abundance by ascending the river. At the present time the knowledge of the navigation of the Straits would make it much easier and cheaper to import timber from Punta Arena than to send lumberers into the Cordillera and raft the timber down to Santa Cruz.

Near the Potrero, on the southern shore, there is a natural salt lake or salina, which must have been overlooked by the Beagle expedition, as Mr. Darwin fixes the southern limits of salinas at Port St. Julian. In the summer, and until the winter rains and snow set in, an inexhaustible supply of excellent salt can be obtained. It is at present worked only to furnish, besides the salt for home use, what is required for the annual sealing fishery; but if labour were more abundant, the salt would be found to be a valuable article of export to the Falkland Islands; the salina being situated less than half a mile from the beach, where there is good anchorage.

The river[1] also yields abundant supplies of fish—a species of bass and others—which when cured keep well: some which had been cured over a year proved excellent. These might be profitably exported to Rio Janeiro, &c., where cured fish are always in demand.

Notwithstanding these natural advantages, Santa Cruz could hardly at this period be considered a settlement. Subsequently to my visit, two Frenchmen from Buenos Ayres proposed to try sheep farming in the valley, but with what result I have not heard. As already mentioned, the station existed as a depôt for sealing, and as a trading post, to which the Tehuelches resorted to exchange their ostrich feathers, and puma, guanaco, and ostrich skins, for tobacco, sugar, ammunition, and above all, rum. There was little or no trade going on during the absence of the schooner, as all the stores had been exhausted; but after the summer campaign some of the Tehuelches invariably resort thither, and the vicinity has always been a favourite winter quarters. The missionaries, Messrs. Schmid and Hart, endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity for essaying the conversion

[1] [i.e. Santa Cruz River--Andyst]

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and civilisation of the Indians. They resided for some time in 1868 at a spot near Weddell Bluff, about ten miles from the mouth of the river. To quote Mr. Sterling's description, the station was at the mouth of the valley which 'retreats towards the south-west for a considerable distance inland; a stream of pure water flows perennially through it, and a broad belt of grass, offering fine pasture for cattle, gives a cheerful, fertile aspect to the low land; the hills on either side are intersected with ravines, or lift up their bronzed faces out of some intervening dale, and refresh the air with the aroma of shrubs and plants growing everywhere about them.'

This was written after a visit in the summer month of January, and the picture drawn presents the landscape in its fairest colours; very different from its bleak aspect as viewed by myself in the winter. This valley still bears the name of Las Misionarios, but this is the only existing trace of their settlement. Mr. Schmid, however, during his sojourn and journeys with a party of the Indians, compiled a vocabulary of the Tsoneca language, as spoken by the southern Tehuelches. Their plan for establishing trade at Santa Cruz, in order to secure the regular visits of the Indians, was not approved of by the managers of the mission, and they were obliged to abandon the scene of their praiseworthy but unsuccessful efforts—to instruct at least 'the little bright-faced Patagonian children,' of whom they speak in their journals with warm affection.

The counter attractions of rum supplied by a trader who visited the river were felt by Mr. Schmid to be very destructive of his influence, but it cannot be doubted that their store, if established, would have had no chance against any rival that supplied rum to his customers; for though there are many exceptions, the Indians too eagerly expend the spoils of their hunting and industry in liquor. Their wives, however, when they accompany them, take care to manage their business with discretion, and reserve sufficient stock

[i.e. Santa Cruz trading station—Analyst]

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sheep-farm, where he learnt to speak Spanish fluently. When thirteen years old he ran away and rejoined the Tehuelches Indians, with whom he remained in obscurity for some years, until being in the Southern district, near the Chilian colony of Port Famine, he gained the friendship of [127] one Santorin, a native of Patagonia, who had been taken captive by the Indians, but having adopted their manners and customs, and marrying one of the tribe, had risen to the position of a chief. Together these two performed a voyage to Chili, to negotiate with the Government in some matters regarding the protection of Port Famine from Indian raids. Santorin died during the voyage, but Casimiro was well received at Santiago by the then President, Señor Bulnis,* loaded with honours, and given the rank, pay, and rations of a captain in the army. He then returned to Port Famine, where he resided, off and on, for some time. By his own account, he was absent on a hunting excursion when the *émeute* took place which resulted in the destruction of the colony. The old wandering habits appeared to have taken possession of him, for he subsequently returned to the Rio Negro, and having entered the service of the Buenos Ayrean Government, again proceeded to the South. During this [128] time he resided occasionally with the missionaries, during their journey to the South, and at their station at Santa Cruz, and entrusted to them his two sons for the purpose of education. The missionaries soon discovered that his objects were purely selfish, and that he had no idea of allowing others to participate in the advantages they could offer; and I am afraid that the labour and cost bestowed on the boys were thrown away, as neither of them appeared to have profited much by their chances. Sam, indeed, could still sing a hymn if there were grog to the fore, and had a lively recollection of material advantages, often saying, 'He was good man, give me gun,' &c. But the youngest 'Gravial,' who also understood a little English, was one of the laziest of the

* Casimiro gave the name as 'Bourne.'

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Poya

278 Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 196; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

[802 177]

POYA CULTURE

114 Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Flores de León (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (in Funck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

[262] 241 **Subsistence activities.**—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Flores de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (in Funck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

415 273 Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

411 231 Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

342 **Shelters.**—Tents were of skins.

291 304 **Clothing and ornaments.**—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Flores de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 206)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

492 **Transportation.**—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

595 839 835 622 **Social and political life.**—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

1: Cooper T-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche

Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche;* see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For bibliographic references, see pages 138–139.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
marriage	coyenk
wild potatoes	appely
sleep	shenak
a file	kikeriki
council	aix
ill	hammersh
ship	youlel
gum or rosin	maki
cards	bersen
sit down	pespesh
catch	korigi
to be tired	ywotisk
I go	yschengs
he goes	wansk
he has	hell
give me	moyout
lend me	mon
write	aäkren
buy	amili
change	quewarien
I am tired	wotyskiya
I am hungry	pashlik ya
I am sleepy	yshensk
to kill	ymuck
to fight	ywoweak
to sing	yworriah
I like	yshorske ya
to mount on horseback	amcotta oin
to race	kättern
to send messenger	wickeni coëto
to talk	ayensh
I understand	ya omkes
I do not understand	ytonkes
come along	heroschengs
to hunt	aoukem
to speak	kinscott
to do a thing	micheten
make	mäki
to work	tirsk

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
to light	kaime
to fill	meshawr
to eat	shehattu
march	wéen
to break	charak
to play	nayensh

Colours.

black	chorlo
white	golwin
yellow	waieken
green	arkum
red	kāōpen
blue	kaliken
brown or bay	soorsh
piebald	hogel

Numerals.

one	chuche
two	houke
three	aäs
four	carge
five	ktsin
six	winikush
seven	ouk
eight	winicarge
nine	humanakoutaen
ten	kake
eleven	chuche kor
twelve	houke kor
thirteen	aas kor
kor added up to twenty	
twenty	wommenikukikor
thirty	aasenikaki
forty	cargekaki
fifty	ktsinkaki
a hundred	patack
a thousand	huarance

Some Sentences.

English.	Ahonicanka, or Tsoneca.
Thank you	Nouremi naki
Lend me the pipe	Mon aniwee—aniwee moyout
Catch my horse	Korigi ya
Come along, friend	Heroschengs gennow

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on the occasion
of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of toldos with lance shafts or bolas (Musters, 1872, p. 203; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76).

SHAMANISM

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 18th century (Sañchez Labrador, 1936, p. 52), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1880, p. 158; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1880, p. 153), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamaness described by Borgatello (1924, p. 128) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives.

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 58; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1895 b, p. 320; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1895, p. 358), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it.

MYTHOLOGY

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 179), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 75–76) reported a *Tehuelche* flood story.

LORE AND LEARNING

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 155; Musters, 1871, pp. 181, 183;

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1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kck-a-once, Tchūr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774. p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakenga, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable.

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind.

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the

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met with. Another superstition is that a two-headed guanaco exists in the south, the appearance of which is a forerunner of sickness. According to my informant, after its last appearance measles, or a similar disease, decimated the Southern tribe, the disease having been propagated by communication with Punta Arenas, where it was at that *time rife*. Any unfamiliar object that they do not comprehend, as, for instance, a compass or a watch, is regarded with suspicion as being tenanted by an evil spirit. Sometimes these objects are supposed to bring luck at play, and are eagerly sought for. One of my companions was possessed of a watch, obtained in Punta Arenas, and, before playing cards, he would often ask me to set it going, the ticking being regarded as the voice of the hidden Gualichu. My compass was also in constant demand, but the privilege of temporary possession was necessarily restricted to a few favoured friends. I explained, to the best of my power, the use of this instrument, which was comprehended by many of them; and they became very fond of asking me to point out the precise direction of various points known to them, and were greatly delighted at the correctness with which their inquiries were generally satisfied. A locket, worn by me round my neck, was also regarded as a talisman, securing the wearer from death.

With all this superstition, regard for omens, and belief in demons, they by no means accord implicit faith and respect to the wizards. Nor do they trust to their spells alone in case of disease; many possess an acquaintance with medicinal herbs, and apply them with good effect. Besides being good farriers, they practise blood-letting, not only on the sick, but, like our grandfathers, at regular seasons have themselves blooded, believing it to be beneficial. Casimiro declared that the superior health of the Tehuelches, compared with that of the colonists or Christians, was attributable to this practice. They also understand and sometimes employ poisons, not to envenom their weapons, but for secretly taking off an enemy. Such cases are rare, but

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

484 On the present occasion the movement was delayed, while we rode in search of something to eat. The chase was unsuccessful, scarcely enough being obtained to more than sharpen our appetites for dinner. The scanty meal being over, the whole company began their journey, which *in its tortuous windings was not unlike that of the* Israelites in the wilderness, but unlike that in the respect that we seemed to have no particular destination or object, except to explore new hunting-grounds, and gratify the capricious restlessness of the Indians. One very desirable end was answered, — we got enough to eat, as we were successful in killing a large quantity of game. The Indians [823] it was noticeable, were never at a loss to find their camps. So familiar did they seem with all their haunts and the general shape of the country, that though the surface presented to my eye scarcely any distinguishable way-marks, they would strike off from any point, however distant, and go with unerring aim straight to their tents. In returning laden with booty to our new homes, I was surprised to observe no indications whatever of water in the vicinity, a singular departure, at first sight, from their invariable custom, so far as I had noticed. Very soon the squaws issued from their huts, each with her leathern bucket. Curiosity prompted me to follow them a little way, when a spring was discovered, from which they had to dip the water with their ox-horn cups till the buckets were filled.

584 About this time a new phase of life presented itself, to cast light on an important item of the social economy established in Patagonia. Looking out of our wigwam one evening just at dusk, I noticed an unusual concourse of Indians about two hundred yards distant. There were

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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markable. When the disturbances and fighting were going on they rarely ate anything: also when travelling as 'chasquis,' or messengers, they will not unfrequently go for two and even three days without tasting food. In our expedition into the Cordillera we remained over forty-eight hours without food except wild fruit, and, although I at first suffered from hunger, my companions did not appear to be in any way inconvenienced. As a Chilian deserter remarked on one occasion, it was all very well for them to go on without eating; 'but we can't—we've not so much fat.' Their strength of arm is very great, and the distance to which they can throw the ostrich bola is truly astonishing: thus I have seen Crimè and some others ball an ostrich over seventy yards distant. When cutting wood in the Cordillera with Hinchel, a Chilian deserter and myself had cut a tree through, and, having fastened a lazo to the top branch, were endeavouring to drag it down, but its branches became entangled in another tree, and we could not stir it. Hinchel, seeing our difficulty, came up, and with one well-directed, vigorous tug cleared it from the branches and brought it to the ground.

Mr. Clarke also informed me that when he was ill with fever, and had to be removed from the Almacen to the lower house on the island, on account of the noise made by the drunken Indians, Wáki mounted, and, taking him in his arms, rode down seemingly unencumbered by the burden. Their faces, of course, vary in expression, but are ordinarily bright and good-humoured, though when in the settlement they assume a sober, and even sullen, demeanour. Wáki and Cayuke, two friends of mine, are particularly present to my recollection as having always had a smile on their faces. Their ever-ready laughter displays universally good teeth, which they keep white and clean by chewing 'maki,' a gum which exudes from the incense bush, and is carefully gathered by the women and children. It has a rather pleasant taste, and is a most excellent dentifrice, worthy to rival Odonto or Floriline, and it is used simply as

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

such, and not, as Monsieur Guinnard* says, because their greediness is so great that they must chew something. Their eyes are bright and intelligent, and their noses—though, of course, presenting different types—are as a rule aquiline and well-formed, and devoid of the breadth of nostril proper to the ordinary ideal of savage tribes. The peculiar prominence over the eyebrows has been noticed by all observers, and retreating foreheads, though observable, are exceptional. The thick masses of hair, and the obvious risk, which would deter the most zealous craniologist from endeavouring to measure their heads, must be deemed sufficient excuse for my not being able to state whether they are dolichokephalic or brachykephalic; a point, however, which I confess did not particularly attract my observation; but, for the partial comfort of anthropologists, be it noted that both Chilians and myself interchanged hats with some Tehuelches, especially Orkeke and Hinchel, without finding misfits. The complexion of the men is reddish brown, that is to say when cleansed from paint, and, like an old picture, restored to their pristine tint, which is not quite so deep as to warrant Fitzroy's comparison of it to the colour of a Devon cow.

[302] The scanty natural growth of beard, moustaches, and even eyebrows, is carefully eradicated by means of a pair of silver tweezers, and I was often urged to part with my beard, and undergo this painful operation, but I naturally objected to comply with the request. The men's heads are covered with thick, flowing masses of long hair, of which they take great care, making their wives, or other female relatives, brush it out carefully at least once a day. Very few appeared to have grey hair; though there were a few exceptions, one very old man's hair being of a snowy whiteness, which contrasted strangely with his tawny face. The women have, as far as I could judge, an average height of about five feet six inches: they are very strong in the arms, but seldom walk beyond fetching the supplies of wood and water, all their journeys

* 'Three Years' Slavery,' p. 233.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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The office of wizard is not hereditary; indeed those I met with were unmarried. A boy or a girl, if what we should call odd, as in the case of Cayuke's daughter, an old-fashioned and eccentric girl of thirteen, is considered to be marked out as a wizard; but the functions, so far as directing ceremonies, are sometimes performed by an ordinary member of the party. The stock in trade of the regular wizard consists of a few fetishes, or charms, carried in a bag, carefully concealed from public gaze, and exhibited to his colleagues alone. In addition to these, they seem to possess a real knowledge of simples, although this is not confined to them. Their professional operations are never accompanied by epileptic seizures and real or simulated convulsions. They, of course, are expected to prognosticate the success or failure of undertakings, and the issue of sickness, and foretell the future generally; and their position in this respect is a dangerous one, as a failure of their predictions is frequently punished with death; but, to make up for this risk, they are universally received with honour and hospitably entertained, and are usually enriched by the accumulation of presents. The power of witchcraft is by no means believed to be confined to them; any person may be suspected of this crime, and it is not an uncommon occurrence for people when dying to lay their death to the charge of some person by name. All the missionaries' instructions did not prevent Casimiro, after the death of either his mother or one of his wives, from sending an agent to kill a woman who, as the deceased averred, had bewitched her. Certain signs and omens are superstitiously regarded; one particularly dreaded is the cry of the nightjar, common on the slopes of the Cordillera, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness or death to some of the inmates. They hold this bird in great veneration, and object to its being injured in any manner. Another animal supposed to be possessed of magical powers is a flat toad-like lizard, which is believed to lame horses by mysterious agency, and is killed whenever met with.

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T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825

T [158]

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Checoque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

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T A 133 137

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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chu", is supposed continually to lurk outside and at the back of the toldo, watching for an opportunity to do harm to the inhabitants, and is only prevented from causing continual annoyance by the spells of the doctors, which latter are not only supposed to be gifted with the power of laying the devil, but also affirm that they can see him. On an occasion of sickness it is a common custom with these and other Indians to try and drive away the evil spirit by firing off guns and revolvers, throwing lighted brands into the air, and beating the backs of the toldos with lance shafts or bolas. Besides this particular household devil, if I may be allowed the expression, there are many others who live in caverns under particular rocks and rivers; these are supposed to be the spirits of departed members of the medical profession. Their power was, as far as I could ascertain, confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations.

These Indians have also a custom of saluting the new moon, patting their heads and murmuring an incantation. They also salute in the same manner the spirits of the rocks and rivers. I at first was of opinion that they merely saluted these objects as specimens of the Creator's handiwork, but at last was inclined to think that their devotions were directed to propitiate the tutelary demons presiding over them. They have many signs and omens; one peculiar one is the cry of the night-jar, which, if uttered over a camp or toldo, betokens sickness to some of the inmates. They also object strongly to this bird being injured in any way. Another animal looked upon as having powers of witchcraft is a flat, toad-like lizard, common on the slopes of the Cordillera. Its power is confined chiefly to laming horses, and it is killed whenever met with. When about to smoke, the Indians invariably puff a portion to each cardinal point, muttering an incantation; they then lie prone on the ground, and inhale several puffs, which produces a state of torpor or insensibility, lasting perhaps one or two minutes, when they take a drink of water and recover their senses. Sometimes the intoxication is accompanied with convulsions. This intoxication is not confined to the Indians, I myself having frequently, after inhaling tobacco smoke, experienced the same results.

The position of wizard or doctor is not a very desirable one, as in the event of his prognosticating a success in a war expedition, or cessation in sickness, or any other event which is not realised, the chief will not unfrequently have him killed. Wizards are chosen *not* by hereditary descent, but by peculiarities exhibited in their youth. Women are allowed to become doctors, but such are rare. Witchcraft, however, is not confined to these wizards, and sometimes a dying man will state that so and so has caused his death by magic, in which case the person accused,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no[62]
great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and
very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days[63]
are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair inter-
woven with lime bands, the ends being garnished with silver[64]
pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to
the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the[302]
Indians I greatly admired Yokang's daughter for her 'head
of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished,
which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting
her by chance on the following morning returning to the tolde
with water, to my great disappointment I found that she
had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the
reverse of long. The young women are frequently good-[303]
looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised
with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very
coquettish, and as skilled in flirtation as if they had been[304]
taught in more civilized society. The fair widow who so
nearly hooked the Englishman could on occasions appeal as
prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties
over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkeke's request I led the
way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly
deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land
on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Master, help me! my horse
is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as[305]
soon as might be expected, but when old they become most
hideous beldames, and the most weird-like witches imagined
by Doré would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche
grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa,[306]
or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece
of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the ma-
terial, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously[307]
worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other
garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin
mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avenging, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56-57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155-156, 242-243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1894, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445-446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1908, p. 92) states that children's heads were

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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being performed on horseback. Their hair, which is of no great length, scarcely indeed equalling that of the men, and very coarse, is worn in two plaited tails, which on gala days are artificially lengthened, probably with horse-hair interwoven with blue beads, the ends being garnished with silver pendants. This practice, however, is confined, I think, to the unmarried ladies.

Being an admirer of long hair, on my first joining the Indians I greatly admired Tchang's daughter for her 'head of hair,' two immensely long tails beautifully embellished, which I naturally thought was all her own. But, meeting her by chance on the following morning returning to the toldo with water, to my great disappointment I found that she had taken her spare hair off, and her natural locks were the reverse of long. The young women are frequently good-looking, displaying healthy, ruddy cheeks when not disguised with paint. They are modest in behaviour, though very coquettish, and as skilled in flirtation as if they had been taught in more civilised society. The fair widow who so nearly *hooked* the Englishman could on occasions appeal as prettily for help as a young lady in imaginary difficulties over a country stile. Thus, when at Orkeke's request I led the way through a river—half way across the channel suddenly deepened, with muddy bottom, and an abrupt bank to land on—I heard a plaintive appeal, 'Muster, help me! my horse is too small.' Exposure and work do not age them as soon as might be expected, but when old they become most hideous beldames, and the most weird-like witches imagined by Doré would be surpassed by a trio of Tehuelche grandames. The dress of the men consists of a chiripa, or under garment round the loins, made of a poncho, a piece of cloth, or even of a guanaco mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable and scrupulously worn, their sense of decency being very strong. All other garments are supplied by the capacious and warm skin mantle, which, worn with the fur inside and the painted side

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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the paint—which I had left off—not wishing to appear as a noble savage to the new comers. The paint for the face is composed of either red ochre or black earth mixed with grease obtained from the marrow bones of the game killed in the chase, all of which are carefully husbanded by the women, and when opportunity offers pounded and boiled in the large pots; the grease and gelatine being carefully skimmed off and secured. On state occasions, such as a birth feast, and for a dance, the men further adorn themselves with white paint, or powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, and legs. The usual morning toilette is simple; after the plunge in the river, which is almost always the first thing, except of course when circumstances prevent it, indulged in by both sexes, who bathe scrupulously apart, and generally before daylight. The men's hair is dressed by their wives, daughters, or sweethearts, who take the greatest care to burn any hairs that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be wrought by evil-intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair. From the same idea, after cutting their nails, the parings are carefully committed to the flames. After the hair-brushing, which is performed by means of a rude hand-brush, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists in contrast to the other in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if possessed, as sometimes occurs, of a fragment of looking-glass, paint their own. Both sexes tattoo on the forearm, by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry glass: the usual patterns consist of a series of parallel lines, and sometimes a single triangle, or a double triangle, the upper one resting on the apex of the lower. I myself had one line tattooed by a fair enslaver, and confess that the process was rather painful.

guanaco, and is sandal-like in appearance. For riding they use boots made from the hocks or legs of horses or large guanacos, and their spurs are of wood which they carve with no little art. They bind their foreheads with a band of wool about two fingers wide, woven by themselves and of several colors. These bands hold the hair in place, that is, swept upward on the left side with the ends free like the feathers of a bird. These bands, bound six or eight times about the head, have small pieces of yellow metal or brass at their extremities. When they mount their horses they tie their large outer garment about the waist with a thong, from which hang their bolas and knife, which are the weapons they usually carry, and when they require freedom of movement for their arms they allow their skin garment to fall backward onto the horse's rump, and being thus bare from the waist up they present a rather pleasing spectacle as they race off or pursue game, particularly as the hide entirely covers the horse's rear quarters and offers to view its inner, multicolored fur. Their riding gear consists of a sort of packsaddle, with neither saddlebow nor crupper, and made of the hide of a large guanaco, the pads stuffed with coarse, dry grasses. The stirrups, which are carved out of wood, are so small that the large toe will hardly fit into it. They sit somewhat clumsily on their horses, but securely nevertheless, and can race up or down hill with equal ease. The horse's bit is made from a slender stick or from the wing bone of an ostrich, and has a small knob at either end; it is as long as the horse's mouth is wide, and the reins are attached to its enlarged extremities as are also two small thongs which go about the horse's chin and keep the bit from slipping out of its mouth. [69] The reins are made of eight twisted strands of very thin and pliable rawhide.

The women's clothes are made of the same kinds of skins as are the men's and are worn in the same manner, but for one small difference which is that they fasten the garment with two large wooden or iron pins over the chest in such a way that the two upper ends of the hide hang like the flaps of a cloak down as far as the waist. The other two ends of the hide hang behind in the manner of a train about half a yard long. This hangs to the ground when the women are still but when they walk they gather it up in their left hand. They do not use their left hand for anything else, unless it be to shield their parts in some unforeseen circumstance. In addition to this they wear, beneath the aforementioned hide, a sort of square apron which reaches to below the knees, made of flannel, woolen stuff or some other cloth if they can get it, and if not, then of very soft leather. This apron they tie about the waist with a thong, which those women of some authority adorn with beads. They do not wear sandals on their feet as do the men, but when they ride they put on boots similar to those the men wear. They do not cover their heads, but

parting their hair down the middle, braid it into two pigtails which, coming down over the ears and shoulders reach the chest and waist. The ribbon with which they tie these braids is made of dark wool two fingers wide, and the rich women trim them with beads on special days. They also put beads on the large pins which secure their outer skin garments, on the lower part of their legs as anklets and about their necks as chokers of different colors. They wear brass earrings, and so do the men. The equipment which the women use for riding - and they usually ride mares - includes a kind of stuffed saddle of tanned cowhide (if they can get it), very well made, studded with little brass nails and adorned at either end with beads of varied colors (when they have them) arranged in designs and patterns of their fashioning. The cinch about the horse's belly has three metal rings, one at one end and the other two a third of the distance from either end. The buckle with which they attach and tighten this girth is very large. The bridle is made up of halter, bit and reins; the halter is richly decorated, adorned with beads and anything else they can get hold of for the purpose. The reins and bit are similar to those used by the men. The mares are further adorned about their necks with strings of bells or such other baubles as the women can procure. These necklaces reach down to the animals knees and are used only on special days. On ordinary trips they are replaced by ropes of blue or red wool, about a finger in thickness, which are wound about the animal's neck three times, and which aid the women to get up onto their saddles. [70] The women sit on their saddles facing the head of their mount and folding their legs under them, a very uncomfortable posture which long habit alone allows them to take, and which exposes them to numerous falls. While riding and while mounting they are extraordinarily modest and keep themselves completely covered at all times. The women of some authority wear straw hats on the march which are circlets with a brim but no crown, which they tie beneath their chins with anything serviceable, and with this they shield themselves from sun and rain when they travel on horseback.

The activity or occupation of the men is to hunt, in order to supply their families with meat, and to make the skin tents or huts in which they live, and all their clothing. They also take care of the horses they own and make all their riding gear. Their games are limited to dicing, to training in their manner of fighting, and to racing each other on horseback.

The women are obliged to cook the food, fetch water and firewood, put up and take down the tents when on the march and load and unload them. The men do not help at all in these chores, even if the

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Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

POYA CULTURE

Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

Subsistence activities.—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was made of wild fruits.

Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas. Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

Shelters.—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox, and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

Transportation.—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

Social and political life.—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-daughter incest (ibid.), though not approved by public opinion. Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 150). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. Three is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consumated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amoogst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 592
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]

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231 hunted on foot, with a large sort of dog, which, from his description, must have resembled a deer hound. The dogs are rarely fed, being allowed generally to satiate themselves in the chase. The hounds belonging to Orkeke, and one or two others, were exceptions to this rule, being fed with cooked meat when it was plentiful. The women keep pet lap-dogs of various descriptions, generally a sort of terrier, some of them much resembling the Scotch terrier. 'Ako,' for instance, was to all appearance a thoroughbred dog of that breed. These little lap-dogs are the torment of one's life in camp: at the least sound they rush out yelping, and set all the big dogs off; and in an Indian encampment at night, when there is anything stirring, a continual concert of bow-wows is kept up. The dogs are fierce towards strangers, but generally content themselves with surrounding them, showing their teeth and barking, unless set on. That they are ugly customers at night an amusing instance will prove. One morning a dog was found dead near its owner's toldo, which had evidently been knocked on the head with a bola, and finished with a knife; the owner made a great outcry, but no explanation could be had. It subsequently became
● 837 known to me that a young gallant had sought admission to the toldo of his inamorata by the accustomed method of cautiously lifting the back tent cover from the ground, and dexterously crawling underneath; when half through, he felt his leg seized in a pair of powerful jaws. The lady was highly amused at the predicament of her lover, who, however, extricated himself by a mighty and well-directed kick with his foot in the muzzle of his assailant. When returning from his 'rendezvous' he met his active enemy, and vindictively knocked him on the head, and, to make sure work, cut his th[illegible]t; but his leg carried after all a deeper scar than his heart as a token of the love-adventure, and when the story was told, and, as may be supposed, excited roars of laughter, it recalled forcibly to my mind,

'He jests at scars who never felt a wound.'

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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one else had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his coury, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast: then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The gay deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the rickety wigwam, under the effort of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the *contract* of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the *ceremony* is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the festivity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalizing my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-

invasion by his neighbors. As a matter of fact the unfortunate chief's family does not lose its right to its land, and with the passage of time it often happens that some descendant will re-establish the colony which his father, grandfather or brother destroyed either by bad luck or bad conduct. When a chief becomes old and unable to fulfill the obligations of his position he hands over his authority to a successor.

Marriages are made by a man's buying his wife from her father or from some other under whose guardianship she may be, and in proportion to her rank, good looks, conduct, etc. she is either more or less expensive. Her will is not taken into account for this transaction by her father or guardian, and she cannot set herself against her own sale. Each man may have one, two, or more wives of his own, depending on his wealth, but only rarely does a man have more than one unless he be a chief or an Indian of great power. There is the greatest number of wives which any man gets to possess, and each husband has the right of selling his wives to another, but this resale makes the woman of little worth, and for that reason she is sold very cheaply; poor men only buy women in this way since they lack the funds to buy them first-hand. It is not considered improper to sell a woman to a relative, unless it be to the woman's son or brother, all other relatives being eligible as buyers. Many are the marriages of this type which are consummated because of the expense involved in procuring an unmarried woman. Single women, while they are yet young and have hopes of being married keep their virginity, but should these hopes vanish, they will have sex relations promiscuously. Those married women who find that the husband who bought them from their father or guardian is to their liking, are faithful, but should they not like their husbands they become troublesome -- yet adultery is not considered a crime unless committed in the husband's presence, and in such a case the adulterer and not the woman is blamed, and even then no punishment is meted out, the husband being easily mollified. The chief always has as a wife the daughter or sister of some other chief, and she is the head wife amongst his others, who must serve her in every way. Even if the chief should tire of his principal wife he may not sell her because it would be considered an insult and cause for an outbreak of war with her relatives. All these head wives are grave in demeanor, given to few words, live secluded in their tents, spend their time in pursuits suitable [74] to their position, and do not take part in the vain conversations of the other Indian women. The men never manhandle the women for any reason, except when drunk, and even in such a condition the chief will never strike his head wife although all the others may well receive their share of blows.

able, and it is never uncovered for anyone unless by order of the pseudo-holy man or witch doctor, who may be either a man or a woman. This person ordinarily has to practice his art daily, chanting to the deity to the accompaniment of two gourds filled with pebbles -- a type of music which is as unpleasant as is his own voice. In this manner the witch doctor makes petitions to the deity to the effect that the group's enemies may sicken or die. This often redounds in the witch doctor's undoing for should his incantations be followed by some plague among the enemy, or some chief or important person die amongst them, then the enemy group will try every means to capture the witch doctor and make a devil's martyr of him. The witch doctors must also chant to the deity in intercession for the sick in their own camp in order to overrule the witch doctors among their enemies. If the sick person is not brought back to health the sick one's friends often will give the witch doctor his just deserts, at least by depriving him of his occupation and treating him as of no repute in the future; if the wife or son of a chief should die the witch doctor will often pay for his unsuccessful cure with his life. The witch doctor's curative efforts are limited to chanting, no other medicines being used in the curing of sickness. And so these singing doctors encounter many hardships in their lives, there being but few who die of natural causes, but nevertheless there are always many eager for the job because they can have a free hand with the Indians' wives if the latter are willing, or, if the witch doctor be a woman, she can have relations with the men. There are almost as many witch doctors as there are families because as a rule the head of every household has an idol of his own in his tent, and if the camp is made up of four, five or more families, there are an equal number of witch doctors or pseudo holy men -- let it be remembered that amongst the Indians a family is not composed only of man, wife and children, but also of all of the relatives of the husband who is the family head, and who is therefore a sort of subaltern chief under the one who has general overlordship and property rights to the land.

When someone in the family becomes sick the family witch doctor comes to chant in the person's very ear, in such loud and harsh tones that the sounds alone might be enough to bring about his death. If the patient gets worse [76] the witch doctor invites the participation of others of his profession and all the old women, in order to help him in his chanting; should the patient die no one other than the original witch doctor is held responsible. Once the sick person is completely prostrated, if she be a virgin and young, a tent of ponchos is made for her at some little distance from the camp. She is put into it and there the chanting becomes louder because

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 592
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 934
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 597
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 598
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [519]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 133
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783

Antonio de Viedma [61]

On the station

of sickness, the evil spirit was driven away by firing off guns and revolvers, by throwing lighted brands into the air, and by beating the backs of tobias with lance shafts or boles (Musters, 1871, p. 103; Lista, 1879 b, p. 76). 755

[illegible]

There were both male and female shamans. Transvestite shamans were reported absent in the middle 19th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1888, p. 82), but appear later, in the early 19th (Coan, 1888, p. 116; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4: 220). The ordinary curing procedure included sounding of drum and calabash (Sánchez Labrador, 1888, p. 127) or hide rattle (Coan, 1888, p. 133), and sucking out some small material object as the cause of the disease. The modern shamanesses described by Borgatello (1924, p. 131) used a hand-drum in her curing rites. If the patient died, the shaman was very apt to be killed by the bereaved relatives. 756 [D31] [D34]

The arrow-swallowing trick, observed by the Magellan expedition in 1520 at Port San Julian (Pigafetta, 1908, 1: 30; Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 10) and by the Sarmiento expedition in 1584 near Cape San Gregorio in the Strait of Magellan (Sarmiento, [1579], 1932 b, p. 210; cf. Hernandez, [1620], 1925, p. 210), but not reported by any later observers, may have been from a shamanistic repertoire, although Pigafetta considered it a remedy for pain in the stomach. The performer, after removing the arrowhead, stuck the shaft down his throat to his stomach, and then withdrew it. [D55]

[illegible]

Our data on *Tehuelche* mythology and folklore are extremely meager. In the very brief cosmogonic note given us by Musters (1871, p. 170), the good spirit created the Indians and animals, and dispersed them from a place called "God's-hill." In Borgatello's account (1924, pp. 129–130), Heller, son of the sun, who also was called by this name, was the one who created the *Tehuelche* and gave them their land of Patagonia, and it is to Heller that the *Tehuelche* go after death. In the short Heller cycle, as reported by Borgatello, occur the Achilles and the magic flight motifs. Lista (1879 b, pp. 73–78) reported a *Tehuelche* fixed story. 773

[illegible]

No weights or measures are reported. Smoke signaling was much used; Borgatello (1924, p. 19) lists four distinct conventional signals. According to Sánchez Labrador (1888, p. 10), it seems that the *Tehuelche* and *Puelche*, in contrast to the *Araucanians*, did not use herbal curatives, but in the 19th century the *Tehuelche* made some use of them. (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2: 150; Musters, 1871, pp. 101, 103); [D04] [D12] 278

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278 Lista, 1879 b, p. 76; Roncagli, 1884, p. 776; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237.) Bloodletting was commonly resorted to. The resin of Schinus *Duvaua dependens*) was chewed for health purposes (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; cf. Pineda, 1914, p. 9). Guanaco bezoars were utilized for medicinal purposes (Musters, 1871, p. 126; King, 1839, 1:117, for bowel complaints). Like the *Puelche* and the *Araucanians*, the *Tehuelche* had numbers for "100" and "1,000" taken from *Quechua*.

[802 177]

POYA CULTURE

114 Most of our extremely fragmentary data on *Poya* culture are derived from Diego Florez de Léon (1898), Gerónimo Pietas (1846), Miguel de Olivares (1874), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), and Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900). The main passages from the first four are reproduced in full and their anthropological content critically discussed and interpreted by Vignati (1939 a; cf. also Latchman, 1929–30, 64:220–222).

[262] **Subsistence activities.**—Food consisted of animals, birds, and certain roots from which a flour was made; later, beef. The two 241 earlier sources, Florez de León and Pietas, made no mention of agriculture; Olivares (1874, p. 511) stated that the *Poya* had "a little grain" [cultivated by them?]; Menendez (*in* Fonck, 1900, p. 319), that the "Puelche" [probably *Poya*] of Lake Nahuel-huapí in 1792 had some quinoa, wheat, and barley, that they did not cultivate the ground, but that they used to throw seeds on the ground along streams and what came up was gathered by the first who came along.

415 Skin bags served as water containers. An alcoholic beverage was
273 made of wild fruits.

411 Hunting and fighting weapons were the bow and arrow and bolas.
231 Dogs were used in hunting. Horses and cattle were early introduced.

342 **Shelters.**—Tents were of skins.

Clothing and ornaments.—Clothing was made of guanaco, fox,
291 and ostrich skins, and included a large mantle and a smaller pubic
304 covering. One Indian, from inland, met by Florez de León, "had his nose pierced like the people of Perú" (1898, p. 256)—no doubt, with his septum pierced.

492 **Transportation.**—Inflated guanaco skins were used in crossing rivers on horseback.

595 **Social and political life.**—Not only polygyny, but also polyandry
839 was permitted (Olivares, 1874, p. 511; Vidaurre, 1889, p. 301); when
835 one husband went away hunting, the other took his place. According to Olivares (1874, p. 512), sodomy was practiced; so, too, father-
622 daughter incest (ibid.). Each band had its own headman, with persuasive rather than mandatory powers.

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Indians [of the Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil." Soychu (see supra, p. 157) may have been a *Puelche* name for the deity or one of the deities (cf. Falkner, 1774, p. 114); Gualichu may also be a word of *Puelche* origin; Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, pp. 28, 33) considered that both words were from his *Het* tongue; but the point is quite uncertain. With the meager evidence we have, all that one can do is to present the foregoing facts and let the reader draw his own conclusions.

At full moon, there was excessive rejoicing, and the moon was asked for strength (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 65–66).

SHAMANISM

Here, too, it is impossible to say in how far as a rule the generalized statements in Sánchez Labrador and Falkner apply to the *Puelche*. Sánchez Labrador, however, does specifically (1936, p. 52) ascribe transvestite shamans to the *Puelche*—men who dressed like women, cooked and fetched water, and stayed with the women. Shamans were very much feared. They were called, according to D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:270), calmelache (a name very similar to the name camalasque, which Viedma [erroneously?] attributes to the evil spirit of the *Tehuelche;* see supra, p. 158).

MYTHOLOGY

Available data are excessively meager. Sun was the elder brother, Moon the younger brother; Moon was not so intelligent as Sun (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 a). There was a tradition of a very high tide (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1919 b) and also of a flood. After the flood which covered all the earth except the Sierra de la Ventana, the peoples came out of caves in the mountains and the world was populated again (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; cf. Vignati, 1938 b).

LORE AND LEARNING

Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 56) rather clearly implies that the *Puelche* used no herbal curatives. One can count up to 100,000 in the *Puelche* language, but all numbers from 99 up, including, of course "100" and "1,000," are from *Quechua*.

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For bibliographic references, see pages 138–139.

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 411
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [439]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the

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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases when hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 36–37). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognised (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1924, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
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these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrowbones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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The
846 child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum.
854 The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

421 To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted,
858 which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child,
553 nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing
551 so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

868 The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about
881 sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as
857 described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages
591 are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

583 The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has
585 secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

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304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were
884 as bandaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73–74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother
[551] when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

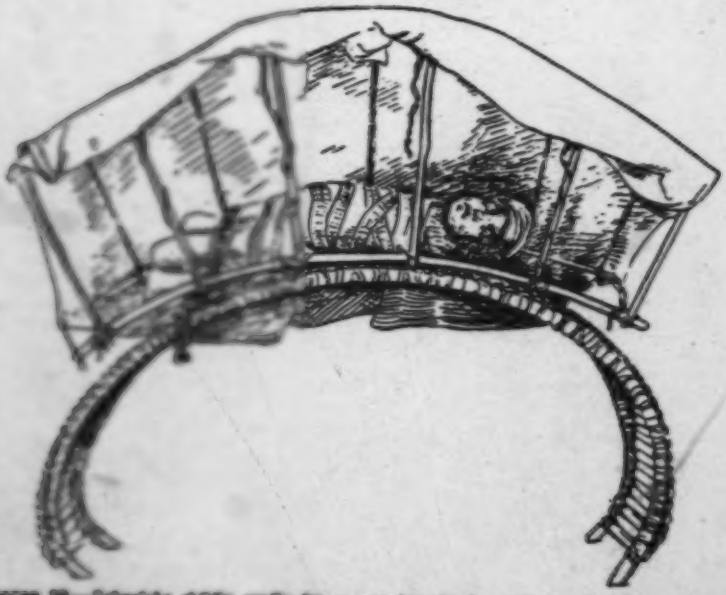

FIGURE 20.—Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Vaulx, 1901, p. 169.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a lancet; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 199–200). A horse was killed
[551] at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202).

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nearly lost his life in consequence, and his tears and abject 525
supplications showed the terror he was in, but happily he on this occasion escaped. Strange to say, I was in no way suspected, although I knew where the tobacco was kept, which I doubt if the deserter did.

The game of ball is confined to the young men, and is 526
played as follows. A lazo is laid on the ground so as to form a ring about four yards in diameter; the players, generally eight in number, step into the circle naked, with the exception of the waistcloth. A ball composed of hide stuffed with feathers, about the size of or larger than a tennis-ball, is used by each party, who throw it up from under the thigh, and strike it with the hand at the adversaries', each hit counting a point. Great dexterity and activity are shown by the young men, and although I never joined in any of their regular matches, I frequently watched the parties occupied in the game, in which their splendid muscular development was brought out conspicuously. Besides these amusements, the Indians, when ammunition is plentiful, occasionally fire at a mark; but as their bullets are frequently hammered round with stones, the practice is at times erratic, and the guns are also sometimes more dangerous to the marksman than the mark.

The daily routine of occupations and amusements is varied 852
sometimes by a fight, and more pleasantly by some one or other of the ceremonials which mark—as in all nations—the principal epochs of Tsoneca life, from the cradle to the grave. On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares and horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately given to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins in the temple, fore-arm, or leg, gives the order for the erection of a mandil tent, or pretty house as the Indians call it, and mares are slaughtered, and a feast and dance follow, such as described in Chapter III., page 80, as having taken place in the valley of the Rio Chico. The ce

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592 position as secretary and general referee next in rank to the cacique, scarcely reconciled me to the exchange of the orderly comfort of Mrs. Orkeke's household for the dignified discomfort of my present quarters. They were also shared by Meña, whose good qualities had raised him above his fellow-Chilians. Their number had been reduced to four, Arica having disappeared whilst hunting near Teckel: without doubt his quarrelsome disposition had occasioned his death at the hands of some one whom he had insulted or offended.

133 The route followed led northwards through a valley on both sides of which we hunted, and arrived in the afternoon at an encampment called Carge-kaik, or Four Hills. There was nothing remarkable in the scenery: the hill-sides on either hand were covered with scrub, and the summits presented masses of rocks, and in some places loose boulders, amongst which numerous armadilloes were basking in the sun. They

136 are easily captured, as they are very slow; but if they once get into their burrow it is difficult to extract them, owing to the tenacity with which they hold fast to the soil. They are

252 very good eating, and are usually cooked in the shell on the fire, the entrails, &c., being taken out, and the cavity filled with heated stones. When they are in their best condition, one leg is sufficient for a man, as there is about an inch of yellow fat on them. Of the shells the women make work-

281 415 baskets, to contain their bodkins, sinews, &c., when sewing, or to serve as colour-boxes for the different colours when painting.

852 The day following our arrival, Tankelow and another Indian were despatched as messengers to the party of Araucanian Indians, or Manzaneros, supposed to be encamped a few marches distant. During that night a child was born, the parents of which were rich, and accordingly a great slaughter of mares took place, the mandil tent was erected, and a feast and dance announced.

648 576 Meanwhile, about four P.M., the chasquis returned, bringing with them an Araucanian Indian, who was escorted to

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our toldo in due form amidst a curious crowd, all eager to look at him, while he preserved a grave and stolid demeanour. After the usual ceremonious formalities, he sat down, and by means of an interpreter stated himself to be a son of Quintuhual, a chief residing at present about four marches to the north. His father had with much pleasure received the courteous message sent by Casimiro, and it would give him equal gratification to welcome the Tehuelches; but he signified a desire first to meet Casimiro alone. This the latter monarch did not appear to see in the same light—if I may be allowed the expression—as it seemed to forbode no good intentions; but he replied evasively, and thus the colloquy terminated.

This Indian was about the middle height, dressed in coloured ponchos, with a silk handkerchief round his head. His features were regular, with restless sparkling black eyes, and complexion about the same as that of the Gauchos of the Rio de la Plata. He wore his hair cut short, and his general cleanly appearance afforded a strong contrast to the flowing locks and paint-bedaubed bodies of the Tehuelches.

Giving up my sleeping-place to him, we soon made him at home, and, after he had had some dinner, we proceeded in company to watch the dancers, who were vigorously stepping out round the fire in front of the mandil tent. Here we were joined by Jackschan, whose knowledge of the Araucanian language enabled us to maintain a conversation. Presently, by particular request, I joined Golwin (White) and two others in the dance, coming out in full costume of ostrich feathers and girdle of bells, and properly painted, to the great delight of the Indians. My performance elicited general applause; and at last all retired for the night, myself taking my saddle-gear and sleeping under a bush near the toldo.

After a delicious breakfast of fried fish, cooked most skilfully by Meña, we prepared to march again, the chasqui bidding us farewell for the present, and by nine A.M. the

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lasso laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat *on spits*, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and pifiones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the *Mimosa bush*; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, maize, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

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sent to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins, and painting himself white, gives the order for the erection of a tent called by the Indians "the pretty house". The women immediately collect together their mandils, a description of wove blanket, obtained from the Araucanians, and sew them together to form the covering of the toldo; some of the women then place the necessary stakes in the ground to form the toldo, and the young men, taking the mandils, march several times round the stakes to frighten away the devil, the old women singing and crying in a discordant manner, and then draw the covering over the stakes; horsepoles, with brass plates and streamers attached, are placed in front, the whole forming a gay-looking toldo. The men then mount their horses, and after a short interval, mares are brought up and knocked on the head in front of the tent, after which the meat is either portioned out to the several families, or cooked on the spot, all being free to come and eat. Towards evening a fire is kindled in front of the mandil-tent, and a dance takes place after the following manner: The men and women sit down at the opposite sides of the fire, except the musicians, who sit in the tent; their instruments consist of a small drum formed by a piece of hide stretched over a bowl, and played on with two sticks, and a wind instrument, formed from the thighbone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is applied to the mouth, and played on with a small wooden bow, having a horse-hair string, after a preliminary tune and howling on the part of the old women. Four Indians, muffled up to their eyes in their mantles, wearing on their heads plumes of the so-called ostrich (*Rhea Darwinii*), step on the scene; they first of all pace majestically round the fire, then quicken their pace to a sort of little trot; after two rounds the time is quickened, they throw aside their mantles, and appear with their bodies naked, except the waistcloth, painted all over, each one wearing also a strap studded with bells, extending from the shoulder to the thigh. At the moment that the mantles are thrown on one side, they dance in quick time to the music in not ungraceful steps, at the same time bowing their plumed heads most grotesquely, in time to the taps of the drum on either side. When tired, they resume their mantles, retire for a drink of water, and then come on again dancing a different step. When they are fatigued, four more take their places, and so on, till all present have had their turn. When many Indians are present, these performances often last until a late hour of the night. The women, who only participate as spectators, mark their applause of any particularly good dancer by a howl which may be considered a sort of encore. I have on one or two occasions known these dissipations carried on for two or three evenings in succession.

304 Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were so bandaged as to produce [intentionally?] flattening of the back of the skull. Two types of cradle were used: a flat cradle, apparently of ladder type (Vignati, 1938 a, pp. 73-74), to which the infant was tied, and which could be swung from the roof of the toldo by means of thongs attached to its four corners; a curved wicker cradle (fig. 20) placed, with the child in it, on the horse's haunch behind the mother when she traveled horseback (cf. Vignati, 1938 a, for details). Parents were often known by the name of their child (Musters, 1871, p. 177).

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[551]

FIGURE 20.—Tehuelche child's cradle for use on horseback. (After de la Tuale, 1903, p. 188.)

852 At the birth of a child, wealthy parents summoned the medicine man, who painted himself white and bled himself in the temple, forearm, or leg with a bodkin; a special tent, the "pretty house," was erected; mares were slaughtered and a feast held; toward evening, a fire was lighted in front of the pretty house, and to the accompaniment of drum and musical bow, the men, wearing ostrich plumes on their heads and a bell-studded strap from shoulder to thigh, danced four at a time (Musters, 1871, p. 176; 1872, pp. 180-200). A horse was killed at the eruption of a child's first teeth (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). If a child hurt itself playing, a "pretty house" was erected, mares were slaughtered, and a feast dance were held (Musters, 1872, pp. 201-202).

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a large puma crouched by the extinct ashes of the fire. Just, however, as Asiru was about to fire the revolver which I had lent him, the beast bounded away into the bushes. But as he was convinced that the puma was close at hand waiting for an opportunity to attack, he spent several hours on the watch with his revolver ready. His delight may be imagined when, worn out with want of food and rest, he was relieved by the arrival of the Indian with the mare and a horse for him to ride.

The next day we made a short march up the river valley, the caravan of women and horses, as usual, proceeding along the track, while the men hunted in the adjacent plains. I was fortunate enough in the hunt to kill a guanaco and an ostrich, and duly shared them with Casimiro. The order of march and method of hunting which constitute the daily routine are as follows: the Cacique, who has the ordering of the marching and hunting, comes out of his toldo at daylight, sometimes indeed before, and delivers a loud oration, describing the order of march, the appointed place of hunting, and the general programme; he then exhorts the young men to catch and bring up the horses, and be alert and active in the hunt, enforcing his admonition, by way of a wind up, with a beautiful relation of his own deeds of prowess when he was young. Sometimes the women, while the chief is haranguing, rekindle or blow up the embers of the fire and prepare a slight breakfast, but not invariably. Some cold meat is also occasionally reserved from the evening meal, and placed in a hide bag to be carried with them on the march, to be given to the children when they are hungry. But the general custom for the men is to wait until the day's hunt has supplied fresh meat. When the Cacique's 'oration' —which is very little attended to—is over, the young men and boys lace and bring up the horses, and the women place on their backs the bolster of reeds, tied with hide thongs, mantles, and coloured blankets, which form their saddles; others are strapping their bolas on, or putting their babies

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into wickerwork cradles, or rolling up the skins that form the coverings of the tolderia, and placing them and the poles on the baggage horses; last of all the small breakers, which are carried on the march, are filled with water. The women mount by means of a sling round the horses' necks, and sit astride of their bolster-saddles; their babies—*if* they possess any—and their pet dogs are hoisted up, the babies being stowed in the cradles behind them; then they take their baggage-horses in tow and start off in single file. The men, who generally wait until all are ready, then drive the spare horses for a short distance, and having handed them over to the charge of their wives or daughters, retire to a neighbouring bush, where a fire is kindled, pipes are lighted, and the hunt commenced in the following manner. Two men start off and ride at a gallop round a certain area of country, varying according to the number of the party, lighting fires at intervals to mark their track. After the lapse of a few minutes two others are despatched, and so on until only a few are left with the cacique. These spread themselves out in a crescent, closing in and narrowing the circle on a point where those first started have by this time arrived. The crescent rests on a baseline formed by the slowly-proceeding line of women, children, and baggage-horses. The ostriches and herds of guanaco run from the advancing party, but are checked by the pointsmen, and when the circle is well closed in are attacked with the bolas, two men frequently chasing the same animal from different sides. The dogs also assist in the chase, but the Indians are so quick and expert with the bolas that unless their horses are tired, or they happen to have gambled away their bolas, the dogs are not much called into use. Pumas are very frequently found in the circles, and quickly despatched by a blow on the head from a ball. On one occasion I saw Wáki completely crush, by a single blow, the skull of an unusually large one. The Indian law of division of the game prevents all disputes, and is as follows. The man who kills the ostrich leaves it for

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pin with a broad disc, or a nail, or thorn, according to the 291
wealth or poverty of the wearer; and under this is a loose calico or stuff sacque, extending from the shoulders to the ankle. When travelling the mantle is secured at the waist by a broad belt ornamented with blue beads, and silver or brass studs. The boots worn by the women are similar to those described, with the exception that in their preparation the hair is left on the hide, while it is carefully removed from those of the men. The children are dressed in small mantles, but are more frequently allowed to run about naked up to the age of six or eight; their little boots are made from the skin taken from the fore-legs of the guanaco, softened in the hand. The small children generally remonstrated strongly and effectually against wearing this article of clothing; and whatever the severity of the weather, preferred running about barefoot. The cradles for the babies are 854 ●
formed of strips of wicker-work interlaced with hide thongs, fitted with a cover to keep sun and rain off, and made of a convenient shape to rest on the saddle gear of the mother when on the march. They are ornamented, if the parents are wealthy, with little bells, brass or even silver plates. The women are fond of ornaments, wearing huge earrings 301
of square shape, suspended to small rings passing through 306
the lobe of the ear; also silver or blue bead necklaces. The men also wear these necklaces, and adorn their belts, pipes, knives, sheaths, and horse-gear with silver. Those who can [442]
afford it also indulge in silver spurs and stirrups; most of their ornaments, except the beads, are home made, being beaten out of dollars obtained by commerce in the settlements. Both sexes smear their faces, and occasionally 302
their bodies, with paint, the Indians alleging as the reason for using this cosmetic, that it is a protection against the effect of the winds; and I found from personal experience that it proved a complete preservative from excoriation or chapped skin. It proved equally effective against the sun, which in Hennc peeled my face completely until I resumed

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The
846 child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum.
854 The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

421 To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted,
858 which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child,
553 nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing
551 so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

868 The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about
881 sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as
857 described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages
581 are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

583 The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has
585 secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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484 justice to one of these moving scenes. Not only the skin roofs of their wigwams, but the stakes and poles which constitute the frames, are carried along with them. Their furniture gives them little trouble, seldom consisting of more than the skins on which they sleep, an ox-horn tinder-box, a few sticks for roasting meat, and a leathern water-bucket. Tents and furniture are all packed together on
●854 their horses' backs. The pappooses in travelling are lashed
484 to a kind of wooden sledge, rounded at the ends like sleigh-runners, and crossed with narrow slats, that bind the parts strongly together. The little brats are bound upon these machines, which are so shaped that their heads and feet are much below the general level of their bodies,—a very uncomfortable position for the youngsters, if they have as much sensibility to pain as other children, of which I incline to doubt, as they are inured from birth to almost every species of hardship. The sledge, with its living burden, is thrown across the horse's back, and made fast to the load. The mother mounts to the top of the pack, resting her feet on the horse's neck, and armed with a cudgel, with which she vigorously belabors the beast, right and left. The pappooses, not liking the quarters assigned to them, set up a general squalling. Mothers and maiden aunts join in full chorus, drawling out, at the top of their voices, "Hõrī! mutty, mutty! Hõrī! mutty, mutty!" without the least change, to the thousandth repetition.
484 All these arrangements are made with remarkable celerity —in thirty minutes not a tent is left standing, but the whole tribe, their tenements and chattels, wives and brats, are all packed upon horses, and the motley cavalcade moves off like an army of beggars on horseback.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874

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The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 854
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [142
straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 516
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [771]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and stern, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masks from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Camalasque, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [75]. Each person who has one of the figures defends it and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones; yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [753
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 76]
attributed to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, as each is [756]

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The children are indulged in every way, ride the best horses, and are not corrected for any misbehaviour, I was always astonished that the youths and young men did not grow up more headstrong and wilful, as a result of want of training. People who have no children of their own sometimes adopt a little dog, on which they lavish their affections, and bestow horses and other valuables, which are destroyed in case of the owner's death. 155 152

It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the missionaries should have been so unsuccessful in their efforts to teach these children of nature to read and write, for they are naturally very intelligent (though of course there are exceptions). As a proof of their quickness in imitations, with very little trouble I taught Hinchel's son to write his father's name and those of two other Indians in a very short time. I also used to draw ships on a board with a piece of charcoal for the children's amusement, and they readily copied them. Hinchel himself, wishing to explain a part of the course of the Rio Negro, drew out a rough chart on the board, showing the bends of the river, which I afterwards found to be perfectly correct. 153

Whilst in their native wilds, I observed little immorality amongst the Indians; in the settlements, however, when debased by intoxication, they are, no doubt, depraved and loose in their ideas. But it must be recorded that, on the entry of the Indians into the settlements of the Rio Negro, at a subsequent period, most of the young women and girls were left with the toldos in Valchita, outside the Travesia, to be out of the way of temptations. There are many Tehuelche youths now growing up who have the greatest abhorrence of liquor; and I hope that in time this abstinence will spread further among them, for they possess no intoxicants of their own, and the rum is an import from the Christians, the ill effects of which they are well able to discern. 273

One word of advice to the future traveller may conclude this imperfect sketch. Never show distrust of the Indians; 554

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terns; make the bolsters of reeds (often also ornamented with silver) to place as a protection for their high saddles, cook the food, smash the marrow-bones and extract the grease; take care of the children, and fetch wood, water and do all the 'chores,' as the Americans say. As may be seen, they are pretty nearly always occupied; nevertheless, they occasionally find time to play cards, and sometimes to squabble and talk scandal. 442 441

The children generally employ themselves in imitating their elders. The boys play with miniature bolas, and catch the dogs with small lazos, and the girls construct miniature toldos and sit in them; for this purpose they carry off unchecked anything that may seem suitable. Frequently when about to join the chase I had to interfere with these latter games, and recover my saddle-gear, which had been appropriated by the juveniles. 357

The musical instruments of the Tehuelches have been previously described. In Teckel, besides the native orchestra (fig. 8) and harmonica, to which one had become accustomed, we furthermore rejoiced in a cornet, with music from which Jacksehan's brother frequently enlivened our evenings. Many amongst the Tehuelches could blow the ordinary bugle calls which they had been accustomed to hear when in the Rio Negro or at Punta Arenas; and most of them appeared to possess a good ear for music. Their songs, however, are not melodious, and are mere repetitions of words devoid of all sense or meaning. Casimiro informed me that formerly the old men were in the habit of singing the traditions of the tribe and also some sort of prayer. It is much to be regretted that these customs have fallen into disuse. I tried on various occasions to obtain information about their ancestors, but all my efforts were fruitless. When I asked them how their people travelled before horses came into the country, they could not realise the fact that such was ever the case. 534 533 173

There is little to add to the details already given of the 262

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The child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum. The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

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3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knuckle-bones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; also wild currants, strawberries, apples, and pifiones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the inconsebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, maize, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

up,—my only alternative to starvation. Famine has no scruples of delicacy; if the reader is disgusted, he is in a state of sympathy with the writer.

Early the next day we (literally) pulled up stakes, and were on the move; and, after journeying all day, encamped in a situation very like the one we left in the morning. The Indians spent their time, as usual, in gambling and in combing each other's hair, with a brush made of stiff dry roots, tied up together. The operator received as a fee the game captured in the process. The reader will excuse a more explicit statement of what, though less abominable than cannibalism, is hardly less repulsive.

One evening our family circle were seated round a fire, which sent up volumes of smoke sufficiently dense to suit a savage of the most exacting taste, and which drove me, as usual, to the back part of the hut, where I lay flat on my face. One of the chief's wives was inveighing against me, as was her wont, and a second occasionally joined in the strain, by way of chorus. A third was cracking the bones of a guanaco, that her son Cobanaco might eat the marrow. The fourth and last of the women was attending to a piece of meat for our supper, fixed on a forked stick, in the smoke. Two sons were engaged, as usual, in doing nothing, except occasionally begging a little of the marrow, and scraping their dirty legs with a sheath-knife, by way of diversion; sundry by-plays, and little pieces of mischief, served to fill up the spare minutes. The old chief, who had been silently regarding the scene, now commenced talking, in a low, mumbling, guttural tone, to one of his wives. She was busily eying the toasting-fork, and studying the process of cooking; but, at her husband's instance,

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674 and told the chief that a doctor had been murdered. He had visited a woman professionally, and treated her case with charms and spells, but his prescriptions effected no satisfactory result; and her husband went in a rage to his lodge, and stabbed him with repeated blows, to make the work of death more sure. It was a singular circumstance, that men capable of deliberate murder, and who had so recently, with the tacit or open sanction of the chief, strangled a woman for her heroism, should have shown so much alarm at the cry of murder on this occasion. The victim was an enormously fat man, weighing, I should judge, nearly four hundred pounds. A horrible sight presented itself the next morning, on going out of our hut; the snow around the doctor's lodge was saturated with his blood. I drew back from the sickening spectacle, unable to look upon it with composure. Beyond their exhibition of stupid terror in the night, no notice was taken of the act; and about noon the camp broke up. We travelled till night, meeting with no success in the chase, and encamped on an extensive plain, near a good spring of water.

857 It was an occasional diversion to watch the children at their sports, of which a favorite one was throwing ostriches' feet, with the sinews of the legs attached. The toes are cut off, and a pair of the feet are tied together, with a piece of sinew about a yard long. The children begin to practise the sport as soon as they are able to walk, and will continue the amusement all day: one boy throwing them into the air, and others throwing and hitting them as they fly, thereby serving an apprenticeship to the grand yearly accomplishment of hurling the bolas.

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Young Cokanaco, the chief's youngest son, appeared to excel all others; he was looked upon as a remarkably smart and very active lad; and, though he was six or eight years old, was not yet weaned! All the tribe fondled and caressed him; he would practise with the boys, often without any covering to his back, till excited and almost exhausted; then he would run into the lodge, take refreshment at his mother's breast, and speedily return to his sport.

All this time *Hilland* was not forgotten, but the chief and his lieges were continually reminded of the urgent reasons for taking me there without delay; the presents which could only be obtained there, the fearful consequences of suffering me to come to harm, the great ships with the big guns, &c. &c., that would assuredly avenge me upon the whole tribe, — with what effect, beyond allaying present irritations and discontents that threatened me, it was impossible to determine.

A novel sample of farriery offered itself to my observation one day, while hunting with the chief; my old horse, as a sudden, began to hobble, and very nearly gave out. I watched him some time, and jolted on, suffering somewhat from his uneven movements, but could not discern the occasion of the difficulty. On dismounting and examining his feet, nothing serious was perceptible, except that the heels were worse for wear, and broomed up a little. I remounted, and gave the poor creature a smart drubbing, to overtake his owner, if possible, and consult him on the case, which was one wherein I was content to defer to his wiser judgment. Sufficient steam was raised to bring us abreast of the chief, who, on hearing what was

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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peruse my library, namely, half of the delightful 'Elsie Venner,' which Crimé had picked up on board some ship to serve as wadding for his guns, and sold to me for a little powder. To enable the reader to follow our somewhat devious course and the intricacies of these hills and frequent rivers, the sketch map at page 164 will be found useful; it does not pretend to be exact, but gives a very fair idea of the line of country traversed, and of our migrations between Hanno and Teckel.

On the 22nd, Indians having been seen to the north and guanaco hunting proving a failure, Orkeke, to my great delight, proposed a visit to the wild-cattle country. The camp was accordingly struck, and following more or less the valley of the river, which flowed after one turn nearly due east, we shortly came out into an open plain running up between the mountains, at the head of which we encamped by some tall beeches on the banks of the stream. The whole of the latter part of the plain traversed was literally carpeted with strawberry plants all in blossom, the soil being of a dark peaty nature. Young ostriches were now numerous, and every hunt some were captured, and formed a welcome addition to our dinner. The children had several alive as pets, which they used to let loose and then catch with ministure bolas, generally ending in killing them. Our programme was to leave all the women, toldos, and other encumbrances in this spot, named 'Weskel,' or Chayhash—a regular station, and which Hinchel's party had occupied a few weeks previously—and proceed ourselves into the interior in search of cattle. The following morning at daylight horses were caught and saddled, and, after receiving the good wishes of the women, who adjured us to bring back plenty of fat beef, we started off just as the sun was rising behind the hills to the eastward. The air was most invigorating, and we trotted along for some distance up a slightly irregular and sandy slope, halting after an hour or two by the side of a deliciously clear brook, flowing east,

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two leagues below the river divided into two branches, which 133
reunited beyond an island of some extent. Looking up river
in a north-westerly direction, the valley soon narrowed in,
the southern barrancas sloping down to within a couple of
miles of our camp; and the view was closed by two remark-
able hills resembling fortresses, which seemed to stand on
guard on either side. I made a slight sketch of the outlines of
the view, which forms the background of the hunting scene.*
Having strolled back to the toldo, I was greeted by the [276]
women with the usual demand, 'Mon aniwee'—Anglice,
'Lend us the pipe,' which was duly charged and handed
round. We then sat and watched the proceedings of Kochem, §37
Tankelow's pretty little daughter, just budding into woman-
hood, and a small boy to whom I gave the name of Captain
John, who were amusing themselves by catching and riding
some of the horses which were tamer than the others. The
urchins soon grew tired of their equestrian feats; and,
prompted by the spirit of mischief, which seems ever to
haunt children, and especially Indian boys, came and begged
a match of me. Not suspecting their purpose, I gave them
the coveted prize, with which they hurried off in high delight,
and in a very few minutes had set fire to the rank, withered
herbage, some distance off the toldo, but to the windward.
The conflagration was at first unnoticed by us; but at dusk,
when Tankelow returned from hunting, with a supply of
meat, it was palpably dangerous. So all hands had to set
to work, and by dint of tearing up the grass, with great
trouble we stopped its progress, which if aided by a breeze
in the night would very probably otherwise have consumed
the toldo and endangered the inmates. Of the culprits no
notice was taken, the occurrence being apparently regarded
as all in the day's work. After our supper of guanaco
meat, and a smoke, I turned in, and slept soundly on my [313]
Tehuelche bed of hides and bolsters which had been carefully
arranged by the tall hostess.

* Frontispiece.

2: Mustere T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp earth.
The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted, which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be removed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child. Nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the girls rarely accompany the lads to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as described in page 90. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

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D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2: 177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Peña (1789, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordoves (1905, p. 47), tent(s) painted red.

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3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

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1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH3 Tehnolche SH5

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[p. 160 G]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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[37
242 which the root, or rather lower stem, is eaten by the Indians, and is succulent and juicy, with a pleasant taste. The boys and girls soon brought a large supply into the toldos. The
• 881 day after our arrival in this place, the attainment of the age of puberty of one of the girls was celebrated according to custom. Early in the morning the father of the child informed the cacique of the event, the cacique thereupon officially communicated the intelligence to the acting doctor or medicine-man, and a considerable shouting was set up, while the doctor adorned himself with white paint and was bled in
881 the forehead and arms with a sharp bodkin. The women
344 immediately set to work to sew a number of 'mandils' together. When the patchwork was finished, it was taken with pomp and ceremony by a band of young men, who marched round the poles—already fixed to form a temporary toldo—singing, whilst the women joined in with the most dismal incantations and howlings. After marching round several times, the covering was drawn over the poles, and lances were stuck in front, adorned with bells, streamers, and brass plates that shook and rattled in the breeze, the whole thing when erected presenting a very gay appearance (its Indian name literally meaning 'The pretty house'). The
881 girl was then placed in an inner part of the tent, where nobody was admitted. After this everybody mounted, and some were selected to bring up the horses, out of which certain mares and fillies were chosen, and brought up in front of the showy toldo, where they were knocked on the head by a ball—thus saving the blood (which was secured in
[262] pots) to be cooked, being considered a great delicacy. It is a rule amongst the Indians that any one assisting to take off the hide of a slaughtered mare is entitled to a piece of meat, but the flesh was on this occasion distributed pretty equally all round. Whilst the meat was cooking, Casimiro, who was
881 ruler of the feast, sent a message for me to come to Crimé's
252 toldo, where I found him busy working at a saddle, in the construction of which he was, by the way, an adept. His

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881
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THE "PRETTY HOUSE" AND DANCE.

[facing p. 61]

2: Mustere T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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wife had a large iron pot bubbling on the fire, containing some of the blood mixed with grease. When the meat was nearly cooked, we added a little pepper and salt, and commenced the feast. Previous to this I had felt a sort of repugnance to eating horse, as perhaps most Englishmen—except, indeed, the professed hippophagiste—have; but hunger overcame all scruples; and I soon acquired quite a taste for this meat. On this occasion everybody ate where they liked, in their own toldos. Casimiro informed me, after the meal was concluded, that there would be a dance in the evening. I looked forward with great anticipation to this 'small and early,' and shortly saw some of the women proceed to collect a considerable quantity of firewood, which was placed outside the tent. Presently, towards dusk, a fire was made, first outside the sacred precincts. The women all sat down on the grass round about, but at some distance from the men, who were all seated on the grass, except four and the musicians. The orchestra consisted of a drum made by stretching a piece of hide over a bowl, also a sort of wind instrument formed of the thigh-bone of a guanaco, with holes bored in it, which is placed to the mouth and played, or with a short bow having a horsehair string. When all was ready, some of the old hags all the time singing in their melodious way, the band struck up, and four Indians, muffled up in blankets, so that their eyes only were visible, and their heads adorned with ostrich plumes, marched into the ring, and commenced pacing slowly round the fire, keeping time to the music. After two or three promenades, the time gradually quickened, until they went at a sort of trot; and about the fifth round, dancing fast to the music, they threw away their mantles, and exhibited themselves adorned with white paint daubed all over their bodies, each having a girdle of bells extending from the shoulder to the hip, which jingled in tune to their steps. The first four consisted of the chiefs Casimiro, Orkeke, Crime, and Camillo, who, after dancing with great action (just avoiding stepping into the fire), and bowing their plumed

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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881 heads grotesquely on either side to the boss of the drum,
535 retired for a short time to rest themselves, after which they appeared again and danced a different step. When that was over, four more appeared, and so on, until every one, including the boys, had had a fling. Sometimes, to give greater effect, the performers carried a bunch of rushes in one hand. About nine P.M., everybody having had enough, Casimiro gave the sign. The band stopped playing, and all retired to bed. The dancing was not ungraceful, but was rendered grotesque by the absurd motions of the head. It was strictly confined to the men, the women being only allowed to look on.

133 On the second day's march from the scene of my first Indian ball we crossed a rocky ridge abounding with a description of vesicular lava; the ridge ran out from the southern limits of the valley and terminated in precipitous cliffs, round the base of which wound the river. The surface of the ridge was fissured in many places with deep chasms like Alpine crevasses, on the brink of one of which my horse stopped just in time to escape a fall. The caravan had gone a more circuitous route to take advantage of the lowest and easiest crest. On the other side of the ridge the valley suddenly spread out to the extent of several miles, and on the western horizon a line of snowy peaks was visible, their summits capped with clouds: this was our first view of the Cordillera. The low ground was cut up by streams and small lakelets of water, formed by the overflow of a small fork of the river, which glistening in the afternoon sunshine presented a beautiful silvery appearance, very refreshing to the eye wearied with alternate gazing on withered
484 grass and black volcanic rocks. However beautiful to look at, this scene would clearly prove difficult travelling, so a halt was called, and our course debated on; ultimately it was resolved to cross the river and encamp on the northern bank, where the ground was higher and free from floods, so loads were carefully adjusted, and children transferred to the arms of the men, to give the women more freedom of action;

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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The
504 child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum.
530 The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

521 To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted,
538 which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child,
553 nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing
551 so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

548 The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not go in fights till they are about
● 581 sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as
557 described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages
581 are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

583 The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has
585 secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

3: Mustere T-5 (1869-1870) 1872

SMS Tehuelche SMS

The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the tolde of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his tolde, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualyche", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed; his ponchos, if he possesses any ornaments, bolas, and other belongings, are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womenkind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The most of the horses is distributed amongst the relations; and the widow (who cuts her hair short in front, and assumes black paint) repairs bag and baggage to the tolde of her relations, if she has any, if not, to that of the chief. The body, sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, is taken away by some of the relations, and buried in a sitting posture with its face to the east, a cairn of stones being generally erected over the place. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's book; but as I never travelled much by the sea-coast, they may exist and be the burial-places of some of the Pampa tribe.

A curious custom prevails amongst those Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[i.e. as for a newborn child. — Analyst]

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 8385 Tehuelche 585

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:179) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL USES

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:182) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–179; 1872, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 76), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:182), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poyo*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 196). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1833, p. 160). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 226) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness;

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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512 party, interchange of visits and card parties with the recent arrivals, fishing, foraging for birds' eggs, spinach, &c., with some flirting, and, by way of business, a parlamento or two, made our time pass merrily enough at Henno.

586 Our hunting parties were under the direction of 'the oldest inhabitant,' an aged cacique called Guenalto, with venerable white hair, and who had been crippled by a lance-thrust, received to his honour be it said, while endeavouring to mediate between two of his friends. His great age and amiable character commanded universal respect; and on a hunting morning he would sit under a bush and speechify
[537] for half an hour, recounting old deeds of prowess, and exhorting us to do our best. The old man was a frequent and welcome visitor at our toldo, where he was encouraged to indulge to his heart's content in long-winded stories. My
755 compass greatly excited his curiosity, and he took it into his head that it possessed a magical power which could effect the restoration of the use of his arm. He accordingly begged to be allowed to hold it in his hand; and sat patiently, with an air of awe and faith combined, for an hour, afterwards declaring that the operation had done him much good. We
714 greatly pleased him by repairing his coat of mail, a complete tunic of heavy iron chains, of unknown antiquity, bound together by strips of hide, and weighing over a hundredweight. This he informed me he only put on to defend himself from 'foolish Indians.'

777 His use of my compass was rivalled by the custom of other friends, who were wont to borrow it when engaged in a game of cards; their belief being that the magic instrument gave luck to the happy possessor for the time being; and I often thought that it was fortunate I had brought no other instrument, as 'shooting the sun' would have been certainly regarded as a piece of sorcery, and any death or accident happening afterwards would have been visited on the head of the magician. As it was, my taking notes was
203 often regarded with suspicious curiosity, and inquiries made

Every moon a day of mourning and weeping is repeated, and a horse or 75
mare is slaughtered if a friend or relative can be found who will donate
one, since the deceased no longer has any. On the first anniversary a
three-day mourning period is observed, with weeping, a bonfire into
which offerings are thrown, and as many of the other ceremonies which
were done on the day of death as can be, as a memorial to it. After
these three days are passed they forget all about the deceased person,
and that is the end of the matter. All this funeral pomp and ceremony
is done only for young or mature and robust persons, while for those
who die in old age there is no mourning or weeping, the belief being [835]
that their death was necessary, and so only one horse is killed, and at
that the worst and of least value from among the deceased's herd.

Horses are killed for weddings and deaths, on the occasion of a 72
child's teething, when the menstruation period starts in women, for any
minor evil, to placate the idol when it is angry, which they believe is
the case when they become sick, when the taking of game is very diffi-
cult, when other Indians harass them and they are themselves not strong
enough to declare war -- when they are not strong enough to war with
others they endure any wrong the others care to do to them. And all
this slaughter of horses and mares is the reason why the whole region is
not full of horses, for although the mares foal every year, the Indians
kill so many mares that they do not have enough horses for their needs
and must make up the difference by trading for them with the Pampas
Indians of Buenos Aires. In order to replenish their stock of horses [839]
they bring hides with them when they come down to the Rio Negro, and
exchange them for those animals, from which it happens that the In-
dians of San Julian have less horses than those of the gulfs of San Jorge
and Santa Elena, because they cannot go down to the Rio Negro as often
as the former can.

They believe in the transmigration of the soul, and that the souls 75
of those who die pass back into the babies who are born into the same
family, and in this way: If a person dies in old age his soul transmi-
grates without having to wait, and that is why he is not wept for or
mourned since they say that the soul is passing into a more fortunate
life; but the soul of one who dies young and strong remains detained
beneath the earth and is fated to sojourn there a length of time equal to
that which would have been required for him to reach old age. Once
this time is fulfilled his soul passes into the next-born infant. It is be- 75
cause of this long wait during which it is thought that the soul is cramped 72
and strained, that they make so many sacrifices to the idol, in order that